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VOL. I.—INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF THE HOLY
SCRIPTURES.

VOL. I. OF THE LIBRARY.

BY

HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND HEBREW IN DICKINSON COLLEGE.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN the preparation of this volume I have relied upon original sources of information. The edition of the Greek and Latin Fathers which has been chiefly used is that of the Abbé J. P. Migne. From this nearly all the extracts from the Fathers are taken. The originals of the most important passages quoted are given at the foot of the pages. Other ancient authorities, in nearly all instances, are also quoted from the original authors.

For the Old Testament, in addition to the Hebrew text, my principal aids have been Tischendorf's edition of the LXX, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel, Professor Lee's edition of the Peshito-Syriac version of the Old Testament, and Blaney's edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch. My chief sources for ascertaining the correct text of the New Testament have been the critical Greek texts of Tischendorf and Tregelles, copies of the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian Codices of the New Testament, and the Peshito-Syriac version—to which I added, before the New Testament portion of the work had passed through the press, Blanchini's edition of MSS. of the Latin version of the fourth and fifth centuries, and Schwartz's edition of the Memphitic (or Coptic) version of the four Gospels, with readings from the Sahidic (or Theban) version. The views of the Talmudists respecting the books of the Old Testament I have given almost invariably from a German work entitled *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Ueberlie-*

ferungen in Talmud und Midrasch, by Professor Dr. Julius Fürst, the distinguished Jewish rabbinical scholar.

I have taken special pains to secure the very latest critical works on the New Testament, that I might present the most recent views of the German critics, both evangelical and rationalistic. For example: I have used the *Einleitung* (Introduction) of Hilgenfeld, of the Tübingen school, published at the close of 1874, and Mangold's edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, published in the early part of 1875. This Introduction is, however, based upon that of no other writer, nor have I taken any one as a model.

I am indebted to Drs. Crooks and Hurst, the projectors and editors of the series of which the present volume is one, for the careful revision of the manuscript, and for valuable suggestions, which will, I am sure, add to the practical value of the work. I have had their hearty co-operation during the entire progress of my labors.

Marginal notes on the pages, and two copious indexes, one of topics and the other of the authors quoted, will it is hoped, facilitate reference.

The work is now offered to the public, with the earnest prayer that it may contribute something to the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to the confirmation of Christianity as a Divine Revelation, without whose light and power all our intellectual progress and civilization will tend only to barbarism

DICKINSON COLLEGE, CARLISLE, PA.

Sept. 9, 1878.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

IN this edition of the "Introduction" I have examined, and endeavored to show the falsity of, the theory of Graf, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, and W. Robertson Smith, who hold that the priestly laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch were not recorded until the period of the Babylonian captivity, and that they were completed about the time of Ezra.

When I discussed the genuineness of the Pentateuch, in the first edition, the new critical opinions did not seem important enough to demand a separate refutation. Since that time I have examined them again, and studied nearly the whole Hebrew Bible with special reference to them. As a result, it seems to me perfectly clear that the entire Pentateuch is older than any other part of the Old Testament; I have, therefore, no change of view to announce and no concessions to make to the new critical school.

Large additions have accordingly been made in this edition to the part relating to the Pentateuch. In other portions of the book I have also added new matter and made some abridgments and corrections.

DICKINSON COLLEGE, CARLISLE, PA.,
January 1, 1884.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—INSPIRATION—SUBLIMITY OF THE DOCTRINES OF SCRIPTURE—THE WONDERFUL PLAN OF THE SACRED CANON.

IT is our purpose, in the present volume, to examine the Genuineness, Credibility, Integrity, Language, Contents, and most important Ancient Versions of the Canonical Books of the Bible. An inquiry of such a nature travels over a long period of human history. We are to consider books extending through a period of more than fifteen hundred years, the earliest of which appeared at the dawn of history, and the last were composed when the Roman Empire and Pagan Civilization were at their zenith of power. In the treatment of such a subject much depends upon the frame of mind with which it is approached. If our speculative system excludes from the universe an ever-living, free, supreme Intelligence, the Creator and Preserver of all that is, and acknowledges nothing but unintelligent physical forces, upon whose play all things depend, we are wholly unfit to deal fairly with the Sacred Canon. For in such a case Revelation, Miracles, and Prophecies are palpable absurdities. But Atheism can never be a positive affirmation; and if the natural phenomena of the world furnished no proof of a personal God, we could yet philosophically admit the evidence which the facts of the Bible give of his existence. No *real Theist* can consistently deny the possibility of revelation, with its accompanying proofs—miracles and prophecies—and hence he is ever ready to listen to the evidence of the genuineness of documents that establish them. Nor will he take offense at a *written* revelation, when he reflects that it is by means of *books*, in the order of Providence, that mankind are instructed in the various affairs of the world.

Scope of investigation.

The Theist is compelled to acknowledge a written revelation.

Biblical Criticism, like all other branches of our knowledge, is progressive. The thorough study of Hebrew and its cognate languages, of Attic and Hellenistic Greek, and of the general principles of philology; the profound investigations into ancient history; the discovery of lost works and of ancient manuscripts of the Bible; the excavation of ancient ruins and the deciphering of ancient monuments; and a more thorough knowledge of the geography, natural history, and customs of Palestine, derived from numerous modern Oriental travelers, have all thrown great light upon the Holy Scriptures, and in many instances have remarkably confirmed them.

The difficulties that frequently meet us in the Holy Scriptures should neither surprise nor offend us. They arise partly from the nature of the subjects treated, partly from the foreign languages in which the Bible is written, and partly from the imperfectly known habits of the people to whom the various parts of Revelation were originally communicated. If the Bible contained nothing that required deep study, it would have but little attraction for us. As it is, all its practical parts are sufficiently clear, while those of a more abstruse character exercise our thoughts, our patience, and our faith. And this holds true of the physical world, in which, while it has pleased God to make plain to us what is most necessary, he has at the same time hidden much from us, and given us a large field in which to develop, through intense study, our intellectual powers, by solving the mysteries of nature and discovering her laws.

Two factors are to be recognised in the Bible—the Divine and the Human—and it may not always be an easy matter to fix the limits of each. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." (2 Tim. iii, 16.) Admitting this to be the meaning of the original,¹ it leaves undetermined what books constitute the Old Testament, to which it obviously refers; nor does it fix the extent of their inspiration, or fairly include the New Testament. We accordingly find different views held by Christian scholars respecting the exact degree of divine influence granted the sacred writers.

"That the prophets and apostles taught under the influence of the Holy Spirit, was the universal belief of the ancient Church, founded in the testimony of Scripture itself. But this living idea of inspira-

¹ The Greek is, *πάσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος*, etc. As there is an omission of *ἐστὶ*, it has been disputed whether it is to be supplied before or after *θεόπνευστος*. In the latter case the passage would be rendered, "All Scripture given by inspiration of God is also profitable," etc. This is the rendering of the Peshito Syriac and the Vulgate, and is the view of some eminent critics; but the *καὶ* seems to forbid it.

tion was by no means confined to the written letter. The Jews, indeed, had come to believe in the verbal inspiration of their sacred writings, before the canon of the New Testament was completed, at a time when, with them, the living source of prophecy had ceased to flow. . . . The fathers, however, in their opinions respecting inspiration, wavered between a more and less strict view. . . . All, however, insisted on the practical importance of the Scripture, its richness of divine wisdom clothed in unadorned simplicity, and its fitness to promote the edification of believers."¹

Justin Martyr, speaking of the wonderful teachings of the Old Testament, remarks: "The divine *plectrum*, itself descending from heaven, makes use of holy men, as a harp or lyre, to reveal to us the knowledge of divine and heavenly things."² He seems, however, to have limited inspiration to what is religious, and necessary to be known in order to salvation; and while he expresses himself strongly on the inspiration of the Old Testament, he believes also in the inspiration of the New, especially of the evangelists. The views of Irenæus on the same subject were strict: "The Scriptures are, indeed, perfect since they were uttered by the word of God and his Spirit."³

Clement of Alexandria, speaking of the law and the prophets, remarks: "Justly could we call the apostles prophets and righteous men, since one and the same Holy Spirit works in all of them."⁴ Irenæus speaks of Paul's frequent use of *hyperbata*. "He attributes this peculiarity of Paul's style," says Neander, "to the crowd of thoughts pressing for utterance from his ardent mind," showing that he made a distinction between the divine and the human element in inspiration.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, observes: "Respecting the righteousness which the law teaches, both the prophets and the gospels are found to agree, because they all (the writers) spoke inspired by the one Spirit of God."⁵

Origen, the most illustrious scholar of the early post-apostolic

¹ Hagenbach, *Hist. Christian Doctrines*, Smith's ed., vol. i, p. 87.

² "Ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ πλῆκτρον, ὡς περ βργάνῳ κιθάρας τινὸς ἡ λύρας, τοῖς δικαίους ἀνδράσι χρώμενον, τὴν τῶν θείων ἡμῖν καὶ οὐρανίων ἀποκαλύψῃ γνώσιν.—*Coloet. ad Gracos*, § 8.

³ *Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt quippe a verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ.—Aver. Heret.*, ii, cap. xxviii, § 2.

⁴ Προφήτας γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ δικαίους εἶναι τοὺς ἀποστόλους λέγοντες εὖ ἂν εἰποίμεν, ἐνδὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος διὰ πάντων ἁγίου πνεύματος.—*Strom.*, liber v, cap. vi.

⁵ "Ἐτι μὲν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἥς ὁ νόμος εἰρηκεν ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, ἔχειν διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφώρις ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λελαληκέναι.—*Ad Autolyicum*, liber iii, § 12.

Belief of primitive Church in inspiration of the Scriptures.

Testimony of Justin, Clement, Irenæus, and others.

Church, remarks: "Certainly, the Holy Spirit inspired each one of those holy men, whether they were prophets or apostles; and that there was not one spirit in the ancients and another in those who were inspired at the coming of Christ, is most clearly proclaimed in the Churches."¹ He also remarks: "All the Scriptures are inspired by the Holy Spirit."²

Hagenbach remarks: "It appears that Origen, with all his exaggerated views of inspiration, also admitted that there were uninspired passages in the Scripture, and thus distinguished between its divine and human elements."³ "In general," says Gieseler, "Origen appears to understand by inspiration, not the pouring in of foreign thoughts; but an exaltation of the soul, whereby prophets were elevated to the knowledge of the truth; and this *view was held fast* in the school of Origen."

Chrysostom, commenting on the Gospel of John, says: "Let us no longer listen to the fisherman, or to the son of Zebedee, but to the Spirit that knows the deep things of God, and strikes the apostle as a lyre. For he will tell us nothing that is human, but will speak to us of spiritual depths."⁴ Yet when commenting on Matthew, he observes: "The evangelists are shown to disagree in many places; but this circumstance itself is the greatest proof of their truth. For if they had accurately agreed in all things respecting times and places, and in their very words, none of our enemies would have believed that they had not written from human concert. For they would not have supposed that so much harmony grew out of the simple truth. But, as it is, the apparent disagreement in small things frees them from all suspicion, and clearly vindicates the character of the writers."⁵

Augustine compares the apostles to hands, which wrote what

¹ Sane quod iste Spiritus unum quemque sanctorum, vel prophetarum, vel apostolorum inspiravit, et non alius spiritus in veteribus, alius vero in his qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, fuerit, manifestissime in ecclesiis prædicatur.—*Περὶ Αρχῶν*, liber i, § 4.

² In Psalmos, 527.

³ Hist. Christ. Doct., vol. i, p. 91.

⁴ Ὡς οὐν οὐκέτι τοῦ ἀλιέως, οὐδὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰδότες, τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγω, ταύτην ἀνακρουομένου τὴν λύραν, οὕτως ἀκούωμεν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνθρώπινον ἡμῖν ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑβύσσω των πνευματικῶν.—*Ἰν Ἰωαν.*, hom. i, § 2

⁵ Πολλοὶ γὰρ διαφωνοῦντες ἐλέγχονται. Αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο μέγιστον εἶγμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ πάντα συνεφώνησαν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, καὶ μέχρι καιροῦ, καὶ μέχρι τόπου, καὶ μέχρι ρημάτων αὐτῶν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπίστευσε τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι μὴ συνεληθόντες ἀπὸ συνθήκης τινὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔγραψαν ὑπερ ἔγραψαν; οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς ἀπλότητος τὴν τοσαύτην συμφωνίαν. Νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα ἐν μικροῖς εἶναι διαφωνία πάσης ἀπαλλάττει αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, καὶ λαμπρῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν γραψάντων ἀπολογεῖται.—*Ἰν Ματ.*, hom. i, § 2

Christ, the head, dictated.¹ He calls the holy Scriptures the venerable writing of the Holy Spirit, and declares that he most firmly believes that none of their authors has written any thing that is erroneous.²

Jerome, while holding the inspiration of the Scriptures, did not overlook the human element, and in commenting on Gal. v, 12, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you," remarks: "Nor is it strange if the apostle, as a man, and still shut up in a frail vessel, and seeing another law bringing him into captivity, and leading him into the law of sin, once uttered such language, into which we often see holy men fall."³ He also says he finds solecisms and transpositions of words in the Epistles of Paul.⁴ Theodore, the celebrated bishop of Mopsuestia, "assumed," says Hagenbach, "different degrees of inspiration. He ascribed to Solomon, not the gift of prophecy, but only that of wisdom, and judged of the Book of Job and the Song of Solomon only from the human point of view."⁵

Though the Reformers submitted in faith to the authority of Scripture as a divine revelation, they also had an unprejudiced regard to its *human* side, taking a comprehensive view of inspiration, especially in its practical bearing. The Catholic Church in general held firmly to inspiration. Luther's expressions on the inspiration of the Scriptures were very strong. Among other things, he says that we must look upon the Scripture "as if God himself had spoken therein." Yet he seems to have conceded historical contradictions between the Pentateuch and Stephen's speech. Melancthon, too, only claims freedom from error in the apostles as to doctrine, but not in the application of doctrine. Calvin also asserted in the strongest manner the divine authority and inspiration of the holy Scriptures.⁶

The question of the amount of divine inspiration in the Bible is of a grave and important character, and here the words of the poet are especially applicable, "The middle course is the safest."

¹ Quando quidem membra ejus operata sunt, dictante capite.—*Cons. Evang.*, i, 35.

² Soleis eis scripturarum libris qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam.—*Epis.* 82. cap. i, § 3.

³ Nec mirum esse si Apostolus, ut homo, et adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo, vidensque aliam legem in corpore suo captivantem se, et ducentem in lege peccati, semel fuerit hoc locutus, in quod frequenter sanctos viros cadere perspicimus.

⁴ Nos quoties cumque solecismos aut tale quid annotavimus, et cetera.—*Commen. Epis. Eph.*, cap. iii.

⁵ *Hist. Christ. Doctrines*, vol. i, 321.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 240-243.

The theory of verbal inspiration in every part of the sacred Scriptures would give them more sanctity and authority; but even if we could determine with complete certainty the original reading in every case, the mass of the Christian world who read the Scriptures in translations would not be profited by verbal inspiration. But it is very inconvenient to the biblical interpreter, apart from its being in many cases useless, for it compels him to reconcile every discrepancy, however trifling, and to vindicate the grammatical accuracy of every word and sentence in the sacred canon, which, in not a few instances, is a difficult task, and rarely satisfies the candid reader. On the other hand, lax views of inspiration may strip the Bible of a great deal of its authority as a divine revelation, and resolve much of it into mere human opinion. In considering the inspiration of the historical books of the Bible we must carefully distinguish between the inspiration of the writers and that of the speakers whose discourses are recorded. The book may be inspired but not the speaker, or both speaker and writer may be inspired. This remark applies with special force to the Book of Job; and if we allow this work to be genuine history in all its parts, and that its author was guided by the divine Spirit to write accurately every speech made by Job and his friends, nevertheless all these speeches might contain more or less false doctrine.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS.

Respecting the kind and the amount of inspiration in the canonical books, we must consider what the nature of each book requires. In writing the Pentateuch, Moses would need inspiration in narrating the history of the world before his own times. If he had written documents lying before him, or possessed merely the traditions of his ancestors, he still needed a divine guidance to enable him to distinguish true history. The account of creation must have come to Moses or to some one of his ancestors by divine revelation. As the founder of a religious system for the most part new, and as a prophet, he required immediate divine guidance.

Yet there may have been some unimportant points, in which he followed his own judgment or the advice of friends. We find upon a certain occasion that Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, visited him, and, observing him sitting in judgment on small cases as well as on large ones, he remarked, "The thing that thou doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee: thou art not able to

Extent of inspiration needed by Moses.

perform it thyself alone " He advised him to appoint judges to decide small controversies, while the most important causes should be brought to Moses himself. This advice Moses followed.¹

The books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, being merely historical in their character, would require at most in their authors merely the divine guidance to enable them to give a correct narrative of events. In history of a merely civil, and, in some cases, of a religious character, specific inspiration is not demanded, and a well-informed man could himself write it with sufficient accuracy. The Psalms being of a doctrinal as well as of a devotional character, and some of them being Messianic and prophetic, require full inspiration.² The Proverbs of Solomon and the Book of Ecclesiastes, also, being doctrinal, require inspiration. The question of the inspiration of the Book of Job and the Song of Solomon will be considered in the introduction to these books.

The prophetical books of the Bible demand the highest degree of inspiration, as their authors are not only teachers of moral truth, but boldly predict the future, which none but the Omniscient God can clearly foresee. Gesenius defines the word נָבִיא, *vates, a prophet*, one who, impelled by a divine influence or by the divine Spirit, rebukes kings and nations, and predicts future events. With the conception of a prophet, there was also, primarily, connected the idea that he spoke not his own thoughts, but what he received from God; as is evident from Exod. vii, 1, where God says to Moses: "I have made thee a god to Pharaoh; and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet." Here it is clear that Aaron was to utter faithfully the words of Moses.

The divine communication was often made to the prophets in a vision, which is called in Hebrew by the various names of מַרְאֵה, מַחְזֶה, חֲזוֹן, חֲזוֹת, חֲזוֹן, and hence the prophet is sometimes called חֹזֶה, *a seer, one who sees*. God says: "If there be a prophet among you, I the LORD will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream." Num. xii, 6. Visions of the future condition of the Jewish and Christian Churches, and of the

¹ See Exodus xviii, 13-26.

² And so Peter in the Acts (chap. i, 16) declares, in quoting Psalms lxi, cix, "The Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David."

³ This word is derived from נָבִיא, Niphal נִבִּיא passive, which Gesenius defines, *to speak under divine influence*, the passive form being used because the prophets were moved by a divine power.

different cities and nations standing in a close relation to the Israelites, were presented to the prophets by the divine Spirit. The Apostle John, after quoting a passage from Isaiah, remarks: "These things said Esaias, when he *saw* his glory, and spake of him." Chap. xii, 41. And the Prophet Daniel says: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him." Chap. vii, 13. So also the Apostle John, as recorded in the Apocalypse, saw in visions the overthrow of paganism, the final triumph of Christianity, a general judgment, the punishment of the wicked, and the future glory of the saints. To Moses, also, was exhibited in vision the form of the tabernacle and its furniture. "And look that thou make them after their pattern which was showed thee [which thou wast made to see] in the mount." Exod. xxv, 40. The prophets, we may suppose, would write down these wonderful visions in their own language. Nor need we be surprised if, in these circumstances, their transitions are sometimes sudden, their style abrupt, and their expressions occasionally ungrammatical. It is impossible, in this ecstatic state, not to speak and write in a lofty and symbolic style. The human spirit labours to give utterance to its magnificent conceptions; language is taxed to its utmost; and the mind, excited to the highest degree of tension, seizes upon whatever will express its deep emotions. In this way, perhaps, we may account for the fact that the prophet Ezekiel is careless in his grammatical forms. He had more visions than any other prophet, and was oftener in the ecstatic state. In this way, too, may be explained, in part at least, the irregularity of a part of the Greek of the Apocalypse.

But it was not by vision only that God manifested himself to the prophets of old. He "spoke in divers manners." Heb. i, 1. The spirit of Christ in the prophets predicted the future glory of Messiah's kingdom. 1 Pet. i, 11. In this case the very words may have been inspired; at least, the suggestions were communicated to the mind.

The inspiration of the apostles as evangelists consists principally in inspiration of the Holy Spirit's bringing to their minds every thing our the apostles. Saviour spoke to them, according to the promise he had made to his disciples. John xiv, 26. Mark was very probably an eye-witness of the scenes in our Lord's history, and a companion of Peter, as the ancient Church testifies; and Luke, the companion of Paul, wrote the history of Christ as it had been delivered to him by the eye-witnesses of Christ's ministry. The inspiration of these two evangelists, who were not apostles, we may suppose extended only so far as to enable them to give a true account of the works and the teachings

of Christ. In the evangelists, seeming discrepancies in minor points may, after all, grow naturally out of the reality of things; but we are not required to make the absolute correctness of the evangelists in the most unimportant matters an article of faith, and to resort to far-fetched explanations to reconcile every apparent discrepancy. The Apostolical Epistles, teaching and discussing Christian doctrine, require inspiration to keep them free from all error. The Apocalypse of John is principally a prophetic book, written at the command of Christ, who revealed its contents to the apostle in visions.

The inspiration of the Bible is evident from its sublime doctrines concerning God, the purity of its moral precepts, and from the wonderful fulfilment of its prophecies. The Bible presents to us a wonderful plan. Abraham, originally an idolater,¹ is called out of Mesopotamia, and God promises him that in his seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. His posterity, after sojourning in Egypt several centuries, are led out by Moses, who becomes their legislator in the Sinaitic desert. Joshua brings the Hebrews into the promised land, and establishes them there. The Almighty, later, sent prophets among them at different periods to instruct and warn them, to enforce the great principles of the Mosaic law, and to announce the fate of the surrounding kingdoms and the coming of the Messiah.

Evidences of the inspiration of the Bible: doctrines, ethics, prophetic fulfillments.

The doctrine of the unity and the holiness of God is the fundamental doctrine proclaimed by Moses and the prophets. It came by divine revelation to Abraham. The ancient world could never have discovered the unity of God; it had not the wide view of the universe that we now have, in which we see everywhere a unity of plan. Nor did Moses derive the doctrine from Egypt, for the ancient Egyptians were polytheists. And so far was the idea of the unity of God from being original with the Hebrew people, that there were times when nearly all of them relapsed into idolatry; and it required the severest chastisements from God, and his continual intervention through prophets, armed with miraculous powers, to keep it alive among them.

The unity and the holiness of God.

Plan in Revelation.

The religions of antiquity were characterized by the foulest superstitions, and generally by the most revolting impurities and most cruel rites, from which the religion of the Old Testament is entirely free. Moses and the prophets inculcate, in the clearest and strong-

¹ "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood [the river Euphrates] in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: and they served other gods." Josh. xxiv. 2.

est manner, the holiness of God. Indeed, the legislation of Moses is especially directed to this point.

The predictions of the Hebrew prophets, both in respect to a Messiah and to the fate of cities and kingdoms contiguous to the Israelites, and respecting the Hebrew people themselves, have no parallel in history; and the number of these prophecies, and their accuracy, entirely exclude the hypothesis of accident, or mere human foresight.¹ We know that the ancient Jews explained the prophecies which we consider Messianic in the same way that we do. This is evident from the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel. At the time predicted by the prophets the Messiah appears in the land of Israel, teaching the most sublime doctrines respecting God and his worship, and the noblest precepts, which he beautifully illustrated in his holy, active life, establishing his claims as Messiah by the clearest proofs; and having been crucified as a sacrifice for the sins of mankind, he rises from the dead and commissions his apostles to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, after which he ascends to heaven. About thirty-seven years after he had been crucified, the mass of the Jews still persisting in rejecting him, Jerusalem was destroyed by the Roman army under Titus; the temple was laid in ruins, according to the prediction of Christ; and the Jews were scattered to the four winds of heaven. In the meanwhile the religion of Christ continued to spread rapidly; and, after the fiercest conflict with Paganism, in three centuries it became the religion of the Roman Empire, is now the creed of the noblest part of the human race, and gives strong indications of mastering the world. This great scheme of revelation is without a parallel in the annals of our race.

When we see a plan running through the whole universe, both in time and space, extending to the organization of the meanest insect, it is difficult to believe that there is no plan in the moral world, no provision for the redemption of the race. There must be a plan, and Christianity is that plan, or there is none.

¹ The only passage in the Koran resembling a prophecy is in chap. xxx: "The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land; but after their defeat they shall overcome within a few years." "That this prophecy was exactly full filled," says Sale, "the [Mohammedan] commentators fail not to observe, though they do not exactly agree in the accounts they give of its accomplishment."

CHAPTER II.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

AS early as the second century we find the phraseology "Old" and "New Testament," employed to designate the Jewish and the Christian revelations,¹ but its application to the *books* of the Old and the New Covenant is first clearly seen in Melito,² Bishop of Sardis, in the last half of the second century, and in Origen³ in the first half of the third century. The term canon,⁴ as applied to the sacred writings of the Old and the New Testament, came into use near the middle of the fourth century.⁵

Names designating the collection of the Sacred Writings.

The earliest known catalogue of the books of the Old Testament is given by Melito. In writing to Onesimus, he states that he had made diligent inquiry to learn accurately the number and the order of the ancient books. "Accordingly," says he, "having gone to the East, and as far as the place where (these things) were preached and done, and having ascertained accurately the books of the Old Testament, I herewith send them to you, of which these are the names: Five Books of Moses—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deu-

¹ New Testament, Justin, Dial. cum Tryp., sec. 11, 12; New Testament and the Old, Irenæus ad Hære., liber iv, cap. 9; Old Testament and New, Clem. Alex. Paed., liber i, cap. 7; Old and New Testament, Tertul., adver. Mar., liber iv, cap. xxii.

² He speaks of a catalogue of the *books* of the Old Testament in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., liber iv, 26.

³ Origen remarks on the manuscripts of the Old Testament, tom. xv, § 14, on Matthew. He also observes that the New Testament gives a Greek form to Hebrew names. On *Joan*, tom. ii, § 27.

⁴ The principal definitions of this Greek word (*κάνων*), given by Liddell and Scott, are the following: 1. A *straight rod or bar*; 2. A *rule or line* used by carpenters or masons. Metaphorically: 1. A *rule* in a moral sense; 2. In the Alexandrian Grammarians, collections of the old Greek authors were called *κάνονες*, as being *models* of excellence, *classics*; 3. In the Church, *κάνονες* were the books received as the rule of faith and practice—*canonical Scriptures*.

⁵ The term canon is applied to the Holy Scriptures by Gregory Nazianzen, § 1105 of his Works. Augustine speaks of the sacred writings as canonical books (*canonici libri*) and canonical Scriptures (*Scripturæ canonicæ*). *Epist.* 82, 14, 22. Athanasius calls the Holy Scriptures, "Books that are *canonical* and believed to be divine."—*Epist.* 39, on the Passover. Jerome in various places speaks of a *canon* of Scripture.

teronomy; Joshua Nave, Judges, Ruth; Four Books of Kings, Two Books of Chronicles, Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon (which is also called Wisdom), Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; of the prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah; of the Twelve Prophets in one book—Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra."¹ We miss in this catalogue the Book of Esther. In Ezra, Nehemiah is, no doubt, included, as Jerome informs us that these two books were included in one volume, which was called Ezra.²

In the first half of the third century we have the canonical books of the Old Testament as held by the learned Origen. "There are twenty-two books," says he, "according to the Hebrews, corresponding to the number of the letters of their alphabet." He then enumerates the various books, giving both the Hebrew and Greek names: Five Books of Moses; Joshua; Judges and Ruth in one volume among the Hebrews; First and Second Books of Kings in one volume, called Samuel with the Hebrews; Third and Fourth Books of Kings in one volume; Two Books of Chronicles in one volume; First and Second Ezra in one volume, which they call Ezra; Book of Psalms; Proverbs of Solomon; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs; Isaiah; Jeremiah, with Lamentations and Epistle in one volume, which they call Jeremiah; Daniel; Ezekiel; Job; Esther; besides these, the Books of Maccabees, inscribed Sarbèth Sarbanè "EL."³ This list is preserved by Eusebius (Eccles. Hist., book vi, 25) from Origen's lost Commentary on the First Psalm. In this catalogue the Twelve Minor Prophets, forming one book, are wanting. This must have been an accidental omission on the part of Origen or Eusebius, or in copying the latter; for Origen wrote a Commentary on the Twelve (Minor) Prophets, of which only twenty-five books were found by Eusebius. (Eccl. Hist., book vi, 36.) The Twelve Minor Prophets, in one book, would make the number of the sacred books twenty-two, and the Maccabees would not be in the canon. We might suppose that the extract of Eusebius does not correctly represent the views of Origen. But, on the other hand, Origen quotes 2 Maccabees vii as Scripture, as follows: "But that we may also, from the authority of the Scriptures, believe that these things are so, hear how in the books of the Maccabees, where the mother of seven martyrs exhorts one of her sons to endure the torments."⁴ The books

¹ In Eusebius, Eccles. Hist., liber iv, 26.

² *Apud Hebræos Ezræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur.*—Preface to his translation of Ezra and Nehemiah.

³ The name which Origen here gives the Maccabees is for the Hebrew *סַרְבֵּת סַרְבַּנֶה אֱל*, prince of the temple, prince of the children of God.

⁴ *Περί Αρχων*, liber ii, cap. i, from the Latin version of Rufinus.

of Maccabees were regarded with great favour by some of the most eminent of the earlier fathers, doubtless because they encouraged the spirit of martyrdom.

The catalogue of Hilary,¹ Bishop of Poitiers, in France, is the same as that of Origen, except that it includes the Twelve Minor Prophets, and omits the Maccabees altogether; but he remarks, "Some add Tobias and Judith." He gives twenty books in all, excluding every Apocryphal book except the Epistle of Jeremiah. Athanasius († A. D. 373) gives us a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, in which he rejects from the canon the Book of Esther, and adds to it, with the Lamentations, the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah.² Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem († A. D. 386), states that the number of the books of the Old Testament is twenty-two. His canonical books are the same as ours, except that he adds to Jeremiah, with the Lamentations, the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah.³

Gregory Nazianzen († about A. D. 390) omits from his catalogue the Book of Esther, observing, however, that some add this to the other books of the canon; otherwise his catalogue does not differ from ours, as his First and Second Ezra are doubtless Ezra and Nehemiah; and his Chronicles are, no doubt, our two Books of Chronicles.⁴ Epiphanius, metropolitan Bishop of Cyprus († A. D. 402), one of the most learned men of his age, gives us the catalogue of the books of the Old Testament in the following order: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nave (Nun), Job, Judges, Ruth, Psalms, First and Second Chronicles, First Book of Samuel or First of Kings, Second Samuel or Second Kings, Third Book of Kings, Fourth Book of Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, The Twelve (Minor) Prophets, The Prophet Isaiah, Jeremiah with Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, First Book of Ezra, Second Book of Ezra, and Esther.⁵ We have given but one name to each book, though wherever the Hebrew name differs from the Greek Epiphanius gives both names. It will be observed that there is no apocryphal book in this list, the Second Ezra being put for Nehemiah. Nor do we miss any of our canonical books.

Of all the fathers of the earlier Church Jerome was the greatest Hebrew scholar, and the best versed in the literature of the Jews.

¹ About A. D. 365. Prologue to the Book of Psalms.

² Epistle 39, on the Feast of the Passover.

³ Catechesis iv, de Decem Dogmatibus, cap. 35.

⁴ Carminum, liber ii.

⁵ Liber de Mensuris et Ponderibus, cap. 23.

His testimony as to the canon of the Old Testament is, therefore, very valuable. In the preface to his translation of the two Books of Samuel and of the two Books of Kings he furnishes a catalogue of books of the Old Testament as arranged in the Hebrew Bible, giving both the Hebrew and the Greek or Latin name of each. He gives, first, *Jerome's catalogue.* the five Books of Moses, which he says are called *TORAH—LAW*. The second division, he says, is that of the *PROPHETS*, and he begins with Joshua the son of Nun. Next comes the Book of Judges, with that of Ruth in the same volume. The third book is that of Samuel, called First and Second of Kings with us. The fourth book is that of Kings, contained in the third and fourth volume of Kings; fifth, Isaiah; sixth, Jeremiah; seventh, Ezekiel. Then come the Twelve (Minor) Prophets. The third division, says he, contains the *Ἀγιογرافα*, (*HAGIOGRAPHA*, *Holy Writings*). The first book is Job; next, Psalms of David, in one volume; three books of Solomon, namely, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; Daniel; First and Second Chronicles; Ezra; and the ninth, Esther. "Thus the books of the ancient law," says he, "are twenty-two: five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa; although some often insert Ruth and the Lamentations in the Hagiographa, . . . and thus the books of the ancient law would be twenty-four."¹ In this catalogue are all the books that we have in our

¹ As the passage is of vast importance, we herewith give the full Latin text:—
 "Primus apud eos liber vocatur BRESITH (בראשית), quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus ELLE SMOTH (אלה שמות), qui Exodus appellatur. Tertius VAJECRA (ויקרא), id est, Leviticus. Quartus VAJEDABBER (וידבר), quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus ELLE ADDABARIM (אלה הדברים), qui Deuteronomium prænotatur. Ili sunt quinque libri Mosi, quos proprie THORATH (תורה), id est, legem appellant.

"Secundum Prophetarum ordinem faciunt; et incipiunt ab Jesu filio Nave, qui apud eos JOSUE BEN NUN (יהושע בן נון), dicitur. Deinde subtexunt SOPHITHIM (שופטים), id est, Judicum librum; et in eundem compingunt RUTH (רות), quia in diebus judicum facta narratur historia. Tertius sequitur SAMUEL (שמואל), quem nos Regnorum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus MALACHIIM (מלכים), id est, Regum, quam MALACHOTH (מלכות), id est, Regnorum dicere. Non enim multarum gentium regna describit; sed unius Israelitici populi, qui tribus duodecim continetur. Quintus ISAIAS (ישעיה). Sextus JEREMIAS (ירמיה). Septimus JEZECIEL (יהזקאל). Octavus liber duodecim Prophetarum, qui apud illos vocatur THARE ASRA (תרי עשר).

"Tertius ordo *Ἀγιογرافα* possidet; et primus liber incipit ab JOB (איוב). Secundus a David (דוד), quem quinque incisionibus, et uno Psalmorum volumine comprehendunt. Tertius est SALAMON (שלמה), tres libros habens: Proverbia, quæ illi Parabolas, id est, MASALOTH (משלות) appellant; Ecclesiasten, id est, COELETII (קהלת); Canticum canticorum, quem titulo SIR ASSIRIM (שיר השירים) prænotant. Sextus est DANIEL (דניאל). Septimus DABRE AJAMIM (דברי הימים), id est, verba dierum, quod significantius *Χρονικαὶ* totius divinæ his

present canon of the Old Testament, and no others; Nehemiah is included in Ezra, and the Lamentations are included in the prophecy of Jeremiah. Jerome remarks on this catalogue: "Whatever is outside of these must be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore Wisdom, which is commonly inscribed the 'Wisdom of Solomon,' and the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, are not in the canon. The First Book of Maccabees I have found in Hebrew. The Second Book is in Greek."¹ He observes, in his preface to Jeremiah, that "The Book of Baruch has no existence among the Hebrews, and the spurious Epistle of Jeremiah I have determined should be by no means commented upon."²

Furnished with this definite statement respecting the Hebrew canon (the same as the present Hebrew canon) at the beginning of the fifth century, and having seen the views of the most eminent of the earlier Fathers upon the same subject, we naturally turn to the celebrated Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, born four years after the ascension of Christ. As his father belonged to the family of the priests, and as he himself was profoundly learned in the antiquities of the Jews, he possessed every facility for making himself master of the history of the Jewish canon. "For we have not," says he, "myriads of books, discordant and conflicting, but only twenty-two books, containing the history of all time, which are justly believed to be divine. Of these, five be- The Catalogue of Josephus. long to Moses, which contain both the laws and the tradition of the origin of man until his (Moses') death, a period little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes, who was king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets after Moses wrote in thirteen books the events of their own times; the remaining four books contain hymns to God and practical duties for men. From Artaxerxes down to our own time every thing has been written, but (this history) has not been deemed worthy of

toris possumus appellare. Qui liber apud nos *Παραλειπομένων*, primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus EZRAS (אזרא), [Al. Esdras], qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est. Nonus ESTHER (אסתר). Atque ita fiunt pariter veteris legis libri viginti duo; id est, Mosis quinque; Prophetarum octo: *Ἡagiographorum* novem. Quamquam nonnulli RUTH (רות) et CINTIA (קינת) inter *Ἀγέγραφα* scriptitent, et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos: *α* per hoc esse priscae legis libros viginti quattuor.

¹ Quid extra hos est, inter *ἀπόκρυφα* esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith et Tobias et Pastor, non sunt in canone. Machabæorum primum librum, Hebraicum reperi, secundus Græcus est.

² Libellum autem Baruch qui vulgo editioni Septuaginta copulatur, nec habetur apud Hebræos, et *ψευδο-επιγραφοῦν* epistolam Jeremiæ nequaquam censui disserendam.

equal confidence with our previous history on account of there not having been an exact succession of prophets."¹

These twenty-two books of Josephus (the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet) include, doubtless, after the five books of Moses, the following: The writings of the prophets, in thirteen books, viz.: Joshua; Judges and Ruth in one book; First and Second Samuel in one book; First and Second Kings in one book; First and Second Chronicles in one book; Ezra and Nehemiah in one book; Esther; Isaiah; Jeremiah, with Lamentations, in one book; Ezekiel; Daniel; Twelve Minor Prophets in one book; and Job. The four books of hymns, etc., are: Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. This list we have determined both from the twenty-two books of the Christian Fathers, and from the character of the list given by Josephus.

It will be observed that Josephus closes the canon of Scripture in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B. C. 465-425), and assigns, as the ground of the close at that period, that, after that time, there was no exact succession of prophets. It would seem, then, that no book, however excellent its doctrines or high its literary merit, was ever admitted into the Jewish canon unless it was written, or at least approved, by a prophet. Hence the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, though an excellent collection of moral precepts, and originally written in Hebrew, never had a place in the canon. That the latest books of the Old Testament canon (Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, and Malachi) were not written later, or at least only a little later, than the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, we shall show in discussing them.

From the statement of Josephus we next turn to Philo, the learned Jew of Alexandria (* about B. C. 20). This distinguished writer attempted a philosophy of religion, in which he blended the doctrines of Moses and the wisdom of the Greeks. It is interesting to inquire what books of the Old Testament he received as of divine authority.

The Catalogue of Philo. We find him speaking of those which Moses wrote.² He characterizes him as king, legislator, and high priest,

¹ Οὐ γὰρ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὁμοφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσι βιβλίοις, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνον τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὴν δίκαιως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. Καὶ τούτων πέντε μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ Μωϋσέως ἃ τοὺς τε νόμους περιέχει, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν, μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς· οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγων ἐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλείας ἀρχῆς, οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρᾶχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου παρέχουσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστewς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἡξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γένησθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν.—*Contra Arium*, liber i, 8.

² Μωϋσῆς . . . ταῖς ἑκατὶ βιβλίοις . . . συνέγραψεν.—ii. 136.

and attributes to him prophetic powers and divine inspiration.¹ In quoting a passage from Joshua, he calls it "the oracle of the merciful God."² He quotes Isaiah as one of the ancient prophets;³ likewise Jeremiah, with the remark, "as God, by the mouth of the prophet, said."⁴ In the same style he quotes Hosea.⁵ Besides these sacred writers, he cites passages from Judges, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, 1 Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and Zechariah. From the books of Moses he has from eight hundred to a thousand quotations. He also speaks of "laws and oracles uttered by inspiration through the prophets, and hymns and the other (writings) by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected."⁶ Here we have the threefold division of the Old Testament, so common among the Hebrews. There is no reason for supposing that Philo's canon differed from that of Josephus.

The next reference, in point of antiquity, to the canon of the Old Testament, occurs in the prologue to the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, of Jerusalem. In this prologue the translator states that his grandfather, Jesus, having devoted himself to the "reading of the Law, and the prophets, and the other books of the fathers,"⁷ was led to write something of his own pertaining to discipline and wisdom. In this statement we recognise the threefold division of the canon.

The translator says that he himself went into Egypt in the (*my*) thirty-eighth year, in the time of (Ptolemy) Euergetes (B.C. 246-221), and having acquired no small amount of knowledge, he translated the work of his grandfather, Jesus the son of Sirach, from the Hebrew language.⁸ And the imitations of the Hebrew language found in the Greek translation show that the original was in Hebrew. The grandfather probably wrote forty or fifty years before the translation was made. We cannot refer the original work to a period much later than B. C. 290, for Sirach praises most extravagantly the

¹ Διὰ τῆς προφητείας ὅσα μὴ λογισμῷ καταλαμβάνεται θεσπιζῇ . . . Μωσέως επιθεϊάσαντος.—ii, 163. These numbers are according to Mangey's edition.

² Λόγιον τοῦ Ἰεω θεοῦ.—i, 430.

³ i, 681.

⁴ i, 576.

⁵ i, 350.

⁶ Νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἐνσέβεια συναύθονται καὶ τελειοῦνται.—*De Vit. Cont.*, ii, 475, according to Mangey's edition.

⁷ Τὸ βίβιον καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν.

⁸ Many suppose that Euergetes II. is referred to by the translator (B. C. 145-116), as: 1 that the second Simon also, the son of Onias, is the high-priest praised by the son of Sirach—neither of which suppositions is probable, since, if a second Euergetes and a second Simon had been meant, the author would so have designated them. The second Simon died about 195 B. C. The passage in Sirach has sometimes been translated, "In the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes," which can hardly be correct. It should rather be, "In *my* thirty-eighth year."

high-priest, Simon, the son of Onias, who died at that time;¹ the language he uses shows that Simon was already dead, and the eulogy is that of an acquaintance and friend with whom he had been contemporary.

The Old Testament canon, as it existed among the Jews in the early ages of Christianity, and the traditions respecting the various books that compose it, are found in the Talmuds. The Rabbies of the Talmuds divided the canon into twenty-four books, instead of twenty-two, as given by Josephus and several of the most learned Christian Fathers, as we have already seen, though Jerome also alludes to the division into twenty-four books. "Whoever," says the Talmud, "brings more than twenty-four Holy Writings into the house (that is, into the canon), brings confusion into it."² These twenty-four books are the same as the present Hebrew canon. The first division, the תורה, (TORAH, LAW,) consisting of five books, is ascribed to Moses, with the exception of the last eight verses, which, it is said, Joshua wrote.³ Next follow the writings of the EARLIER PROPHETS: The Book of Joshua, The Book of Judges, The Book of Samuel, and The Book of Kings.⁴ In the third division we have the three Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, in one book, beginning with Hosea and ending with Malachi.⁵ The fourth division was called KETHUBIM by the Hebrews (a word meaning simply *writings*), and *Hagiographa* (Holy Writings) by the Fathers, and also by the Talmud, on the supposition that all the Kethubim were composed under the influence of the Holy Spirit.⁶ The tradition of the Talmud gives the following books in this division: Ruth, Book of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehe-miah, and Chronicles.⁷

According to an ancient Jewish tradition, found in the Talmud, a great council, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, was established at Jerusalem after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B. C. 444, and continued a period of about two hundred and fifty years, until the death of the high-priest Simon, B. C. 196.⁸ This

¹ Chap. 50.

² San., Shemot rabba, c. 41, quoted by Dr. Julius Fürst, p. 3, *Der Kanon des Alt. Test.*

³ Joshua wrote his book and eight verses which are in the Law Raba Batra.—Fürst, page 9.

⁴ Fürst, pp. 10-11.

⁵ See Fürst on the Canon nach den überlief. in Talmud and Midrasch.

⁶ See Fürst, p. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸ See in Talmud Baba Batra, and Fürst, pp. 21-23.

great council had charge of the sacred books of the Old Testament, and the introduction of new ones into the canon when prophecy had ceased would have been a matter of great difficulty. In 2 Maccabees it is stated "that Nehemiah, having founded a library, collected together those things pertaining to the kings and the prophets, and those concerning David and the epistles of the kings concerning offerings."¹

CHAPTER III.

THE HEBREW AND ITS COGNATE TONGUES.

THE Old Testament is written in Hebrew, with the exception of about three fifths of the book of Daniel and one third of the book of Ezra, which are written in Chaldee. Also in Jeremiah we have a single verse in Chaldee (x, 11). Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites when Abraham sojourned among them, ^{The Hebrew language in Canaan.} from whom he learned it. His vernacular in Mesopotamia was Aramæan.² His descendants carried the Hebrew with them into Egypt, and brought it back to Palestine with them. It was their vernacular until some centuries after the Babylonian captivity, when it was wholly supplanted by the Chaldee, which came gradually into use from the time of the captivity. It is impossible to tell exactly how long before the advent of Christ the Chaldee, in use in his time, had become the prevailing tongue.

It is evident that the people of Canaan spoke the Hebrew language, from the names of several places; for example, כְּפָר, קִרְיַת כָּפֶר, *city of books*; מֶלֶךְ-צֶדֶק, *king of righteousness*. It is called (Isaiah xix, 18) *the language of Canaan*; and after the ten tribes were carried away captive by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, it is called יְהוּדִית, *Jews' language*. The name Hebrew (עִבְרִי) is given to Abraham (Gen. xiv, 13), and Hebrews (עִבְרִיִּים) to his descendants through Jacob (Exod. ix, 1). Some regard this name as derived from עֵבֶר, *beyond the river* (Euphrates), *the man from beyond the river*, ὁ περὰ τῆς

¹ Καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην, επισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βουλευτῶν, περὶ ἀνθεμάτων.—ii, 13.

² This is evident from Gen. xxxi, 47, where the name of the heap of stones called גַּלְעָד (*Galeed*) by Jacob, is named יֶגֶר סַחַדְוּתָהּ (Yegar Sahadutha) by Laban the Syrian, which is Aramæan.

Septuagint.¹ But in the Bible the name seems to be derived from עֶבֶר (*Eber*), one of the ancestors of Abraham. Gen. x, 21; Num xxiv, 24. From the Hebrew people the name of the language itself is derived.

The Hebrew is a branch of a family of languages generally called *Semitic*, from Shem, the ancestor of the peoples using them. This family embraces, besides the Hebrew, the Punic, spoken by the Phœnicians and their colonies; the Aramæan, spoken in Aram of the Semitic (Syria and Assyria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia) in two languages.

dialects, the Syriac in the north and the Chaldee in the south; the Arabic, spoken originally in Northern Arabia, and the Himyaritic in the south; and the Æthiopic in Abyssinia. To these branches of the Semitic family must be added the cuneiform inscriptions on the monuments of Assyria and Babylonia.

The Punic language, which differs but little from the Hebrew—as might be expected from Phœnicia lying on the borders of Canaan—exists, with the exception of a few passages in Plautus, only on monuments. Nearly all these inscriptions were made between B. C. 100 and about A. D. 200.² The inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, discovered near Sidon in 1855, is the oldest known Phœnician writing, and is referred by Wuttke to about the year 1000 B. C.³ Others, however, make it three or four centuries later.

Northern Aramæan, or Syriac, first becomes known to us in the Syriac translation of the Bible in the second century, and in the various writings of the Christians extending from the second century to the thirteenth. Its most flourishing period was from the fourth to the tenth century, during which time the Syriac literature, embracing nearly all departments of knowledge, was especially rich in works on theology, and particularly in Oriental and ecclesiastical history. The works of Aristotle and other Greek authors were translated into it.⁴ It was spoken through the whole country bounded on the west by the Mediterranean sea, on the north and north-west by the Taurus mountains, on the east by the river Tigris, and on the south by Palestine and Arabia. Its most flourishing seat was Edessa. A corrupt form of Syriac is still spoken by the Nestorian Christians of Oroomiah, Persia, and Koordistan.⁵

¹ Ewald (Ausf. Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache, 8te ausg., p. 20) regards this view as altogether uncertain.

² Gesenius, Monumenta Phœnicia, liber primus.

³ Die Entstehung der Schrift, u. s. w., 1 band. Leipzig, 1872.

⁴ Uhlemann, Introduction to his Syriac Grammar.

⁵ See A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language as spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and Koordistan, by Rev. D. T. Stoddard, New Haven, Conn., 1855.

The southern Aramæan, or Chaldee, is first found in the Books of Daniel and Ezra, and is the language of the Targums. It was spoken by the Jews in Palestine in the time of Christ. The Arabic is the richest, the most flexible, the most difficult, and the most widely diffused of all the Semitic tongues. It was first spoken in northern Arabia, but does not appear as a written language until four or five centuries after Christ. The Koran, written in the Koreish dialect, spread the Arabic language far and wide with the conquests of Mohammed in the seventh century, and with the subsequent progress of his system. The Arabic is the spoken or sacred language of a population of over sixty millions in northern, and a portion of middle, Africa, and in western, and a part of southern, Asia. The Himyaritic language was spoken in southern Arabia before the time of Christ, and even in the fourteenth century it had not died out in Yemen. The Ethiopic, a branch of the Himyaritic, simpler in its structure than the Arabic, and more closely allied to the Hebrew, continued in general use in Abyssinia as a written language until the end of the sixteenth century, when it was supplanted by the Tigre and Amharic dialects. Besides the translation of the Bible in Ethiopic, there are found, in this language, in European libraries (especially in London), the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the fourth Book of Ezra, besides many other unprinted works, as the spoils of the expedition against King Theodore.

The Semitic languages have several peculiar features. The verb stems almost invariably consist of three consonants with their vowels, as: קָטַל (*qatal*), *he killed*. The modification of this primitive form, by prefixing *nun* (נ), gives it a reflexive, reciprocal, or passive sense, as: נִקְטַל (*nīqṭal*), *to kill one's self*, etc.; by doubling the middle consonant and making certain vowel changes, the verb acquires intensive force, as: קָטַל (*qittēl*), *to massacre, to kill many*; by prefixing *hē* (ה) and modifying the stem, we obtain a causative meaning; as: הִקְטִיל (*hiqṭīl*), *to cause to kill*; by prefixing *hith* (הִיתְ), with vowel changes, we have a reflexive sense; as: הִיתְקַטַּל (*hiṭḥattēl*), *to kill one's self*, etc.

Some peculiarities of the Semitic languages.

These languages have only two tense forms, a preterit and a future, sometimes called an imperfect. The future tense is sometimes used for the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative moods, and also to express past time. Pronouns in the oblique cases are affixed to the nouns, and in the accusative to verbs. Nouns placed before other nouns that limit their meaning are said to be in the *construct* state, and very often undergo change; as: יְהוָה, *dēvār Yehovah*, (*word of Jehovah*), *dēvār*, construct from דָּבָר, *dāvār*. There are

no words compounded in part of prepositions, as in the European languages.

The Semitic languages were originally written without vowel points. In the Ethiopic, however, vowels are indicated by the modification of the consonant forms. It has been estimated that the Hebrew language, as found in the Bible, has about six thousand words, which, of course, are but a portion of its entire ancient treasures. The Arabic language contains about sixty thousand words; but the greater part of its roots are the same as those of the Hebrew, and the language often furnishes valuable aid in understanding the Hebrew. The Aramæan is more closely allied to the Hebrew than is the Arabic.

Gesenius acknowledges but *two* distinct periods in the biblical Hebrew: the first, its *golden age*, extending to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the second, the *silver age*, from the close of the exile to the times of the Maccabees, about B. C. 160.¹

The biblical Hebrew language. On the other hand, Ewald, the late distinguished Orientalist, remarks, that "the Hebrew language, until the end of the Old Testament, lived through *three* periods, into which the whole history of Israel is divided."² His divisions are as follows: 1. The period extending from some time previous to Moses to the age of the kings. 2. The period from the kings to the sixth or seventh century before Christ. 3. From the Babylonian captivity to the times of the Maccabees,³ when it was completely supplanted by the Chaldee.

The Hebrew language, Ewald holds, seems to have suffered few changes from the time of Moses until about six hundred years before Christ, because the structure of the Semitic languages is somewhat more simple, and therefore less liable to change, than that of languages of a greater development. The Hebrews were never long subjected to peoples of a foreign tongue; they lived under their own free constitution, mostly separated from other nations. Many changes in the language, however, are not perceptible to us, because it was punctuated according to a later standard.⁴ The language, as it is exhibited to us in the Pentateuch, is completely formed, and subsequent ages could make but little improvement in it. The square character, in which it is now written and printed, came gradually into use, it would seem, some time after the Babylonian captivity, and was brought home by the Jews returning from exile

¹ Roediger's Gesenius' Heb. Gram., pp. 9, 10.

² Ausf. Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprach., eighth edition, p. 23.

³ See Ewald's Ausf. Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprach., pp. 23-25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

along with the Chaldee;¹ so that about the time of Christ it had already supplanted the ancient Phœnician character. The latter, however, is found on Maccabean coins of about B. C. 143. The Samaritan characters were very similar to the Phœnician, but the present Samaritans use characters in many respects different from Phœnician.

A thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew language is very valuable to the theologian, and to the biblical critic indispensable. The knowledge of the tongue has been preserved to us in several ways: First, by tradition, handed down from generation to generation by learned Jews, who established schools of learning, and wrote lexicons, grammars, and commentaries on their language; second, by the early translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, namely: the Septuagint, Targums or Chaldee translations, the Syriac, Vulgate, and other versions; and third, by the Arabic, one of the sister tongues of the Hebrew, a living language, which confirms and illustrates our traditional knowledge of the Hebrew. Besides these sources, the analogy of languages and the study of the context often throw great light upon difficult passages.

The necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew. How the language has been preserved.

In the Middle Ages the Jews were almost exclusively the cultivators of Hebrew literature, and a Hebraist among the Christians was rare. The revival of learning in Christendom, and the powerful impulse given to the study of the Holy Scriptures by the Reformation, was felt in Hebrew philology.

John Reuchlin, Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt († 1522), was the father of Hebrew philology among Christians. In the first part of the seventeenth century the labours of the two Buxtorfs, father and son, Professors of Hebrew in Basel, in Hebrew grammar, lexicography, and cognate subjects, form an epoch in the history of the cultivation of the language. In the same century we have in England the great Hebraists, Lightfoot, Walton, Castell, Pococke, and Hyde. In the first half of the eighteenth century Albert Schultens employed his profound knowledge of Arabic in illustrating the Hebrew; and since his time Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, in discussing the principles of the language, avail themselves of the light afforded by the sister tongues. In the same century we have, in Hebrew philology, the distinguished names of John Henry Michaelis and John David Michaelis, Simonis, and Dathe. In the present century the study of Hebrew has re-

¹ Origen, Jerome, and the Talmudists affirm this.

² The author brought home from Nablûs the present Samaritan alphabet.

ceived a new impulse through the labours of Gesenius, Ewald, Fürst, Hupfeld, Rosenmüller, Winer, Roediger, Lee, and others. In the United States the language has been especially cultivated by Stuart, Bush, Nordheimer, and Green. Nearly all the men who have been distinguished as Hebrew scholars were skilled in most of its cognate tongues. For acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew the grammars of Gesenius (edited by Roediger, and translated into English by Conant), Nordheimer, Ewald, and Green, and the lexicons of Gesenius (translated by Robinson) and Fürst (translated into English by Davidson) are the best. Gesenius, as a lexicographer, has no superior. "He had," says Dr. Robinson, "the persevering industry of the Germans and the common sense of the English."

In Fürst's lexicon the accented syllable is marked, and such frequent references are made to the explanations of the ancient Rabbies as might be expected from one who was a Rabbi himself. The Concordance of the Hebrew and the Chaldee words of the Books of the Old Testament by Julius Fürst,¹ is of great value to the student of Hebrew, and is not only a Concordance, but, to a great extent, a lexicon also.

For the study of Chaldee, Winer's Grammar of the Chaldee Language contained in the Bible and in the Targums, translated into English by Professor Hackett, is the best. The Hebrew lexicons contain the biblical Chaldee; and for the Targums, the lexicon of Rabbi J. Levy is preferable to any other.² The definitions are given in German, and the words are arranged alphabetically. Also, for the biblical Chaldee, and for the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, the work of Samuel David Luzzatto, of Trieste, is valuable.

The Chaldee, Talmudical, and Rabbinical Lexicon of John Buxtorf extends over the Targums, the Talmuds, and the writings of the ancient Rabbies in general. It was the product of thirty years' labor, and contains two thousand six hundred and seventy-eight columns, (two columns to the folio page,) and was published at Basel in 1640. The definitions are in Latin. It is a great storehouse of Hebrew learning, and is indispensable to the student of the ancient Jewish writings. With all its great merits, however, it has some serious defects. The words are not arranged alphabetically, but placed under the roots from which they are supposed to be derived. The

¹The Latin title is, *Librorum Sacrorum Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ*, etc. It is printed on fine paper with clear type. Leipzig, 1840.

²Its title is, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grosser Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867, 1868.

proper names are wanting. A reprint of the work was undertaken at Leipzig in 1866 by the Jew Fisher, and published, with additions, in 1875, in 2 vols., 4to.

For the students of Syriac, the grammar of Uhlemann, translated from the German by Enoch Hutchinson, with exercises in Syriac grammar, a chrestomathy, and brief lexicon, ^{Helps for the study of Syriac and Arabic.} will be found to be all that is desired. The lexicon of Edmund Castell, with additions by Michaelis, in two parts, quarto, Göttingen, 1788, is the best general Syriac lexicon. For the Peshito New Testament, Schaaf's Lexicon, published at Leyden in 1709, quarto, is the best. A small lexicon to the Peshito New Testament is published by Samuel Bagster, London. To meet a felt want, the preparation of a "Thesaurus Syriacus" has been undertaken by Bernstein and others, the first volume of which, folio, was published at Oxford in 1879, edited by R. P. Smith.

For the acquisition of Arabic, one of the best grammars is Caspari's, translated into English, with additions, by W. Wright. Ewald has also published a valuable Arabic grammar in Latin. The Arabic grammar of Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, second edition, 1831, stands very high. The Arabic-English lexicon of E. W. Lane, when completed, will be the best lexicon, at least for English students. Freitag's Arabic-Latin lexicon, in four volumes (of which there is an abridgment in one volume), is the best yet published. The Arabic-English and English-Arabic lexicon of Joseph Catagago, bound in one volume, is too meagre in the Arabic-English part to meet the wants of students.

For the Ethiopic language we have the grammar and the lexicon of Job Ludolf, first published in 1661, and the recently published grammar, chrestomathy, and lexicon of August Dillmann.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONDITION OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
—HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.

IT may seem strange that while we have Greek manuscripts of the New Testament fifteen hundred years old,¹ the most ancient manuscripts of the Old Testament extant are scarcely a thousand years old, and are few in number. The following causes may be assigned for this disparity:—

1. As the Christians made but little use of the Hebrew Bible, the number of Hebrew manuscripts in existence from the third to the tenth century was not one tenth, perhaps not one twentieth, of the number of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament; consequently the probability of their destruction was proportionately greater than that of the New Testament manuscripts.

2. The Jews have had no permanent places of abode, but have been wanderers upon the earth. This unsettled life has been unfavourable to the preservation of their sacred writings, while the convents of the Christians, existing from the early centuries of the Church to the present day, have been safe depositories of the Christian Scriptures. The convent has proved the ark for the transmission of the ancient manuscripts to us.²

3. After the pointed Hebrew text had been established by the Masorites, the Jewish rabbies destroyed those manuscripts which were not conformable to this standard. This cause has been assigned by Walton, and is not without justification.

4. The custom that existed among the Jews of burying, with distinguished teachers, their worn manuscripts.

The most ancient and valuable of the Hebrew manuscripts are the following:—

1. The manuscript that takes its name from Rabbi Aaron ben-Mose ben-Asher, who lived at Tiberias in the tenth century. This is the best and most celebrated of all the codices of the Old Testament, and is regarded both by the Karaites and

¹ Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus were written about the middle of the fourth century.

² It will be remembered that Tischendorf found his famous Codex Sinaiticus in the convent of Saint Catharine.

the rabbies as a model codex of the Old Testament Scriptures, from which the usual Masoretic text is printed. This manuscript is preserved at Berœa.

2. Codex of the Prophets, written A. D. 895, by Moses ben-Asher, an inhabitant of Tiberias, a Karaite, is preserved in the synagogue of the Karaites in Cairo.

3. Codex of the Later Prophets, of uncertain age, probably written between the seventh and the eleventh century. It wants the Masora. This manuscript is preserved in the British Museum.

4. Two very ancient manuscripts are said to exist in Syria, one in Damascus, and the other in a neighboring town, Gobar.

5. Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus, containing the later prophets, edited by Hermann Strack, Leipzig. Written, A.D. 916.

6. Several manuscripts in the collection of Kennicott, from eight hundred to a thousand years old.

7. In De Rossi's collection of manuscripts are four that probably belong to the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

8. Manuscripts preserved at Odessa. In this fine collection of Hebrew codices are some a thousand years old, and one of the whole Bible written about A. D. 1010.

Several valuable manuscripts, now lost, were once quoted by rabbies; of these the most celebrated was that of Hillel, written probably not earlier than the seventh century, as it seems to have been furnished with the Masora.¹ Sixteen manuscripts of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch, the oldest not later than the tenth century, are described by Blaney in his Oxford edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, 1790. These manuscripts have no vowel points.

A variety of readings is found in the Hebrew manuscripts, but there is substantial agreement. Those prepared for the use of the synagogue are the most correct.

In the time of Jerome (about A. D. 400) the Hebrew text was still without vowels² and critical remarks, and this was also the case at the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud, in the beginning of the sixth century. The text was punctuated, and critical remarks were made on the margin by the Masorites (traditionists, from מְסֹרֶת, *tradition*), learned Jews, principally of the school of Tiberias,

¹ See Dr. Strack's Proleg. Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, Leipzig 1873, of which we have made great use.

² The Phœnician, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic languages were anciently written *without vowels*. The Koran originally had no vowels. Even the English language has no complete vowel system, but the same vowel is differently pronounced in different words.

after the beginning of the sixth century, and completed in the seventh. The vowel system is, accordingly, that which was in use in Palestine, and is, no doubt, very accurate. So scrupulous were the Masorites that they did not venture to change the text when they had the best reason for believing it faulty, but they wrote without vowels on the margin the word that should be read, and the vowels belonging to it they gave to the word in the text. The marginal reading is called *Qeri, read*, while the text is *Kethib, written*.

The Masorites spent a great deal of labour upon the text. They computed the number of letters in each book, and gave the middle letter, the number of verses of each book, and many other particulars. The Talmudists give definite rules for the writing of manuscripts, and the most strenuous care was taken to secure the greatest accuracy in transmitting to posterity the sacred books of the Old Testament.*

But in modern times we have had no such continued labours on the text of the Old Testament as we have had on the New in the critical editions of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and, above all, of Tischendorf and Tregelles. Accordingly, the text of the Old Testament is not so definitely fixed as that of the New.

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. THE SEPTUAGINT.

NEXT in importance to the ancient Hebrew manuscripts for settling the original text are ancient versions; and when they were executed at a period far earlier than that of the oldest existing manuscript of the original they are of the highest value, for they show, in not a few cases, how the original read at the time when they were made, and they prove, by their agreement with the Hebrew, that there has been no corruption of the sacred writings. The most ancient version of the Old Testament is the *Alexandrian*, generally called the *Septuagint*, from its being claimed to be the work of seventy or seventy-two men, who, it is said, translated the Hebrew into Greek. A great deal of uncertainty rests upon the history of this version; for the oldest account respecting it appears in a document professing to be written by a Greek at the court

The Septuagint version.

* The Textus Receptus is printed from the text of the Masorites, hence it is called the Masoretic Text.

of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 285-247) in Alexandria, and addressed to Philocrates. It is generally rejected as spurious.¹

According to the statement of this writing, the celebrated Athenian Demetrius Phalereus induced the Egyptian king, Ptolemy Philadelphus, to have a Greek version made of the Jewish law books. The king, first having secured the favour of the Jews by emancipating their countrymen who were slaves in Egypt, sent to Jerusalem an embassy, in which Aristeas took a part, to request the high priest to send him suitable men, acquainted with both Hebrew and Greek, to make the translation. The high priest sent him the required men, seventy-two, six from each tribe, with a Hebrew manuscript written in letters of gold. They completed the translation in seventy-two days, on the island of Pharos. Thereupon, Demetrius called together the multitude of the Jews, and read the version in their presence and in that of the translators. The translation met with universal favour. Such is the substance of the statement of Pseudo-Aristeas, and, if the writing were not a forgery, would be satisfactory. Yet the principal points in the story are possibly true.

The next statement respecting the Septuagint is from Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew of the second century before Christ, preserved in Eusebius.² He states that the whole law was translated in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that Demetrius Phalereus especially interested himself in the matter. Some, indeed, have called in question the authority of Aristobulus, but probably without sufficient ground.

The testimony of Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, is important, on account of his locality and his learning.³ He states that Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to the high priest and king of Judea—one man holding both offices—requesting him to send to him interpreters of the law. The Jewish high priest being delighted by the request, sent to the Egyptian king men of the highest repute among the Hebrews, who, in addition to their Hebrew learning, had received a Greek training. The translators executed their work on the isle of Pharos. Philo also states, that “even to the present time, every year, a feast and an assembly of the people are held on the island of Pharos, not of Jews only, but of great multitudes of other people, who sail thither, honouring the place where the translation was made.”⁴

Josephus⁵ gives a long account of the manner in which the version

¹ Since the time of Hody, who showed the grounds of its spuriousness. He died in 1706.

² *Præp. Evan.*, xiii, 12.

³ *Vita Mosis*, liber ii, 5-7.

⁴ He was born about 20 B. C.

⁵ Born A. D. 37.

The opinions of Philo, Josephus, and others on the Septuagint.

was made, agreeing in the main facts with the preceding statements.¹ This translation was of only the Five Books of Moses; and Josephus expressly states, that "those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters gave him (the king) only the Books of the Law."² From a statement of Aristobulus, it would appear that some part of the law had been previously translated. It is to be regretted that what professes to be a contemporary account of the origin of the Greek version of the law has no good claim to genuineness; yet the very fact that Philo and Josephus follow it, shows that the writing of Aristeas must contain the principal facts; nor could a forged writing have changed the existing tradition. Its object was to give it definiteness and authority.

That the work was executed by seventy-two Jews may be correct, though it seems improbable that such a large number should be found either in Palestine or Egypt well skilled both in Hebrew and Greek. The translators may have been Egyptian Jews, but we have no proof that they really were; for, though they were Palestinians, they might have consulted their brethren of Egypt, who would be supposed to be better acquainted with Greek; and in this way it may be explained that they translated *thumim* (תָּמִים) by *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*, the name given by the Egyptians to the image worn by the Egyptian high priest. De Wette³ rejects the account of the translation having been made through the efforts of Ptolemy, and attributes it to the Jews of Egypt, who wished to meet their own wants—a view which, though probable enough in itself, we cannot accept, because it lacks historical evidence.

The translation of the Five Books of Moses was made, it would seem, about B. C. 285, and the other books followed in the next century and a half. The whole was completed, most probably, before B. C. 130, as the grandson of Jesus Sirach, in the Prologue to his translation of the Wisdom of Sirach, apologizes for any defects that his version of the Hebrew into Greek may contain, by remarking "that the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no little difference when read in their own language."

A. CHARACTER OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

The Greek of this version is the *Common Dialect* that prevailed from the time of Alexander the Great. Executed at different times, and by various authors, it exhibits different degrees of fidelity to the

¹ See Antiq., liber xii, cap. 2.

² See the preface to his Antiquities.

³ Einleitung, p. 94

original.¹ The Pentateuch is the most faithfully translated, especial care being devoted to it on account of the importance of the books. The translation of Isaiah and of the Psalms is but indifferently done, while that of Daniel was so bad that the early Church substituted the translation of Theodotion for it. At the end of the Books of Daniel, Esther, Job, and Psalms, additions are made to the Hebrew text.

The Septuagint had great authority in the early Christian Church, and some of the Fathers regarded it as inspired. Among the Jews, too, its authority about the beginning of the Christian era was great. Philo uses it alone, and Josephus makes The Septuagint version in the early Church. more use of it than he does of the Hebrew text. "In the synagogues of the Alexandrian, and especially of the Hellenistic, Jews," says Bleek, "the sacred books were read almost exclusively for a very long time in this translation, and explained according to it."²

Its authority and use at the time of Christ are shown from the frequent quoting of it by the New Testament writers.³ But few of the Fathers were acquainted with Hebrew, and great use was made of the Septuagint, upon which they mainly depended for their knowledge of the Old Testament. To this version they appealed in their controversies with the Jews; and on this ground it gradually lost authority with the latter, and began to be suspected as early as the second century.⁴

The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament are bound up with this version, which fact led some of the early fathers to quote some of them as Canonical Scripture.

B. THE TEXT OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

It is to be regretted that the text of the Septuagint is still in an unsettled state. We have had no very critical edition of it—a work greatly needed. Different Greek versions made subsequently have

¹ For difference of authors compare $\text{דָּוִד וְשִׁמְשׁוֹן}$, preserved as $\phi\omega\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\lambda\mu$ in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Joshua with $\alpha\lambda\lambda\delta\phi\omega\lambda\omega\iota$ as translated in the other books. פָּדָה translated $\phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa$ throughout Chronicles; in the other books $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$.

Einleitung, p. 772.

² It is well known that the apostles and evangelists do not always quote exactly from the Old Testament, but often write according to the sense of the Hebrew or of the Septuagint. In 1 Peter iv, 18, "If the righteous scarcely be saved," etc., we have in the Septuagint the exact language of Prov. xi, 31.

³ See Justin's Dial. cum Tryphone, c. 68, 71. In Megillath Taanith it is said that darkness came over the world for three days when the version was made.

been more or less mixed with it. Of these versions, the most important are the following:—

1. That of Aquila, who, according to Irenæus¹ and others, was a Jewish proselyte (that is, a convert from Heathenism to Judaism), born in Pontus, most probably in the first part of the second century. This version, made for the Jews, who preferred it to the Septuagint, was remarkably literal,² so that it not unfrequently gave an obscure rendering.

2. The version of Theodotion, who, according to Irenæus, was a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus, living about the middle of the second century. It appears to have been a revised edition of the Septuagint, as it took a middle course between the Septuagint and the version of Aquila. The Greek version of Daniel used by the early Christians was that of Theodotion.

3. The version of Symmachus, who was a Jew, possibly an Ebionite, living about A. D. 200. This version was not so literal as those of Aquila and Theodotion, on account of which it was praised by Jerome.

Besides these versions, fragments of three other Greek translations were used by Origen in his work on the Scriptures, and marked fifth, sixth, and seventh, according to their position, the work of unknown authors.

As the Septuagint had become greatly corrupted, either through the carelessness of copyists or the daring spirit of those who either added to, or took from, the text, to correct it according to their fancies,³ Origen, the greatest scholar of his age, undertook the task of comparing the different Greek versions with the original Hebrew, in columns, by the following method. He placed in the first column the original text in Hebrew characters; in the second, the Hebrew text with Greek letters, giving the pronunciation of the Hebrew; in the third, the text of Aquila, as being next to the Hebrew in accuracy; in the fourth, that of Symmachus; in the fifth, the text of the Septuagint; and in the sixth, that of Theodotion. The work being arranged, for the most part, in six columns, it was called Hexapla (*ἑξαπλᾶ*). In some parts the fragments of three other versions were

used, when, properly speaking, nine columns were formed.

The Hexapla. Origen corrected the text of the Septuagint by means of the other versions, principally, however, by means of Theodotion,

¹Ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἑφῆσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι οὐδαὶοι παρ' ἡλυντοί.—*Adver. Hæreses*, iii, 21.

² Take this as an example: ἐν κεφαλᾷ ἐκτίσεν ὁ θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τῇ γῇ.—Gen. i, 1.

³ See Com. in Matt., tom. xv, 14, opp. iii.

inserting from this version what was wanting, marking the insertion with an asterisk and the name of the source, and allowing what was not in the Hebrew to stand, but designating it with an obelus. This great work was, most likely, never completed. Fifty years after the death of Origen it was brought by Eusebius and Pamphilus from its obscurity into the library of Pamphilus, at Cæsarea in Palestine, where Jerome found it and made use of it. Afterwards it is not mentioned, and it has been supposed that it perished when the Arabs captured and destroyed Cæsarea, A. D. 653. Of this great work we have only some fragments remaining, which are printed in the editions of Origen. It has been disputed whether the *Hexapla* and the *Tetrapla* are different names for the same work. But, according to Eusebius and Epiphanius, the *Tetrapla* contained simply the four principal versions—Septuagint, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus—in four columns; and, according to some, Origen had executed it as a special work, a synoptical edition of the four translations.¹

As the course pursued by Origen in supplementing the defects of the Greek text by passages from the version of Theodotion had led to new corruptions, through a careless use of his work, we find that at the close of the third century Lucian, presbyter at Antioch, and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook the revision of the Septuagint. Each made a special recension, which circulated in his own territory. Thus, as Jerome informs us,² there were three conflicting texts of the Septuagint—that of Hesychius, in Egypt; that of Lucian, in use from Constantinople to Antioch; and the Palestinian Codices, elaborated by Origen, circulating in the intermediate province. Our existing manuscripts of the Septuagint exhibit this confusion, and it is difficult to say to which of the texts or recensions existing in the time of Jerome our two oldest manuscripts of the Septuagint the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Alexandrinus, are to be referred.³ Under these circumstances the criticism of the Septuagint is a difficult task. Bleek, however, believes that the form of the two different texts presented by the Vatican and Alexandrian Codices extends back beyond the time of Origen into the apostolic age.⁴

¹ See Jerome's Preface to Chronicles.

² Preface to Chronicles.

³ The Codex Vaticanus belongs to the middle of the fourth century, and the Codex Alexandrinus to the last part of the fifth century. The Codex Sinaiticus, belonging to the middle of the fourth century, contains only about twenty books of the Old Testament.

⁴ *Einleitung*, p. 787.

C. EDITIONS OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

The following are the most important editions of the Septuagint:—

I. The Roman edition, published in 1587, folio, under the authority of Pope Sixtus V. It was the joint work of several learned men, who were engaged upon it nine years. It was based upon the text of the Vatican Codex, the chasms in which were filled up from two other manuscripts of less ancient date. The Vatican text is not, indeed, always followed, but its orthography is changed into the usual Greek forms, and the editors have sought to improve what they regarded as faulty in the manuscript without always indicating their deviation from it. Besides the text, the most remarkable readings have been introduced from many other manuscripts, especially from the Medicean, at Florence.¹

Upon this edition the following are based:—

1. The London Polyglott, 1657, with various readings from the Alexandrian Codex and from other manuscripts.

2. The edition of Lambert Bos, Franeker, 1709, with prolegomena concerning the history and criticism of the Septuagint. Under the text stand Greek scholia from the Roman edition, and various readings from the London Polyglott. The text is not everywhere that of the Roman edition, although Bos assures us that it is.

3. The edition of John Reineccius, Leipzig, 1730, second edition, 1757. The Roman text is accompanied by the most important variations of the Alexandrian and other manuscripts.

4. The edition of Leander Van Ess, Leipzig, 1824, a copy of the Roman text.

5. That of Constantine Tischendorf, two volumes. Leipzig, 1850, fourth edition, 1869. This is a copy of the Vatican text, with the various readings of the Alexandrian Codex, as well as those of Ephraem, and of Frederico-Augustanus. This favorite edition contains rich prolegomena, and at the end the Book of Daniel, according to the Septuagint.

II. The edition of the Septuagint, by John Ernst Grabe, Oxford, 1707-1720, four volumes, folio. This generally follows the Alexandrian Codex. Grabe himself, who died in 1711, published only the first and fourth volumes. The two intermediate volumes did not appear until after his death. The second was published by Francis Lee, and the third by an unknown editor, from the materials left by Grabe. The editor does not follow the Alexandrian text exclu-

¹ Bleek. *Einleitung*, p. 788.

sively, but adopts the readings of other manuscripts of the Septuagint where he regards them as more correct, and, like Origen, he generally supplies the omissions of the Septuagint from other translations. The text of Grabe was printed by John J. Breiteringer, (Professor at Zürich,) 1730-1732, in four volumes, folio, with the removal, however, of the typographical errors, and with the introduction into the text of the changes considered necessary by Grabe in his prolegomena. In all these editions the translation of the canonical Book of Daniel is given according to Theodotion; of the Alexandrian translation of the book but a single codex is known, namely, that in the library of Cardinal Chigi, at Rome.

For the criticism of the text of the Septuagint, rich materials are contained in an edition of this version which was published in five volumes, folio, in single parts, at Oxford, 1798-1827. The work was undertaken by Robert Holmes, Professor of Theology in Oxford, who, at the time of his death, in 1805, had published only the first part, containing the Pentateuch. The four remaining volumes were published after the death of Holmes by James Parsons. The fourth volume contained the book of Daniel both according to Theodotion and the LXX. The text of the work is the Sixtine. Under the text stand readings from many manuscripts, collated from ancient writers and from the ancient translations of the Septuagint.

The remainder of the ancient Greek translations, excluding the Septuagint, preserved to us, partly in the citations of the Church Fathers, partly in the ancient manuscripts of the LXX, and partly in the translations of some of the books, especially the Syrian, which flowed from the Hexapla, have been published at different times. We may especially mention Montfaucon's edition, *Hexaplorum Origenis Quae Supersunt*, etc., two vols., folio, Paris, 1713. Frederick Field has also undertaken a new edition of Origen's Hexapla. The work is entitled, *Otium Norvicense, sive tentamen de reliquiis Aquilæ, Symmachi, Theodotionis, e lingua Syriaca in Græcam convertendis*, Oxford, 1864. There also appeared at Oxford, in 1867, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt; sive veterum interpretum Græcorum in totum Vet. Test. fragmenta*. This work is not yet completed. The remainder of the Hexapla is also found in the edition of Origen's works, by Migne, Paris.

Of the Greek translations of the Old Testament there are several Concordances and Lexicons.

1. The oldest is that of Conrad Kircher: *Concordantiæ V. T. Græcæ Ebraeis vocibus respondentēs πολύχρηστοι*. Frankfort, 1607, folio. This work is properly a Hebrew-Greek Concordance. The Hebrew words are arranged alphabetically,

Septuagint—
edit. of Holmes
and Parsons.

Concordance

and under them are placed the words employed by the Septuagint to express them. At the end is an alphabetical index. The passages are also indicated where each of the Greek words is found in the Apocrypha.

2. The work of Abraham Trommius: *Concordantiæ Græcæ versionis LXX*, etc. Utrecht, 1718. Two vols. folio.

3. That of John Chr. Biel: *Nov. Thesaur. Phil. Sive Lexicon in LXX, et alios interpretes et Scriptores Apoc. V. T.* Haag, 1779-1780. Three vols., edited by Mutzenbrecher.

4. The Concordance of John Fried. Schleusner: *Nov. Thesaur. Phil. Crit. Sive Lexicon in LXX.* Leipzig, 1820-1821. Five vols. This work, though the best, has great defects, and in no way meets the wants of our times.

5. Böckel, who died in 1854, commenced: *Nova Clavis in Græcos V. T., Interpretes*, etc.¹

6. On the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament there appeared at Leipzig, in 1853, a work by Christ. Abr. Wahl, entitled: *Clavis librorum Vet. Test. apocryphorum philologica.*

2. THE TARGUMS.

1. TARGUMS OF ONKELOS AND JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.—Next to the Septuagint, in point of antiquity, are the Targums² (Chaldee translations) on the Pentateuch and on the Prophets; that on the former by Onkelos, and that on the latter by Jonathan Ben Uzziel. It is to be regretted that our information respecting the authors of these translations is so meagre and uncertain.

According to the Talmud,³ Onkelos was a proselyte, a contemporary of the elder Gamaliel, the instructor of St. Paul. The ancient book of Sohar makes him a disciple of Hillel and Schammai.⁴ He lived, accordingly, about the time of Christ or a little before. There is no good reason for questioning the antiquity of this Targum. It is reasonable to suppose that the books of Moses would first be translated into Chaldee, the language that prevailed in Palestine at the time of Christ. Mention is made of a written (Chaldee) translation of the book of Job, belonging to the middle of the first century,⁵ and also of far older Targums, which would imply the greater antiquity

¹ Bleek, *Einleitung*, pp. 787-792.

² תרגומי, from תרגם, *translations*, from which we have *dragoman*, an interpreter.

³ Megilla, f. 3, c. 1. Tosiphta Schabb., c. 8.

⁴ Ad Levit., xviii, 4.

⁵ Tosefta Sabb., c. 14, etc., in Dr. Zunz's *Gottesd. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 62

of Onkelos. The Targum of Onkelos is a plain, intelligible, and generally very faithful translation; in various passages, however, to avoid anthropomorphisms, he uses "Memra," *Word*, instead of Jehovah himself. Two passages he refers to the Messiah: Gen. xlix, 10, and Num. xxiv, 17.

Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the translator of the prophets,¹ appears to have been contemporary with Onkelos, or to have lived a little later. The rabbies relate that he was a disciple of the elder Hillel.² In another Talmudic passage,³ it is said that Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, wrote his paraphrase from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The Targum of Jonathan differs from that of Onkelos in dialect and style, and in a freer translation of the text. The passages which he translates as Messianic are numerous, and the most orthodox Christian commentator could scarcely refer more positively to the Messiah. He has been supposed, in several places, to quote Onkelos.⁴ That Jonathan explains so many passages as Messianic which were differently interpreted by the Jews of the third⁵ and subsequent centuries is a proof that his translation could not have been made as late as the third century. For the same reason it could not have been made in the second, nor, perhaps, in the latter half of the first; for the continual appeal made by the early Christians to the Messianic prophecies must have led the Jews, so far as possible, to give a different explanation of them.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, made at so early a period, when the Hebrew language was well understood, are of great value in explaining the Pentateuch and Prophets.

2. THE TARGUM OF PSEUDO-JONATHAN ON THE PENTATEUCH. —This Targum has been wrongly ascribed to the Jonathan who translated the prophets. Antiquity knows nothing of a Targum on the Pentateuch by Jonathan. The authors of the Jerusalem Talmud⁶ know nothing of a *Targum of Jerusalem*, but they speak of a *Targum of Palestine*. Writers until the end of the fourteenth century, however, very often mention the Targum of Jerusalem; and it is evident, from their quotations and the

The Targums
of Onkelos and
Jonathan.

The Targum of
Jerusalem.

¹ This includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

² Baba Bathra, f. 134, c. 1.

³ Megilla, f. 3, c. 1.

⁴ Targ. Judg. v, 26, quotes unchanged Targ. Deut. xxii, 5; Targ. 2 Kings xiv, 6 almost unchanged, Targ. Deut. xxiv, 16; Targ. Jer. xlviii, 45, 46 is similar to Targ. Num. xxi, 28, 29.

⁵ Jonathan refers Isaiah lii, 13–liii to the Messiah, which the Jews of Origen's time referred to themselves.

⁶ The Jerusalem Talmud was composed in the latter part of the fourth century

clear testimony of several writers, that it embraced the whole Pentateuch.¹ Nor does it appear to have been confined to the Pentateuch; for Dr. Zunz observes that the Targum of Jerusalem is quoted by the rabbies of the Middle Ages as containing paraphrases on the Judges, Samuel, and various prophets, from which he infers that the Jerusalem Targum contained translations of all the Books of the Old Testament.² He concludes that Pseudo-Jonathan is no other than the *Targum of Palestine* or *Targum of Jerusalem*, of which our existing Targum of Jerusalem is only a recension or abridgment. He infers, on various grounds, that it was written in the second half of the seventh century. Its language is a Palestinian dialect of Aramæan, and it must have originated in Syria or Palestine, perhaps in Cæsarea, (on account of Num. xxiv, 19.) Its most ancient title justifies this view. Its linguistic character differs widely from that of Onkelos, but it is very similar in expressions, style, and grammar to the Talmud of Jerusalem and the Targums on the Hagiographa.³

3. THE TARGUM OF JERUSALEM.—This Targum, as we have already seen, is an abridgment or recension of Pseudo-Jonathan. It consists merely of fragments of the Pentateuch.

4. TARGUMS ON THE HAGIOGRAPHIA.—Targums or paraphrases exist on all the books of the Hagiographa, with the exception of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The ground of this exception lies in the books themselves, as they were in part originally written in Chaldee.

The paraphrases of the Psalms, of Job, and of the Proverbs, which we now possess, have the same linguistic character, and must, therefore, have been written at nearly the same time and in the same country, perhaps Syria. The Targum on the Proverbs adheres quite closely to the text, while that of the other two books is more periphrastic. The Targum on Job is mentioned quite early, but that on Proverbs bears traces of a later period.

The Targum on the books of Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, departs widely from the method of a translation, and indulges in a free rhetorical style. The work was executed by one author, and belongs to a period, very probably long after that of the Talmuds. The erroneous opinion that Rabbi Joseph, the blind, who died A. D. 325, was the author of the Targums on the Hagiographa, was already refuted by authors of the thirteenth century. On Esther there are two Targums. A Targum on the Chronicles exists in two editions.

¹ Dr. Zunz, Gottesd. Vorträge, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79. ³ Dr. Zunz, p. 73.

The Targum of Onkelos was first published, with the Hebrew text, in Jarchi's Commentary, at Bologna, in 1482. Other editions followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the Bomberg Bibles, published at Venice.

In the great Rabbinical Bibles published at Basel, by Buxtorf, in 1618, 3 vols. folio, republished in 1718, the Targums of Onkelos, Jerusalem, Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and Targums on the Hagiographa, are inserted. The Targum of Onkelos was published in the Paris and London Polyglotts in 1657. A critical dissertation on the Targum of Onkelos was published in 1830 at Vienna by Sam. Dav. Luzatto. Winer published a work—*De Jonathanis in Pent. Parap. Chal. spec. I. Erl.*—in 1823. Jonathan was published with the Hebrew text, Onkel., Targ. Jerus., and Rashi's Commentary, by Asher Phorins, Venice, in 1590–1594. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan have been translated by Etheridge.

3. THE SYRIAC TRANSLATION.

This version of the Old Testament and the New, called the Peshito—*plain, literal*, on account of its fidelity to the Hebrew and Greek texts—was made, most probably, in the second century. Ephraem, the learned Syrian, who died A. D. 378, calls it "our version," and long before his time it had gained universal reception in the Syrian Church. The New Testament, it seems, was translated into Syriac about the same time as the Old. The version was already old in the time of Ephraem, for some of its expressions were obscure to him.¹

The Syriac version of the Old Testament was made from the Hebrew text. Of this there is the strongest internal evidence. The Targum of Onkelos seems to have been consulted in the translation of the Pentateuch. Certainly there is a striking resemblance between much of the Syrian Pentateuch and Onkelos. The Peshito version generally adheres closely to the Hebrew, and gives an excellent rendering of the original. Occasionally, however, it favours some of the readings of the Septuagint. It was, in all probability, executed by several Jewish Christians. It extends over the canonical books alone, and contains none of the additions to the Hebrew text found in the Septuagint. The version was first published in the Paris, and then in the London, Polyglott. The British Bible Society had an edition of the Peshito Bible published for the use of the Christians of Malabar, by Prof. Lee, who collated several manuscripts for the purpose. It appeared in London, 1823, in 4to.

¹ Comment on 1 Sam. xxiv, 4.

² Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 121.

4. THE LATIN VERSIONS.

As Christianity spread throughout portions of Italy in the first century, and in Northern Africa, where Latin was used, certainly as early as the second, it was to be expected that the Bible would at a very early period be translated into Latin. We accordingly find that a version in that language, called the *Itala*, was made about the middle of the second century.¹ It was a translation of the Old Testament from the Septuagint. In the time of Augustine many translations of the Old Testament existed, but he preferred the *Itala* to all others on account of both its close adherence to the letter and the perspicuity of its language.² It was made from the common text of the Septuagint, unaffected by the Hexapla of Origen. The great number of Latin versions producing confusion, Jerome, after revising the text of the New Testament, undertook the revision of the Latin text of the Old Testament. His revision extended to nearly all the Old Testament books. Of this work we have only the Psalter and the book of Job. The greater part of the revision perished during his life.

While Jerome abode at Bethlehem he made a Latin translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text during the years 392-405, a work of great merit. His profound knowledge of Hebrew, derived from the rabbies, his acquaintance with previous versions, and his critical judgment and carefulness, admirably fitted him for his task. He did not translate the Bible in the order of the books that compose it, but commenced with "Kings," for the reason, perhaps, that he regarded these books as the less difficult to translate. At first his work met with great opposition, as might have been expected from its many departures from the existing Latin versions; but it gradually came into use, so that in the seventh century its authority was recognized by the Western Church,³ and, under the name of *Vulgata*, (*Vulgate*,) it is still considered by the Church of Rome as a standard authority.

In the course of a few centuries, however, the version of Jerome was greatly corrupted by introducing into it passages from the Septuagint, and from the Latin translations which were in use before his

¹ Tertullian, about A. D. 220, speaks of the Latin version.

² Qui scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. . . . In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.—*De Doc. Christ.*, liber ii, cap. xi, xv. Of the *Itala* some portions are extant.

³ The Septuagint is the authority in the Greek Church.

time. Various attempts were made to improve the Vulgate. At the beginning of the ninth century Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne, made a revision of it. Also in the eleventh century Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal Nicolaus, in the twelfth century, undertook new revisions.

In 1546 the Council of Trent made the Vulgate the standard text of the Bible and declared that "in public lectures, disputations, in preaching, and in expositions, it shall be held as authentic; and that no one shall dare or presume, on any pretext whatever, to reject it."¹ As the Council had declared the Vulgate to be authoritative, it was necessary that the Council itself, or the Pope, should select one edition, or order a new edition to be prepared, which should be the standard. The Pope ordered a new revision, and in the preface to the Vulgate it is stated that Pius IV. commissioned some of the most eminent cardinals and distinguished linguists to prepare an accurate edition of the Latin Vulgate, by using the most ancient manuscripts, examining the Hebrew and Greek originals, and consulting the commentaries of the Fathers. Pius V. continued the work, but left it unfinished. Sixtus V. ordered the work, at length finished, to be printed, and when it came forth from the press it contained so many typographical errors that he determined to subject it to a new revision, but was prevented by death from executing his design. Succeeding pontiffs, on account of the shortness of their reigns, accomplished nothing, and it was reserved to Clement VIII. to complete it, in the beginning of his pontificate, in 1592.² The subsequent editions were reprints of this. The Old Testament Canon contains Baruch, Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 and 2 Maccabees, in addition to the Hebrew Canon, as determined by the Council of Trent. The Vulgate of the Old Testament, in its present form, is not a very faithful translation of the Hebrew text.

5. EGYPTIAN TRANSLATIONS.

About A. D. 200 two Egyptian versions of the Bible, which are partly still extant, were made. They were the Coptic or Memphitic, in the dialect of Lower Egypt, and the Sahidic, in the dialect of Upper Egypt. It is not certain which of these versions is the older. The Old Testament of both is based on the Septuagint.

¹ In publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.—Sess. iv, Dec: 2.

² We have translated and abridged a part of the Latin preface.

6. THE ÆTHIOPIC VERSION.

The Æthiopians, or Abyssinians, have in their sacred language (the Geez) a version of the whole Bible, made not later than the year 400. The author is unknown.¹ The Old Testament appears to have been translated chiefly from the Septuagint.

7. THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

Although Christianity was introduced into Armenia as early as the second century, the Armenians had no version of their own until Miesrob gave them an alphabet, and translated the Bible into their language in the earlier part of the fifth century. He was assisted in the work of translation by two of his disciples, Joannes Ekelensis and Josephus Palnensis, who were sent to Alexandria to acquire a better knowledge of Greek. Before this time "the Syrian version of the Bible, the authority of which was recognized in the Persian Church, had been used in Armenia, and hence an interpreter was always needed to translate into the vernacular tongue the portions of Scripture read in public worship."²

The version of the Old Testament closely follows the Septuagint, with the exception of the book of Daniel, the translation of which was made from Theodotion. The text followed is a mixed one, agreeing with none of our chief recensions. The charge that it has been interpolated from the Peshito-Syriac is unfounded; nor is it certain that it was interpolated from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century.³

8. THE GEORGIAN VERSION.

In the sixth century the Georgians, after the example of the Armenians, from whom they obtained the Scriptures, procured for themselves a translation of the Bible. The New Testament was translated from the original Greek, and the Old from the Septuagint. The authors are not known.⁴

9. THE GOTHIC VERSION.

Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths, invented for them an alphabet, and translated the Bible⁵ into their language soon after the middle of

¹ De Wette, p. 118.

² Neander, *Hist. Christian Religion and Church*, vol. ii, pp. 113, 114.

³ De Wette, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵ Fragments of this version are still extant.

the fourth century. "He is said, however, to have omitted the books of the Kings, to which the books of Samuel, also, were then reckoned, that nothing might be presented to foster the warlike spirit of the Goths."¹

10. THE SLAVONIAN VERSION.

In the latter half of the ninth century Cyril translated the Holy Scriptures into the tongue of the Slavonians.

11. ARABIC VERSIONS.

From R. Saadiah Gaon, who lived in the first half of the tenth century, we have an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch and of Isaiah, of an explanatory, paraphrastic character, in harmony with the Targums and the Rabbinical expositions.

There was a translation of the Pentateuch made by an African Jew of the thirteenth century, published by Erpenius.

12. THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, AND ITS VERSIONS.

The Samaritan Pentateuch, differing but little from that of the Jews, and being at least twenty-three or four hundred years old, is an independent witness to the integrity of the Hebrew text. Of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch there are two versions. The one which the Samaritans call *Tarjîm*, a species of Chaldee, differing, as we find, from both the Chaldee of Onkelos and the Peshito-Syriac. The high priest of the Samaritans informed me that it was made about eighteen hundred years ago.² This statement seems probable, the time coinciding very nearly with the age of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel. The spread of the Chaldee language through Palestine made all these versions necessary. The Targum of the Samaritans follows closely their Pentateuch. Onkelos may have been consulted in the translation, but it does not always agree with him.

The Samaritans have also a version of their Pentateuch in *Arabic*, made, as the high priest informed me, in the thirteenth century. It is the opinion of some that the Samaritans had a Greek version of their Pentateuch, as quotations of it, under the name τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν, in Greek, are found in some of the Fathers of the Church. But it is doubtful that such a version ever existed, and the extracts may have been simply the Samaritan readings translated into Greek.

¹ Neander's Hist. Christian Religion and Church, vol. ii, p. 126.

² See my Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1869, 1870, pp. 183-185.
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CHAPTER VI.

GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH—HISTORY OF VIEWS
RESPECTING IT—DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS—VIEWS OF THE
NEW CRITICAL SCHOOL.

THE Founder of Christianity and his disciples, in common with the Jews of that period, assume the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.¹ Philo² of Alexandria speaks of Moses as the writer of sacred books; and Josephus³ attributes to him five books, and remarks: "He (Moses) gives them (the Hebrews) the laws⁴ in a book." "All things have been written as he left them: we have added nothing to them for embellishment." The Talmudists,⁵ also, speak of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, with the exception of the last chapter. And this has been the unanimous judgment of the Jewish Church. The Fathers of the Christian Church attributed the Pentateuch to Moses. Nor does the language of Jerome imply any doubt upon this point: "Whether you regard Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, or Ezra as the restorer of the same work, I do not object."⁶ Here Jerome, like many of the other Fathers of the early Church, supposes that the books of Moses were lost in the Babylonian captivity, and restored by Ezra. He intends to express no doubt about Moses having been their original author. Occasionally the voice of a Gnostic heretic was raised against the credibility of the Pentateuch, or its Mosaic authorship.

In the eleventh century Isaac ben Salomo, a Jewish scholar, asserted that the passage in Gen. xxxvi, 31, concerning the dukes of

¹From *πέντε*, *five*, and *τεῦχος*, *a book*, ἡ πεντάτευχος. The term is as old as the first part of the third century, being used by Tertullian (*Adv. Marcionem*, i, 10), and by Origen (*In Joannem*, tom. xiii, cap. 26). The names by which the different books of the Pentateuch are called in English are taken from the Septuagint. The following are Hebrew names, with the corresponding English ones: בְּרֵאשִׁית *Berēsh'it* (In the beginning), Genesis; וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת *Ve'ellesh shemoth* (And these are the names), Exodus; וַיִּיקְרָא *Vayyikra* (And he called), Leviticus; בְּמִדְבָּר *Bemidkhar* (In the desert), Numbers; וְאֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *Ellekh haddebarim* (There are the words), Deuteronomy. The English names from the Greek are expressive, but the Hebrew are not, being generally the first words of the book.

²Vita Mosis, ii, 136.

³Contra Ap., i, 442.

⁴Liber iv 3, 3, 4.

⁵Baba Batra in Fürst, *Über den Kanon*, etc., pp. 8, 9.

⁶Sive Moysen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi sive Ezram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non renuso.—*De Perpet. Virgin. Beat. Mariæ liber*. 212.

Edom and kings of Israel, was not written until the time of Jehoshaphat. In the next century we find Aben Ezra, a learned rabbi, doubting the Mosaic authorship of a few passages in the Pentateuch, which he seemed to regard as later additions to the original ; but he expresses no doubt of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. He attributed Deut. xxxiv to Joshua. At the beginning of the Reformation Carlstadt thought the proposition that Moses was not the author of five books could be maintained ; and he assigned as a reason that nobody but a fool could believe that Moses wrote the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which gives an account of his own death. In the last half of the sixteenth century, Masius, a Roman Catholic lawyer, in his Commentary on Joshua, denied that the Pentateuch in its present form could have proceeded from Moses ; but Doubts in relation to the Pentateuch. he claimed that it is the work of Ezra, or some other inspired man. Thomas Hobbes, an English deist, about 1650, remarks, in his "Leviathan," that "the Pentateuch seems to have been written concerning Moses rather than by Moses." About the same time Isaac Peyrère asserted, on various grounds, that the Pentateuch could not be the work of Moses. He supposed that Moses kept a journal of the Exodus, of the journeyings in the desert, and of his legislation, to which journal he prefixed a history of former times, and even of the time before Adam. According to Peyrère these autographs of Moses perished, and our books are extracts made at a far later period, and not immediately from them in any case.

Spinoza, a Dutch Jew, in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, A. D. 1670, endeavoured to show that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses. He adduced, in support of his view, several single passages, and the phenomena that pervade the whole work, especially the fact that Moses is spoken of in the third person. He suspects that our Pentateuch, as well as the other historical writings of the Old Testament, in their present form, were composed by Ezra, who first wrote Deuteronomy, and then the other four books, to which he attached the former. In 1678 Richard Simon, a French critic of great learning and acuteness, published a *Critical History of the Old Testament*, in which he attributes the written composition of the laws to Moses himself. The history of his times, he supposes, Moses had written down by public annalists whom he appointed, after the custom of the Egyptians. Out of the different writings of these annalists, who worked without mutual connexion, and out of the Mosaic Law Book, our present Pentateuch was composed. In 1685 John Le Clerc attributed the Pentateuch to an Israelitish priest, who was sent back from Babylon by the Assyrian king, after the captivity of the ten tribes, to instruct the colonists in the service of Jehovah.

But in his *Commentary on Genesis*, published in 1693, he retracted his former view, and sought to vindicate for Moses the whole Pentateuch, with the exception of a few interpolations, and to refute the objections that had been made against its genuineness. He maintained the opinion that Moses composed Genesis from written documents, in which the patriarchs themselves had written the events of their lives. Not long after this Anton Van Dale, a Dutch scholar, again expressed the opinion that Ezra compiled the Pentateuch from the Law Book of Moses, and from other historical and prophetical writings.

In England, in the first half of the eighteenth century, Lord Bolingbroke attacked the whole Mosaic system with great virulence, and intimated that the Pentateuch was forged in the time of the Judges,¹ and lost during the Babylonian captivity. There were, however, but a very few genuine scholars who doubted or disputed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Carpzov, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century, in his *Introduction*, made a vigorous defence of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. John Gottfried Hasse, in a work published in 1785, took the ground that the Pentateuch had been compiled, at the time of the exile, from ancient monuments, partly Mosaic, which, however, were very much enlarged and altered. He afterward changed this view, and held the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses, which, in the lapse of time, had received only single glosses, additions, and supplements, until Ezra finally gave it the finishing touch.

John David Michaelis, professor in Göttingen, one of the ablest men and greatest scholars of his age, was of rationalistic tendencies; nevertheless, in his *Introduction*, in 1787, he defended the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch († in 1791). Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Professor at Göttingen (* in 1752, † in 1827), a man of vast erudition and great genius, was likewise a rationalist; but he defended the genuineness of the Pentateuch in his *Introduction*, which appeared in 1782. He repeated this defence in the second and third editions. "He rather turns the opponents," says Hävernicks, "into contempt and scorn, than refutes them." In his fourth edition, in 1823, he modified his views respecting the Pentateuch, but still held that the greatest part of it was written by Moses himself, especially the laws, the whole of *Leviticus*, and the whole of *Deuteronomy* to the end of chap. xxxii; that the history of the march of the Israelites was composed by contemporaries of Moses; that Genesis was compiled from old documents

Rationalistic
defense of the
Pentateuch.

¹ Leland, *View of Deist. Writers*, vol. ii, p. 375.

written before the time of Moses; and that the whole Pentateuch was collected and arranged in the interval between Joshua and Samuel, and that afterward only single glosses were added.

The deism of England and France was propagated to a large extent in Germany in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and found a powerful support in the *Wolfenbützel Fragments*, written by Reimarus, and published by Lessing in 1773 and 1777. In these writings the genuineness of the Pentateuch was violently assailed,¹ and the truth of divine revelation positively denied. These writings threw Germany into a ferment, and the attacks on the genuineness of the Pentateuch were renewed with great vigour, and, indeed, are still kept up.

With the denial of divine revelation and its accompaniments, miracles and prophecies, the genuineness of the Pentateuch could not be long admitted, for the concession would draw after it a miraculous history which no ingenuity or acuteness could explain on natural principles.² There are, however, some exceptional cases, in which the genuineness of the Pentateuch is not fully acknowledged on the part of those who have no such abhorrence of the supernatural. Fulda in 1791, Corrodi in 1792, and Nachtigal somewhat later, while denying the genuineness of the Pentateuch, attributed some portion of it to Moses.

But the most elaborate attack on the genuineness of the Pentateuch was made by Vater in 1805. He sought to show *Vater and De Wette* that it could not have been written either by Moses or in the Mosaic age: that if any thing was written by Moses or in the Mosaic age—possibly only a few fragments at most—it is not preserved in its original form. De Wette († in 1849) followed Vater in point of time, though he wrote quite independently of him, and published the first part of his Introduction in 1806. He here wholly denies the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and allows no portion of it to be older than the age of David.³

In the first part of the present century the genuineness of the

¹ See Hengstenberg, *Genuineness of Pentateuch*.

² Hence Strauss, to make way for his mythical treatment of the gospel history, denied that any one of the Gospels was written by an eyewitness of Christ's life. In his third edition of the *Life of Jesus*, he seemed disposed to abandon his objections to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, but resumed them again in his fourth edition, principally, as he confesses, because "without them one could not escape from believing the miracles of Christ." A great admission.

³ As De Wette may be considered a representative of extreme negative criticism, we shall consider his views more at large in the discussion of the genuineness of the Pentateuch.

Pentateuch was vigorously defended by Kelle, Fritzsche, Jahn, Rosenmüller, Hug, Sack, Graves, Meyer, and others.

Herbst, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, published after his death, places the final revision of the Pentateuch, from the writings of Moses and other ancient monuments, in the age of David. Bertholdt, in his Biblical Introduction, in 1813, holds that there is much in the Pentateuch which is really from Moses, and that the whole of it was collected and brought into its present form between the beginning of the reign of Saul and the end of the reign of Solomon. Volney, in 1814, published the view that the Pentateuch, in its present form, was composed of genuine Mosaic documents, and writings of a later date, by the high priest Hilkiyah, in the time of King Josiah. The four following writers have carried their doubts of, and hostility to, the Pentateuch to an extreme point: Hartmann, in his work on the Pentateuch, published in 1831, denies the existence of the art of writing in the Mosaic age, and places the beginning of written composition in the age of Samuel. Von Bohlen, in 1835, published the view that Deuteronomy is the oldest part of the Pentateuch, but that this did not appear until the time of King Josiah, and the entire Pentateuch not before the Babylonian exile. In the same year Vatke and George published their opinions of the Pentateuch, in which they both deny that Moses had any share in the composition of the work.

Gesenius, the celebrated Hebrew lexicographer and grammarian, was, during the most of his life, an advocate of the late origin of the Pentateuch; yet he seems to have finally modified his opinion, for he expresses himself thus doubtfully in the thirteenth edition of his Hebrew Grammar: "It is still a subject of critical controversy whether the Pentateuch proceeded, entire or in part, from Moses."¹ J. J. Stähelin, in his work published in 1843, refers the arrangement of the Pentateuch, in its present form, to the age of Saul, and thinks it may be the work of Samuel or of one of his disciples.

J. Astruc, a French physician and professor belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, in his anonymous work published in 1753 (Original Memoirs, which it appears that Moses used in composing the Book of Genesis), first called attention to the divine names in different portions of the book, as furnishing proof of different sources employed in its construction. Astruc supposed that there were two principal sources—an Elohim (God) document and a Jehovah (Lord) document—the elements

¹ Leipzig, 1842.

of which run through the whole. He supposed, that besides these there were ten other documents, of which single frag- Views of Astruc.ments were introduced. Astruc held that from these twelve documents Moses composed the whole of Genesis by copying them into twelve separate columns, but that through the fault of copyists some of the passages were afterward misplaced.

The views of Astruc at first attracted little notice, but the seed sown yielded, in due time, a rich harvest of hypotheses. Eichhorn conjectured, that at the basis of the Book of Genesis there lay two principal ante-Mosaic documents, an Elohist and a Jehovistic—the Elohist document embracing also the first two chapters of Exodus. He supposed that in some few instances other documents were also used. Ilgen († in 1834) asserted that Genesis is composed of seventeen independent documents, which proceeded from three different authors, a Jehovist, and a first and second Elohist.

Von Lengerke, in his investigations concerning the Pentateuch, published in 1844, recognizes as the sources of the Pen- Views of Lengerke, Ewald, Knobel, Graf, and Nöldeke.tateuch: 1. A fundamental document written in the age of Solomon; 2. A later writing, that of the supple-
 menter, composed in the first period of the Assyrian age, perhaps under Hezekiah; 3. The Deuteronomist, in the time of Josiah. Henry Ewald, the great Orientalist, in his *History of the Children of Israel until the Time of Christ* (1843–1853), gives in full his opinion of the Pentateuch. He grants the existence of writing in Egypt before the time of Moses, but attributes to Moses only a few fragments of the Pentateuch, such as the Decalogue and some short legal decisions, with a few songs, but no lengthy laws and series of laws. Knobel, in his work on the Pentateuch and Joshua, published in 1861, supposes that Moses taught his laws orally only, and left to his successors the work of developing and recording them. John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, published, in 1862, his estimate of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua.¹ In this work the author assails, principally from an arithmetical point of view, the credibility of the history in the Pentateuch, and denies its Mosaic authorship. Its publication produced a great sensation in England and in the United States, principally on account of its author's rank as bishop in the Church of England. Professor Green, of Princeton, wrote an able and scholarly reply to Colenso. In 1873 Colenso published his *Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone*, in which he further develops his opinions. What he calls the Elohist narrative, or the original story of the exodus, embracing about one fourth or one fifth of Genesis, about one third

¹ Republished in New York in 1863.

of Exodus, no part of Leviticus, about one fourth of Numbers, and only six verses of Deuteronomy, he thinks was written by Samuel. He contends that the whole of Deuteronomy, with the exception of six verses, was written by Jeremiah, and that the "priestly legislation," embracing one half of the Pentateuch, was written during the Babylonian captivity and later.

Very able vindications of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch have been put forth by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks,¹ Ranke, Drechsler, M. Baumgarten, Keil, and others.

Schrader, in his edition of De Wette's Introduction, distributes the Pentateuch among four successive writers: "the annalist," who composed his work from written sources during the first seven years of the reign of David; "the theocratic narrator," who wrote between B. C. 975 and 950; "the prophetic narrator," who combined and retouched these, B. C. 825-800; and the Deuteronomist, a man inspired of God, who wrote the last book of the Pentateuch not long before the eighteenth year of King Josiah, and edited the whole Pentateuch.

Dr. Samuel Davidson holds that the Pentateuch bears marks of having originated from an elder Elohist (who wrote in the time of Saul), a junior Elohist (about B. C. 880), and a Jehovist (in the first half of the eighth century before Christ). Besides these, there was an editor of the whole work. The Pentateuch was completed in the time of Manasseh, and the book found in the temple in the time of King Josiah (2 Kings xxii) was our Pentateuch. Dr. Davidson believes that whole chapters in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were written by Moses. The theory of Dr. Davidson is substantially the same as that of Hupfeld.

Frederick Bleek, in his Introduction to the Old Testament,² holds that the Pentateuch in its present form is not the work of Moses, although it contains a considerable number of chapters written by him; but that it is based upon an Elohist history which extended from the creation to the conquest of Canaan, written probably in the reign of Saul. The writer used the term *Elohim* exclusively until the time that God revealed himself to Moses as Jehovah (Exod. vi, 3), after which he employed the term Jehovah. Documents, some of which were written during the sojourn in Egypt, were used in the composition of the work. The author of the first four books of the Pentateuch, nearly in their present form, a Jehovist of the first part of the reign of David, made the Elohist history the basis of his own work. He did not

¹ The Pentateuch Vindicated, etc., New York, 1863.

² Edited by Kamphausen, Berlin, 1870.

always follow it, however, but incorporated into it new matter, partly from written sources and partly from tradition. This recension included only a few verses of Deuteronomy, which arose in the time of Manasseh, so that it formed a part of the Pentateuch found in the temple in the time of Josiah. The author of Deuteronomy was also the editor of the whole Pentateuch.

Fürst¹ believes the Pentateuch to be composed of various documents, some of which were ante-Mosaic, but that the most were composed in the Mosaic age, in great part by the law-giver himself; and that the *last* revision of the whole ^{Fürst's theory.} Pentateuch and Joshua was made at the end of the period of the Judges. Two writers figure in Fürst's scheme: the "narrator" and the "supplementer." He attaches but little importance to the use of the divine names in different portions of Genesis.

In 1866, Prof. K. H. Graf, of Meissen, in his discussion of The Historical Books of the Old Testament, put forth the hypothesis that the Pentateuch and the earlier prophets (Genesis-2 Kings), form one book. He supposes ^{Views of the new critical school on the Pentateuch.} that a writer, the Jehovist, about B. C. 750, revised an older historical work (the Elohist), which had been composed partly from oral and partly from written sources. This revised work of the Jehovist was an historical work rather than a law book. It contained the most of Genesis, but lacked Exodus xii, 1-28, 43-51; xxv-xxxi; xxxv-xl, the whole of Leviticus, about one half of Numbers, and Deuteronomy i-xxx.² Toward B. C. 600, this work was revised and continued by the Deuteronomist. About B. C. 450 the Pentateuch received its present form by the introduction of the laws collected and arranged by Ezra; or, rather, it received its complete form immediately after Ezra.³ He thinks that Ezekiel wrote Leviticus xviii-xxiii, xxv, xxvi. He thus divides the Elohist document (Grundschrift) of the Pentateuch. After his attention had been called to the inconsistency of this proceeding, he reconsidered the matter, and adopted the view that "The Elohist parts of Genesis are later than the Jehovistic parts."⁴

Prof. Kayser, of Strassburg, in his *Prae-Exilic Book of the Primitive History of Israel and its Enlargements*, finds, as the result of his investigations, that there was a Pentateuchal document, the Jehovist, written before the time of Amos, Hosea, and Micah, who refer to it, but know nothing of the Elohist. Nor does the Deuteronomist, who lived in the time of King Manasseh or Josiah, know any thing of the Elohist; he is acquainted with the Jehovist

¹ See his: *Geschichte der Biblischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1867.

² Pp. 111, 112.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵ Wellhausen's *Bleek*, p. 161.

only. "The Deuteronomist," he says, "was also acquainted with the Jehovistic law, Exodus xx-xxiii, xxxiv. The Elohim book arose in the time of Ezra."¹ The Jehovistic and Elohist books were united after the exile.²

Prof. J. Wellhausen, in his additions to Bleek's *Einleitung*,³ gives his views of the composition of the Pentateuch, and refers to previous discussions, in which he sets forth his views more at large. His first document is the Jehovistic Book of History (J E), formed from two sources, one of which (J) used the name Jehovah, the other (E) Elohim. This book contained only very short laws (Exodus xx-xxiii). To it was afterward united Deuteronomy, which was originally only a law book. At the same time the whole Hexateuch (which altogether lacked Leviticus) was revised from the standpoint of the Deuteronomist, least in Genesis, more in Exodus and Numbers, and most in Joshua. Beside this combination there stands independently also another historical and legal work, the Codex of the Priests. Its foundation—which appears almost pure in Genesis, but elsewhere is enlarged in the most comprehensive manner through the labour of a whole school—is the book of the four covenants (Q), a work which presents the laws in a strictly historical framework. The last editor of the Hexateuch (R) combined the previous work with the Codex of the Priests. This Codex is later than Deuteronomy.⁴ Wellhausen manifestly considers it largely the work of Ezra.

Abram Kuenen, Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden, has, in different treatises, set forth his views of the Pentateuch. The work of Bishop Colenso, according to his confession, seems to have influenced him. He observed that those portions of the Pentateuch in which Colenso found the greatest difficulties had been considered the oldest portions of the Pentateuch. He "gradually reached the conviction that our criticism of the fundamental document (*Grundschrift* of the Pentateuch) has stopped half way."⁵

In 1869-1870, Kuenen published in Dutch his *Religion of Israel*.⁶ His standpoint is naturalistic. "For us," says he, "the Israelitish is one of those [principal] religions, nothing more, but also nothing less."⁷ "Even though it be admitted that God may now and then have suspended natural laws, no one has a right to assume for that reason that this really took place among the Israelites."⁸

¹ Strassburg, 1874. p. 196.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ Berlin, 1878.

⁴ Wellhausen's Bleek, pp. 177, 178.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁶ Translated into English by Alfred Heath May, and published in London and Edinburgh, in 3 vols., 1874-1875. Republished without change in 1882-1883.

⁷ Vol. i, p. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Kuenen, with all his skepticism, admits some facts in the Pentateuchal history. "We may not doubt," says he, "that the Exodus is an historical fact. Independently of the authority of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, it is proved by the testimony of the prophets."¹ He grants that Moses was the leader of the Israelites in Egypt and subsequently, and that he established the worship of Jehovah in Israel.

Respecting the ten commandments, Kuenen remarks: "There is no real obstacle to the supposition that they are derived from Moses: on the contrary, their contents and arrangement are entirely in accordance with the theory of their Mosaic origin."² "The tradition which ascribes them to Moses is worthy of respect on account of its undisputed antiquity." "We acknowledge as a fact that Moses in the name of Jahveh prescribed to the Israelitish tribes such a law as is contained in the ten words."³ "We are led," says he, "to place the institution of the Sabbath in the Mosaic time."⁴ He also remarks: "From the Mosaic time downward there always existed in Israel a worship of Jahveh without an image. Scarcely any tradition of Hebrew antiquity is better guaranteed than that which derives the *ark of Jahveh* from the lawgiver himself."⁵ In Kuenen's view, "Moses bequeathed no book of the law to the tribe of Israel."⁶ "It is quite certain that nearly all the laws of the Pentateuch date from much later times."⁷ "In the eighth century B. C. but few laws—and those, as we shall see further on, not even universally or in the same sense—were ascribed to Moses, and carried back to the sojourn in the desert of Sinai."⁸ "I have been led to the conviction that the priestly legislation in Exodus and Numbers was not brought to its present form until after the exile, and therefore in its entirety is younger than Deuteronomy. . . . The decrees of the priestly laws were not *made* and *invented* during or after the exile, but *drawn up*. Prior to the exile the priests had already delivered verbally what, with the modifications that had become necessary in the meantime, they afterward committed to writing."⁹ After the ten commandments, Kuenen seems to consider Exodus xxi-xxiii, which he calls the Book of the Covenant, as standing next in point of antiquity.

Kuenen divides the priestly laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch into *three* groups. The first embraces Leviticus xviii-xxiii, xxv, xxvi. To the second group belong in great part the laws in Exodus xii, xxv-xxxi, in Leviticus i-xvii, xxiv, xxvii, and most of

¹ Vol. i, p. 117.

⁴ Ibid., p. 286.

⁵ Vol. i, p. 272.

² Ibid., p. 284.

³ Ibid., p. 289.

⁸ Ibid., p. 139.

³ Ibid., p. 285.

⁶ Vol. ii, p. 7.

⁹ Vol. ii, p. 96.

the priestly documents in Numbers, both the purely legislative and the semi-historical. His third group is "usually closely united with the older documents in three central books of the Pentateuch, and cannot be separated from them without difficulty."¹ "The laws," says he, "of the first and second groups, and the historical narratives belonging to them, were written in Babylonia between the years 538 and 458 B. C."² The author of the first group of priestly laws wrote also the book of Elohistic History, the Book of Origins. Genesis i, 1-ii, 3, was, accordingly, written about the time of Ezra! It is clear that Kuenen considered the author of the Elohistic narrative the inventor of the historical incidents. Deuteronomy, he holds, is a forgery of the seventh century before Christ.³

Prof. Smend, of Basel, asserts that the priestly laws of the Pentateuch were unknown to Ezekiel, and, therefore, had no existence at the time.⁴ Prof. W. Robertson Smith, in lectures on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*,⁵ puts into a popular form the views of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen on the Pentateuch. But, at the same time, he widely differs from the naturalistic views of these men in admitting a divine revelation as the basis of the Mosaic system. In short, he endeavours to breathe into the deathly results of a rationalistic criticism the living spirit of divine revelation. After the ten commandments, Prof. Smith recognizes as most ancient Exod. xxi-xxiii, which he calls "the first legislation."⁶ But he does not seem to think that these laws were written by Moses, for he says: "Till we come to the book of Deuteronomy, we find no statement that Moses wrote down more than the ten commandments."⁷ He contends that "Deuteronomy was unknown until long after the days of Moses." "It was not known to Isaiah."⁸ But he does not believe in "the idea of some critics, that the Deuteronomic Code was a forgery of the temple priests, or of their head, the high priest Hilkiah."⁹ "It was of no consequence to Josiah—it is of equally little consequence to us—to know the exact date and authorship of the book. Its prophetic doctrine and the practical character of the scheme which it set forth—in which the new teaching and the old Torah were fused into an intelligible unity—were enough to commend it."¹⁰ He regards "the Levitical law as later than Ezekiel."¹¹ "The development of the details of the [Levitical] system falls, therefore, between the time of Ezekiel and the work of Ezra."¹² "It is for the historian to

¹ Vol. ii, p. 150.² Ibid., p. 152.³ Ibid., p. 19.⁴ Com. on Ezekiel.⁵ D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1883.⁶ Ibid., p. 316.⁷ Ibid., p. 331.⁸ Ibid., p. 354.⁹ Ibid., p. 362.¹⁰ Ibid., p. 363.¹¹ Ibid., p. 375.¹² Ibid., p. 384.

determine how far the Levitical law is mere law, of which we can say no more than that it was law for the Second Temple, and how far it is also history which can be used in describing the original sanctuary of the ark in the days of Moses."¹

The new theory has been decidedly opposed by Nöldeke, who in his work published in 1868 thinks that the laws in Leviticus and the chapter on the tabernacle were written in the ninth or tenth century before Christ; and that the principal portion of the Pentateuch belongs to the earlier kings. Riehm, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1868 and 1872, strongly opposes the new theory. Prof. Curtiss in his valuable work on *The Levitical Priests*² tests the new theory, and finds it wanting respecting the priesthood. Klostermann, in Delitzsch's *Journal of Lutheran Theology*, 1877, refutes the theory that Ezekiel wrote Leviticus xviii-xxvi. Prof. August Dillmann, of the University of Berlin, in his *Commentary on Exodus and Leviticus*, takes strong ground against the new theory, and remarks: "That the priests of the central sanctuary in ancient time wrote their laws is the most reasonable supposition in the world. . . . That the laws relating to the priesthood and divine service were not written down, or even made, until the Babylonian Captivity, is absurd (*Widersinnig*)."³ It is also opposed by Bredekamp,⁴ of Erlangen. Prof. Watts, of Belfast, in his *New Criticism*,⁵ has replied to Prof. W. Robertson Smith. Dr. Stebbins, in *A Study of the Pentateuch*, reviews and decidedly condemns Kuenen's views in his *Religion of Israel*.⁶

Prof. W. H. Green, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, published in the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review* a masterly refutation of Prof. W. Robertson Smith, which he enlarged and republished in book form, with other kindred articles.⁷ Prof. Delitzsch has written against the new theory, but makes so many concessions to it that he rather seems to favor it.⁸ "He admits that 'the Mosaic legislation had its history, and that the codification of its parts was executed successively'—yea, that the process extended over a thousand years."⁹

¹ *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 384.

² *Edinburg*, 1877. ³ *Vorwort*, Leipzig, 1880.

⁴ *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881. ⁵ *Second ed.*, 1882. ⁶ *Boston*, 1881.

⁷ *New York*, 1883.

⁸ His views are given by Joseph Cook in the *N. Y. Independent*, Sept. 15, 1881.

⁹ Prof. F. A. Gast, D.D., in the *Reformed Quarterly Review* for July, 1882. This article and the one in the previous number of the *Review* by the same author are very valuable, and give a comprehensive view of the theories respecting the Pentateuch.

CHAPTER VII.

EXAMINATION OF THE DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS.

IT is thus seen that the impugners of the Pentateuch regard it not as the work of Moses, but as a patchwork, a *mosaic*, of various documents, written at different periods by various authors. Respecting the document hypothesis, we may remark, first of all, that there is very little agreement, as we have already seen, among the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in regard to the *number* of the original documents, *when* they were composed, by *whom* and from *what* sources, and *when* the *final* revision of the whole was made. This want of unity in view is a strong proof that their theories rest upon no solid basis of facts. One feature, however, stands out prominently in nearly all their theories: they deprive Moses, as much as possible, of all connexion with the composition of the Pentateuch.

That part of the Pentateuch which the critical school, prior to Graf, with great unanimity, called *the fundamental document* (Grund-schrift)—consisting of the Elohist history in Genesis, and a large part of the history and most of the laws in the middle books—is now pronounced by Graf and his school to be the latest of all. In short, what former critics considered the foundation of the Pentateuchal edifice the new school declares to be the top. The new school, therefore, throws every thing into confusion. It affirms that, prior to Ezra, the first chapter of Genesis and the first three verses of the second had no existence, and that the history of creation began with Gen. ii, 4. In this way, there is not a single hint in Genesis that God created every thing in six days, in spite of the fact that this is affirmed in the fourth commandment, Exodus xx, 8-11, and that the Sabbath was ordained to commemorate the divine rest after the six days' work of creation. If one can believe that no Jewish historian until Ezra, a thousand years after Moses, would write an account of the six days' work of creation, and that previous to that time the account of creation begun in the following manner: "And every plant of the field before it was in the earth," etc., we do not envy him his judgment. Jeremiah quotes Gen. i, 2: "I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was without form, and void" (iv, 23). The Hebrew is exactly that of Genesis (תהו ובהו). So also in Deut-

eronomy and the earlier prophets, there are references to the Elohist history in Genesis, as we shall see.

The different names for the Divine Being—*Elohim*, *God*, *Jehovah* (properly *Jahveh*), and *Jehovah Elohim* (LORD God, Eng. Ver.)—found in different portions of the Book of Genesis furnish the original ground for the decomposition of the Mosaic writings. In the other books of the Pentateuch (with the exception of the first few chapters of Exodus) the use of the divine names furnishes no support at all for the document hypothesis. But it must be borne in mind that the hypothesis that one document, or more, entered into the composition of the Book of Genesis and into the first two chapters of Exodus, by no means militates against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. That the traditions of the Hebrew people would be written down during their sojourn in Egypt, where they came in contact with a people who were accustomed to write the annals of their kings, and to compose works on science and religion, is highly probable. Joseph, who married the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, might have compiled the annals of the Hebrews and the traditions respecting the deluge and the antediluvian world. But those annals might have been very defective, and have contained no account, or a very imperfect one, of the work of creation, the order of which none but God could know. The original document lying before Moses—for we can scarcely believe it at all probable that the Hebrews had two different documents which related the history of the world from the creation to the time of Moses—may have been used by him in the composition of Genesis. In this way we might find in Genesis a narrator (*the Elohist*), and an editor or reviser, the Jehovist (*Moses*). How far this is probably true must be determined from the phenomena exhibited in the book.

Argument
against the
document hy-
pothesis.

In the account of creation, ending with the third verse of the second chapter of Genesis, the Creator is called *Elohim* (God). After this we have an enlarged account of the creation of the first pair of the human race, the condition of the earth, the planting of Eden, the fall of man and his expulsion from Paradise, ending with the fourth chapter. In this historical sketch (with the exception of the address of the serpent to Eve, and her reply, where *Elohim* (God) is used) the name of the divine Being is *Jehovah Elohim* (Lord God, Eng. Ver.). Such phraseology is found nowhere else, either in Genesis or in any other book of the Bible.¹ At the end of the first account of creation, and immediately preceding the more special

¹ Everywhere else, if *Jehovah* God is used, it is in such form as this: *Jehovah, God of heaven*.

narrative of a part of the divine work, we have the statement: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that Jehovah God made the earth and the heavens" (Gen. ii, 4). Now the question arises,

Jehovah and
Elohim con-
sidered.

whether this verse belongs to the first narrative of creation or to the description that follows. To refer it to the latter would be unsuitable, for in this there is no consecutive account of creation, no mention at all of the making of the heavens and of the earth. There appears, therefore, a good reason for referring it to the preceding account, to which it is altogether applicable. But why was this verse (ii, 4) not placed at the very beginning of Genesis? For a very good reason; since in that case it would take away the sublimity and prominence of the declaration: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." How comparatively feeble, and almost awkward, would be such an arrangement as this: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that Jehovah God made the heavens and the earth. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Fürst refers verse ii, 4, to the preceding account of creation.¹ Further, the "and" (ו) that follows the verse forbids the reference to what follows: "And every plant of the field," etc., ver. 5.

The next question is: Why does the narrator use, in the second description, the combined names Jehovah Elohim? Evidently to show that Elohim, the general name for the divine Being, is the same Jehovah² who manifested himself to the Hebrews in Egypt, and who was in a special sense their God. We have already observed that this form of blending the two names occurs nowhere else; but very frequently we find both names used in passages which obviously were written by one author. Take as an example the Eighteenth Psalm of David, in which several divine names—Elohim, Eloah, El (God), and Jehovah (Lord)—occur without our being able to determine in most instances why one name should be preferred to the other. In some cases there is a special fitness in using one in preference to another; while in others no good reason can be assigned for discriminating between them. We ourselves often use them promiscuously.

¹ Geschichte der Bib. Liter., vol. i, p. 69, note. I refer to Fürst especially on account of his great knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, and from the fact that he is a Rationalist, and treats the Hebrew Scriptures with great freedom, and cannot be supposed to be biased in favour of any thing that may be considered orthodox.

² The name יהוה, *Jehovah*, should be written with different vowels, and pronounced *Jahveh*, the future of the verb הָוָה, (*Havah*), to be, the *Being who will be, who will always exist, the Absolute Being*. The Hebrews use the future tense to indicate what is customary, permanent. אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים, (God), are terms indicative of *might, power*.

In the very midst of the narrative of the creation and fall of man, in which *Jehovah Elohim* (Lord God) is used, we find both the serpent and the woman using *Elohim*. It would be unsuitable to put the word *Jehovah* into the mouth of the serpent, and *Elohim* is taken up from the serpent by Eve. This narrative most properly belongs to Moses, the theologian and lawgiver, and stands most intimately connected with his whole system. Nor do we think that any historian of the creation, subsequently to the time in which God revealed himself to Moses as *Jehovah*, would have omitted the use of the latter august name. Nor is there any thing strange in supposing that Moses should first give us a general con- Probability of Moses using the word Jehovah. secutive history of creation, and then a more particular description of the important parts of it, especially when the more particular account was so closely connected with the history that was to follow.

In the fourth chapter *Jehovah* (Lord) is everywhere used; except in the twenty-fifth verse, where Eve says, on the birth of Seth, "God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew." When Abel was born she said: "I have gotten a man [through the aid of] *Jehovah*." We cannot assert, with any degree of probability, why she used the one term for the divine Being instead of the other. In the fifth chapter *Elohim* (God) is used, with but one exception, where *Jehovah* occurs; and in the sixth chapter *Elohim* occurs eight times and *Jehovah* four times. In verses five, six, and seven, *Elohim* and *Jehovah* stand in the closest connexion.

The statement in chap. vi, 2, "that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose," has no reference, as some have imagined, and even Gesenius among the number, to the intercourse of angels with women. Such an idea would have been abhorrent to all the religious views of the Old Testament writers, and would require the clearest language to establish it. Nor is the phrase *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים*, *sons of God*, ever used in the Pentateuch for angels. It occurs a few times, probably in this sense, in the poetic book of Job (i, 6; ii, 1; xxxviii, 7),¹ and in a very similar form and in a similar sense in Psalm lxxxix, 6. The passages in Job are referred to the angels by the LXX. On the contrary, in Genesis xxviii, 12, where Jacob beheld in a dream the *angels of God* ascending and descending upon the ladder extending from earth to heaven, they are called by a different expression, *מַלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהִים*, *messengers of God*.² But the phrase "*sons*

¹ In this passage the article is omitted before *Elohim*.

² Also in Gen. xxxii, 1: "The angels of God met him."

of God" in Genesis vi, 2, must refer to the holy people of God upon the earth. The Targums of Onkelos, Midrash, and Symmachus, whom Fürst follows, have *sons of princes*, or *companions of distinguished ones*. The LXX adheres closely to the Hebrew—"sons of God." In Exodus iv, 22, God calls Israel his son; and in Hosea i, 10, it is said, "Ye are the sons of the living God."

In the next two chapters (vii, viii), in which we have a description of the deluge, its subsidence, Noah's leaving the ark, and his sacrifice to Jehovah, both Elohim and Jehovah are employed. In some sections of the description of the deluge only one of the divine names is found; in others, both occur: in one short section *Elohim* alone occurs, and but once; while both names are found in the sixteenth verse of chapter vii.

There are, it is true, some apparent indications of two separate accounts of the deluge, not in the use of the divine names merely, but also in the matter of the narrative itself: for we find that when *Elohim* (God) commanded Noah to build the ark, he ordered him to take into it *two* living things of each kind, the male and the female; but after the ark is built, Jehovah commands Noah to take living things into the ark, the unclean by twos, the male and his female, and the clean by *sevens*, the male and his female. And it is said of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah (verses 8, 9). Again, after enumerating different kinds of living beings, without discriminating between clean and unclean, it is added: "And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him; and Jehovah shut him in" (vii, 15, 16). We cannot suppose that the author of the Elohist portion knew nothing of the distinction between clean and unclean—though that has been asserted—for this distinction is recognised in the Elohist portion (vii, 7-9). Respecting the apparent discrepancy between the number of living things (by twos) that were ordered to be taken into the ark when the command was given to build it, and the *larger* number of clean animals (by sevens) that were directed to be taken into the ark after it was completed, it may be observed that the first command was in *general* terms, but when the ark was completed the numbers were more specifically stated. And when it is said that the living things went into the ark two and two, even in the section which closes with the name of Jehovah, it is difficult to think that there can be a real contradiction;

rather, the expression "two and two" indicates that they came in pairs, without fixing the number of pairs of each kind, or discriminating between the clean and the unclean.

There is considerable repetition in the account of the deluge, and, indeed, in other parts of the Pentateuch, which is not strange in a work of so great antiquity. In fact, repetition is characteristic of the poetry of the Hebrews, as well as of that of the ancient Egyptians, whose poetry would naturally affect a prose writer like Moses, skilled in their learning. Respecting the Egyptians, Wuttke remarks: "In poetical productions they loved the repetition of the same thought in a different form, either to make it clearer or to give it more emphasis."¹

In the subsequent parts of Genesis, Elohím is used in some sections, Jehovah in others, while in some instances the two names are inseparably connected. Some sections contain no divine name. In the last chapters of Genesis, Elohím is almost universally used. It was extremely natural, indeed, that Joseph, in his intercourse with the Egyptians, should use Elohím, as they knew not Jehovah. In some cases it is possible to assign a reason for the preference of one divine name to the other; but in other cases it is impossible.

In the first two chapters of Exodus Elohím alone is used. In the following chapter the Angel of Jehovah appears unto Moses in a burning bush, proclaims himself as "I AM THAT I AM," and commissions him to bring the Israelites out of Egypt. Here, and in the subsequent chapters, the use of Elohím and Jehovah are so interwoven in the narrative that it is absolutely impossible to separate them and assign them to different documents; and in the sixth chapter the Almighty reveals himself to Moses as JEHOVAH.

It would seem that the sacred historian, in the last chapters of Genesis and in the first two chapters of Exodus, purposely kept the name Jehovah in the background, that he might bring it forward with more power and splendour in the divine manifestations to Moses and the other Israelites, in the merciful and powerful deliverance of the chosen people from Egyptian bondage, and in the establishment of a sacred covenant with them.

When God revealed himself to Moses as JEHOVAH he said, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as *El Shadday* (God Almighty), but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them" (Exod. vi, 3). It is not to be supposed from this declaration that the name was absolutely unknown, but that its full import in redeeming power and mercy had not been known to the patriarchs, but was now about to be revealed gloriously in the redemption of Israel and in the es-

¹ Geschichte der Schrift, p. 571.

God's revelation of himself as Jehovah.

tablishment of a new covenant. The Abrahamic covenant was the revelation of *El Shadday*, not the fulness of divine mercy and goodness as exhibited in the import of the name Jehovah.¹ To the Hebrews names were of the deepest significance, and were sometimes employed to express all that existed in the object to which they are applied; especially is this the case with the Divine Names. Thus we find the Almighty declaring to the Israelites that he will send his Angel before them. "He will not pardon your transgressions, for my *name* is in him," that is, my *Godhead, Deity* (and so Gesenius), Exod. xxiii, 21. In Psalm liv, 1, we have the following: "Save me, O God, by thy *name*," that is, by the power and goodness that pertain to thy name. And we have a similar analogy in the New Testament (1 Cor. i, 21), where St. Paul says, "The world by wisdom knew not God" (Θεός). But nothing among the Greeks was more common than the name Θεός (God), yet its deep import, in the Christian sense—the attributes of the Deity, his relations to the human race, and experimental religion—were not known to the pagan world.

It is true that if the previous history of the Hebrews showed that the name Jehovah was *absolutely* unknown to the patriarchs, the revelation of it made to Moses would shine forth with more splendor, as the orb of day without a preceding twilight. But we have positive proof that the word Jehovah existed among the Hebrews previously to the Mosaic period, and analogy is against the hypothesis of its being absolutely new, for when God communicates himself to men in revelation he employs terms already in use, and gives to them a new and deeper meaning.

We are not to suppose, however, that the word Jehovah was much used before the Almighty revealed himself to Moses. But few names are found previously to this in which this one occurs. We may mention *Jochebed* (whose glory is Jehovah), the mother of Moses, and *Rephaiah* (whom Jehovah healed), the grandson of Issachar. Subsequently to the Mosaic age the word is very often found in proper names.

In the history of the Mosaic legislation the name Jehovah almost everywhere prevails, and Elohim retires into the background. In the history of Balaam, however, Elohim is frequently used, as being more suitable in describing the acts of a prophet without the pale of Israel; yet to show that it was the true God with whom Balaam had relations, Jehovah is occasionally used.

¹ We have already remarked that this name, יהוה, was in all probability pronounced *Jahveh*, the future of the verb יהה, *to be*, *The Absolute Being*, *The Eternal Divine Essence*. It is evidently a Hebrew word.

After leaving the second chapter of Exodus we can find no support whatever for the document hypothesis in the use of the Divine Names. And if unity of authorship is to be denied to the subsequent part of the Pentateuch, it must be done on wholly different grounds. So far as pertains to the Book of Genesis, the document hypothesis by no means disproves the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, since Moses in the composition of Genesis might have made use of previously written memorials of his ancestors. How far he may have done so we have no means of determining. The argument drawn from the divine names in favour of the use of documents by Moses is by no means conclusive, and, at most, would only prove that the memorials of but *one* annalist had been incorporated into the book of Genesis. But if such an ante-Mosaic history existed, what it embraced, and what its primitive form was, cannot be determined. The whole Pentateuch is uniform in its language; the archaisms are found in Deuteronomy as well as in Genesis; and in Genesis itself we can find no parts of which the phraseology belongs to an ante-Mosaic age.

It is no objection to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch that the laws of Moses are not arranged as methodically as are those of a well-digested code of a highly civilized modern State. Moses had to legislate for a people sojourning in the desert, and for them when they should enter the land of Canaan and live under altered circumstances. The laws were delivered in different parts of their journeyings, and sometimes to meet the exigencies of particular cases. History and legislation are combined; and this is what might have been expected in a work originating with Moses. Had the Pentateuch arisen subsequently to the Mosaic age, its form would have been different—the legislation pertaining to Israel in the desert would naturally have been passed over as entirely belonging to the past, or as being altogether unknown; the laws would, probably, have had a different form, resembling a well-digested code. Many incidents are recorded which would otherwise have faded away in the lapse of time.

Unmethodical arrangement of the laws no objection to Mosaic authorship.

The opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch endeavour to point out contradictions in the history, and inconsistencies in some parts of the Mosaic legislation, together with repetitions and anachronisms, as affording proof that it could not have been written by Moses. But great caution is necessary in considerations of such a nature, lest we find contradictions and inconsistencies where none exist. Nor do we see how a repetition of the same precept militates against the genuineness of the

Supposed contradictions and inconsistencies.

Pentateuch; for it is less likely that a subsequent collector or editor of the Mosaic laws would repeat a precept than that Moses himself would. And if in a few instances Moses does not observe the exact order of time in his history and legislation, how can that be inconsistent with the genuineness of the Pentateuch? We would not judge after this manner in respect to the genuineness of any other book.

Bleek thinks that Exodus vi, 2-12, in which Jehovah appears unto Moses, makes the impression that then for the *first time* God had revealed himself to Moses, when in fact he had already commissioned him to go to Pharaoh, and to bring Israel out of Egypt (Exod. iii, iv). He also holds that Exod. vi, 28-vii, 7, which describes a revelation of God to Moses, has no indication that Moses had already appeared before Pharaoh. He thinks that in the original narrative of the appearance of God to Moses, Exod. vi, 1-13 was immediately joined to Exod. ii; that Exod. vii, 1-7 perhaps immediately followed it, and that the rest was added at a later period from oral tradition or from a written document. But portions of these supposed later chapters (iii, iv, v), in which God reveals himself to Moses, and in which the Hebrew legislator appears before Pharaoh, are referred to in the subsequent history. In Exodus vii, 16, God commands Moses to say unto Pharaoh: "The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness; and, behold, hitherto thou wouldst not hear." In ch. iii, 18, God commands Moses and the elders of Israel to go unto the king of Egypt, and to "say unto him, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us: and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the Lord our God." Again, in ch. v, 1, it is stated that Moses and Aaron went in and told Pharaoh, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." It is clear that chs. iii, 18, and v, 1, are referred to in ch. vii, 16. For if we reject iii, iv, and v, there is no instance in which Moses requested Pharaoh to let Israel go to sacrifice to the Lord in the wilderness; and the clause in ch. vii, 16, "and behold, hitherto thou wouldst not hear," shows that this request had before been made. And it suits the language much better to suppose that Pharaoh had already considered the subject for some days, than that it had been presented to him only on the previous day.

Also the language, "And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: . . . and they spoiled the Egyptians" (xii, 35, 36), seems to refer to iii, 22. Certainly, it is the same phraseology.

If Exodus iii, iv, and v are rejected from the original narrative, then it contained no account of the calling of Moses to ^{Proofs of the} his great work. Such a narrative is inconceivable, for ^{call of Moses.} this was a great epoch in the history of Moses. These chapters contain an account of the proofs which God gave Moses and the children of Israel that he had sent him, and also of his arrival in Egypt from Midian. They are necessary parts of the history. When Moses and Aaron visited the children of Israel, and Aaron performed the signs before them, they believed; and when they learned that God was about to deliver them, they worshipped him (iv, 30, 31). This statement seems natural, for the Israelites, in their misery, would gladly lay hold of whatever promised them any ground of hope. But, on the contrary, when the demand made upon Pharaoh to let them go had caused their burdens to be increased (ch. v), and Moses a *second* time spoke to them of deliverance by the Lord, "they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit and cruel bondage" (vi, 9). And this is what might have been expected. Disappointed in their first hope, in the increase of their miseries they gave themselves up to despair. The whole history is consistent; and the silence in chapter vi about a previous appearance of Moses before Pharaoh can by no means negative such an appearance.

The genealogy of Moses and Aaron (Exodus vi, 14-27) has furnished ground of objection to the genuineness of the Pentateuch.¹ And it must be acknowledged that the ^{Genealogy of Moses and of Aaron.} genealogy, in its form and position, is rather peculiar. It is true, there is nothing strange in giving the names of the ancestors of Moses and Aaron, and also of those of the chief families of Levi, but especially of the sons of Aaron, whose names afterward appear in the Mosaic history in connexion with the priesthood. Nor would a catalogue of the chief Israelites be out of place in the history of the Exodus. The most peculiar and most unsuitable part of the list is found in the verses (14 and 15) beginning with the words, "These be the heads of their fathers' houses," and followed with the names of the sons of Reuben and the sons of Simeon. After this the families of Levi are given, ending with the remark: "These are that Moses and Aaron."

The sons of Reuben and Simeon stand without any additions, just as they are given in the list of the sons of Jacob who came down into Egypt (Gen. xlii, 9, 10). Not even the ages of Reuben and Simeon when they died are stated; while in the list of the ancestors of Moses and Aaron, and their relatives, and the sons of Aaron and his grandson, the ages of Levi, Kohath, and Amram, at the time of

¹ Bleek, among others, objects to the genealogy, p. 222.

their death, are given. The sons of Moses, on account of their being of little importance in the history, are not named. This list contains no one born later than the Mosaic period, and the fact that it gives the ages of several at their death shows that it must have been written down in the Mosaic time, or soon afterward. It seems not improbable that Reuben and Simeon, and their sons (in vi, 14, 15), have been interpolated from Gen. xlv, 9, 10, just as we have in Matt xxvii, 35, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots," interpolated from Psalm xxii, 18, or from John xix, 24. On this hypothesis, "These be the heads of their fathers' houses" (Exod. vi, 14) will refer to Moses and Aaron.

In Exod. xix, 22, it is said: "And let the *priests* also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves;" and also in verse 24: "Let not the *priests* and the people break through." As Aaron and his sons had not yet been consecrated to the priesthood, some have thought that those passages in which priests are mentioned are anachronisms. But are we to suppose that the Israelites had no priests before Aaron and his sons? Did they live several centuries in Egypt, among a people who had a powerful priesthood, without ever having any priests themselves? Were they wholly without religion in Egypt, no one sacrificing to Jehovah, nor making intercession for the people? Such an idea is preposterous. It has been objected that Exod. xxxiv, 23-26 is a repetition of Exod. xxiii, 17-19,¹ for each of these sections contains the command that all male Israelites should appear before Jehovah three times a year, and that the blood of the Lord's sacrifice should not be offered with leaven, "neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." But the precepts of the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus were delivered when Moses went up to God in Repetition for emphasis.

Mount Sinai a *second* time, to have renewed the tables of stone which he had broken; and under these circumstances some of the precepts found in Exod. xxiii—which God delivered to Moses when he *first* went up to Mount Sinai—are repeated for emphasis.

In Exod. xxiii, 9, the precept, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt," is a repetition of Exod. xxii, 21. But in both cases this precept stands connected with other benevolent precepts of a different character; and its being twice given shows the stress that

¹ By Bleek, pp. 218, 219.

was laid upon it. The twentieth chapter of Leviticus has been regarded as scarcely anything more than a repetition of the eighteenth of Leviticus; but there is this important difference, that, while the latter chapter merely sets forth the things prohibited, the former contains *the penalties* annexed to the crimes.

In Numbers chapter xi there is an account of the sending of quails to the Israelites, which were to last them a whole month. As no mention is made that they were before sent, Bleek¹ thinks that the sending of these birds as stated in Exodus xvi never occurred, but that the real event in Numbers xi had been erroneously supposed to have occurred at the same time that manna was first given. But the argument from silence is very delusive. Nor is there any thing in the language to indicate that quails had never been sent before. What excited the incredulity of Moses was, that God had promised to feed all the people of Israel with flesh for a *whole month*. We have no indication in Exodus xvi whether the quails were sent once or several times. But how could the historian have made such a blunder as Bleek thinks he did, when the history, whether we suppose it written by Moses or not, shows such a minute knowledge of events? The lusting of the Israelites after flesh, the sending them immense quantities of quails, the plague that broke out in consequence of the murmuring against God, and the naming of the place where they were encamped *Kibroth hattaavah* (*the graves of lust*)—all combine to make the narrative in Numbers xi salient and memorable in the history of the exodus. The natural tendency, so far from producing the account of the quails in Exodus xvi, would have been to blot it out altogether.

Nor is there any good reason for supposing,² in the account of Moses bringing water out of the rock, and calling the place *Massah* (*temptation, trial*), and also *Meribah* (*strife*, Exodus xvii, 1-7), that two different occurrences are here blended into one, because in Numbers xx, 1-13, on another occasion, when the people murmured for the want of water, Moses smote the rock, and the waters gushed forth, and the fountain was called the water of *Meribah*. In each case there was *Meribah* or *strife*. But the fountain *first* named was called *Massah*, and the other name, *Meribah*, was also given it at the time of the occurrence. But when the *second* fountain, called *Meribah*, was opened at *Kadesh*, the *first* named fountain, in Exod. xvii, 7, was called by no other name than *Massah*, as is evident from Deut. vi, 16; ix, 22; xxxiii, 8, where the fountain is so styled. How could it be otherwise, if confusion was to be avoided?

In Numbers ix, 15-23, we have, in the particular account of the

¹ Page 219.

² Against Bleek, pp. 219, 220.

cloud, and the appearance of fire that rested upon the tabernacle in connexion with the journeyings of the Israelites, an amplification of the statement in Exodus xl, 34-38, made when the tabernacle was set up. The account in Num. ix was written at least a year after that in Exod. xl; for in the former it is stated, "whether it were two days, a month, or *a year*, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle." In these statements there is nothing inconsistent with the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

The different names by which Moses's father-in-law seems to be called create a difficulty, though not of a serious nature. Various names of Moses's father-in-law. It seems best to regard Raguel as the father-in-law of Moses, and to suppose Jethro and Hobab to be his brothers-in-law. The Septuagint renders the Hebrew יתרו (translated *father-in-law* in our version) by γαμβρός, which means *brother-in-law* and *father-in-law*. With this rendering—brother-in-law—all is easy. Moses marries the daughter of Raguel, priest of Midian. About forty years after this, when, we may suppose, Raguel was dead, Jethro his son succeeded him as priest, and Moses, his brother-in-law, was keeping his flocks (Exod. iii, 1). Hobab, another brother-in-law of Moses, visits him on his journey, as we find in Numbers x, 29. The visit of Hobab to Moses mentioned in this last verse is evidently a different one from that described in Exod. xviii as having been made by Jethro, in company with the wife and the two sons of Moses. The position of the account of this visit of Jethro to Moses has given offense to some. It is stated (Exod. xviii, 5) that Moses was encamped at *the mount of God*, which is the name given in Exodus iii, 1, to Horeb; while in the beginning of the next chapter (xix) we have an account of the arrival of the children of Israel in the desert of Sinai, and of their encamping "before the mount," that is, Mount Sinai. But it is by no means certain that the visit of Jethro is misplaced, since it is not stated that Moses had already arrived at Mount Sinai. In Exod. xvii, 6, while the Israelites were still at Rephidim, God says unto Moses, "Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel." We have already remarked that Horeb is called *the mount*, or *mountain of God* (Exod. iii, 1); and it is evident here that the Mount Sinai from which the law was proclaimed is not intended, for it is stated that Moses led his flock to Horeb. At Rephidim Moses was encamped near a mountain or hill, for he says, "To-morrow I will stand upon the top of the hill." Horeb was a range of which Sinai was a peak.

Bleek thinks that references are made, in the account of Jethro's

visit, to the tabernacle, which was not yet built.¹ His Bleek's sharp criticism. critical powers must here be sharp indeed! It is stated that Jethro "took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God." *Wherever sacrifice was offered, it was before God.* Already, in Exod. xvi, 9, Moses commands Aaron to say to the whole congregation of the children of Israel, "Come near before the Lord." Even in reference to Nimrod it is said, "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x, 9). We, as Christians, in private and public, speak of coming unto or before the Lord. Nor is there any necessary reference to the tabernacle in the language of Moses, "The people come unto me to inquire of God." But even if Moses had already arrived at Mount Sinai when Jethro visited him it would create no difficulty, since Moses might prefer to record it just before describing the arrival at Sinai, that he might not interrupt the thread of events connected with that arrival.

In Exodus xxxiii, 7-11, it is said that "Moses took the tent (not tabernacle, as in English version) and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tent of the Congregation. And it came to pass that every one that sought the Lord went out unto the tent of the congregation." It is evident that the tent here spoken of was a different structure from the tabernacle which Moses was commanded to have built. There can be no reasonable doubt that it was the tent which Moses had brought up with him out of Egypt, in which he had been living, and to which the people resorted on important occasions to consult him, and from which orders were issued. On the occasion referred to the people had committed a great sin in worshiping the golden calf which Aaron had made; and, on account of this sin, Moses removes his tent from among them, and God talks with him at the door of the tent, far away from the sinful people.² God had very recently delivered to Moses the *ten commandments*, with various other precepts, and he now appears to Moses in his tent, thus showing to all Israel that, while they have sinned, with Moses he talks face to face. At the same time this tent was to serve as a temporary arrangement until the great tabernacle, of which it was a type, should be built.

The enumeration of the children of Israel in Numbers i, in connexion with the statement of the amount of money received and appropriated to the building of the tabernacle (Exod. xxxviii, 25, 26), creates a difficulty. Numbers and contributions of Israel. Ac-

¹ Page 223.

² It is plain that the tent itself was no new contrivance, which removes Bleek's objection that its institution appears too late. Pp. 223, 224.

cording to Exod. xl, 17, the tabernacle was set up on the *first day* of the *first month* of the *second year* after the children of Israel had left Egypt; while the command to Moses "to take the sum of all the congregation of Israel" was given on the *first day* of the *second month* of the *second year* after they had left Egypt (Num. i, 1), just *one month*, therefore, after the tabernacle was set up. Yet it is stated in Exod. xxxviii, 25, 26: "The silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was a hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: a bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men." The largest portion of this silver was employed in making sockets for the sanctuary and the vail (Exod. xxxviii, 27, 28). The number of the Israelites here given is precisely the same as that in Num. i, 46, and there can be no doubt that both accounts refer to *one* enumeration; the first giving merely the result, and the second the particulars. For, apart from the fact that the totals in both Exod. xxxviii, 26 and Num. i, 46 are the same, it is exceedingly improbable that the children of Israel should be numbered *twice* in a *few months*.¹ The *first* enumeration was made to ascertain the numbers in reference to the poll tax for the tabernacle and the marshalling of the armies: the *second* was made about thirty-eight years after the first (Num. xxvi, 2-51)—a short time before the Israelites entered Canaan—that the land might be divided in proportion to the number of each tribe (Num. xxvi, 53-56). These *two* were the only enumerations from the time the Israelites left Egypt until they reached Canaan.

J. D. Michaelis seems to give the best solution of the difficulty under consideration. "An exact enumeration," says he, "of six hundred thousand men demands quite a long time, if all the names are to be written down. It had proceeded so far before the building of the tabernacle that every male over twenty years of age was compelled to report himself and pay his poll tax; but in the second month of the second year all these names were reduced to order, and entered into a kind of register by Moses, Aaron, and the heads of the twelve tribes; and whoever in the former year had paid his poll tax was regarded as living, though he had since died; and whoever at that time was under twenty years of age, and had paid no poll tax, was still considered under twenty. It is necessary to read only Num. i, 2, 3, to see that the Israelites here are not simply numbered, but enrolled by name, and to each one a position is to be as-

¹ Colenso absurdly supposes that here we have two separate enumerations.

signed in the army, which had not been done when the poll tax was paid."¹ The Levites and the firstborn of the other tribes were numbered afterward.

Bleek thinks that the tabernacle could not have been built in so short a time as eight or nine months, and that the date in Exodus (xl, 17), where it is said that the tabernacle was set up on the first day of the first month of the second year, is placed too early.² But we see no good reason for this opinion. The people contributed so liberally of their means that Moses commanded that no more work should be made "for the offering of the sanctuary" (Exod. xxxvi, 5, 6). The material was worked up by "Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise-hearted man in whose heart the Lord had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it" (Exod. xxxvi, 2). In the ardour of their first love, they laboured with very great zeal and cheerfulness.

Further, the history of the building of the tabernacle, the numbering of the children of Israel, and the position of their camps, are narrated with such circumstantiality, and so many marks of truth, that an error in the date of the erection of the tabernacle is inadmissible.

The number of the firstborn males among the children of Israel from a month old and upward, omitting those of the Levites, is put at twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three (Num. iii, 43). Michaelis computes that this gives one firstborn to every forty-two males, which he regards as a proof that polygamy must have been extensively practised by the Israelites in Egypt. For, however many wives a man might have, and whatever number of sons, but one of these could be his firstborn. Perhaps the edict of Pharaoh to drown all the male children of the Israelites diminished greatly the number of the firstborn males, and on account of the great loss among the firstborn of Israel God may have smitten the firstborn of the Egyptians as a penalty.

In the enumeration of the males of the tribe of Levi, from a month old and upward, the whole number is stated to be twenty-two thousand (Num. iii, 39), while the sum of the three numbers (Num. iii, 22, 28, 34) is three hundred more. But it has been supposed that the three hundred in excess were themselves firstborn. As the whole number of the firstborn males of the children of Israel belonged to Jehovah, those of Levi as well as the rest, the actual substitute for the firstborn of Israel was the sons of Levi diminished by the number of the firstborn. This left

¹ From his German Annotations on Numbers, I. Göttingen und Gotha, 1771.

² Pp. 224, 225.

Bleek's difficulty concerning the tabernacle.

Question of the firstborn males.

the number of the firstborn of Israel in excess of the Levites diminished by the firstborn, two hundred and seventy-three, redeemed by paying five shekels apiece to Aaron and his sons (Num. iii, 46-48).

In Numbers ix, 12, it is said that the Lord spake unto Moses, and gave him directions respecting the passover, in the first month of the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt; while in Numbers i, 1, 2, the command to take the sum of the Israelites is given on the first of the following month. Bleek¹ makes this want of exact chronological order an argument against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, though it is not easy to see its force. But Moses had a good reason for his chronological arrangement. He tells us that Jehovah had given directions—in the first month of the second year—respecting the observance of the passover on the fourteenth day of the month according to its rites. Here Moses evidently refers to the precepts already given in Leviticus xxiii, 5-8, and to the fact that the people kept the passover on the fourteenth of the first month. But there were certain men who had been defiled by the dead body of a man, so that they could not keep the passover, and who made application to Moses and Aaron to have their seemingly hard case considered. Moses made known their case to Jehovah, who directed that all persons who were unable to eat the passover on the fourteenth day of the *first* month, on account of uncleanness or being on a journey afar off, should keep it on the fourteenth day of the *second* month. It is evident, then, that these unclean persons kept the passover on the *fourteenth* of this *second* month, and this *ninth* chapter is the very place in which to insert the events of that part of the second month. And, in order to describe what was to be done on that *fourteenth* day, the historian goes back to relate the incidents that led to the observance of the passover by some on that day. In the very next chapter (x, 11) he states that on the *twentieth* day of the *second* month of the *second* year the Israelites left the wilderness of Sinai; that is, a few days after the unclean persons had eaten the passover. What can be more natural than this chronological arrangement?

The statements made in respect to the service of the Levites in the tabernacle (Numbers iv, viii, 24-26) have been represented as contradictory. In the former chapter they are to serve from thirty years of age until they are fifty; while in the latter passage their time of service is from twenty-five until fifty. But the kind of service in each case is different. In Numbers iv, the *Levites who bore the various parts of the tabernacle during the sojourn in the desert* are assigned to this work. They were between the ages of thirty and fifty,

¹ Page 225.

in the vigour of life, and were still to wander many years in the desert. This was a special service which would terminate when the tabernacle had obtained a fixed locality after the conquest of Canaan. But in Numbers viii, 24-26, those who are to serve from twenty-five until they are fifty are said to "go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." Here the precept has no special reference to time or place, but is in its highest sense general.

But, further, it is evident that the first of these precepts had its origin in the desert; and the second one, if originating in a period subsequent to Moses, would have repealed the first, which would, in all probability, have still been in existence. Can it be supposed for a moment that a later law, for no assignable reason, and contradicting the Mosaic regulation, was invented and attributed to Moses?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THERE is a unity of plan pervading the whole Pentateuch, which shows that it is the work of one mind.

A collection of independent documents brought together would have no unity nor coherence. The book of Genesis begins with the creation of the world in six days, and contains a brief history of man's fall, his expulsion from the garden of Eden, the subsequent history of the antediluvian world, the deluge, the preservation of Noah and his family, the peopling of the earth by the sons of Noah, the calling of Abraham, the principal incidents in his life and in the lives of Isaac and Jacob and Esau, the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and his exaltation there, which prepares the way for the removal to Egypt of Jacob and his family.

The book of Exodus opens with a reference to Jacob's descent into Egypt, and a sketch of the history of the oppression of the Israelites, their deliverance from the Egyptians through Moses, the divinely commissioned leader and lawgiver; the wanderings in the Desert, the giving of the law from Mount Sinai, the directions for building the altars of sacrifice and the tabernacle, and various precepts.

The book of Leviticus is devoted to the services of the priests, their duties, the law of sacrifices, and many other matters. The book of Numbers opens with the enumeration of the children of Israel, and contains both historical events and precepts.

In Deuteronomy, when the Israelites have arrived in the land of

The contents of
the Books of
Moses.

Moab, near the close of the forty years wandering, Moses rehearses their history from the time they left Horeb, and also repeats and enforces, and in some cases slightly modifies, precepts before delivered. He also inculcates new precepts, some of which have especial reference to the Israelites when they shall have entered the land of Canaan—for example, the directions concerning war. He appoints cities of refuge, gives directions respecting the setting up of stones on Mount Ebal upon which all the words of the law are to be written, pronounces the blessings that shall come upon the people if obedient, and the curses that will overtake them if they are disobedient. He at the same time predicts their disobedience. In conclusion, he teaches them a song, and pronounces a blessing upon the different tribes of Israel. Nothing could be more suitable to the position of Moses than this whole book, and it is throughout exceedingly natural. A chapter by a later hand, containing the death of the great lawgiver, closes it. Without Deuteronomy the Mosaic legislation would be incomplete. There is nothing in the ending of the book of Numbers to indicate that it is the conclusion of the laws of Moses. The whole spirit of Deuteronomy is Mosaic.

If we examine the Pentateuch more closely we shall find that it is bound together by indissoluble connexions, and permeated with the spirit of unity.

In the book of Genesis we have a connected history, in which the genealogies are carefully given, the age of the antediluvian when the eldest son was born, and the length of their lives. The same method is generally pursued in narrating the history after the flood, down to the close of the book. Nowhere in Genesis is the age of the father given when any of the daughters were born, and the names of the latter are rarely mentioned. The history is evidently of a sacred character, written from a theocratic standpoint. A standard of moral right, with which the actions of men are compared, and approved or condemned, is everywhere recognised in Genesis. The growing wickedness of the antediluvian world, culminating in bringing down the wrath of Jehovah upon it, and the pious exceptions, are prominently set forth by the sacred writer.

With the exception of the peopling of the earth by the sons of Noah, the history generally limits itself to the line of the chosen people; and other nations are noticed only in connexion with the patriarchs, as we see in the account of the battle of the kings and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, with which Abraham and Lot are historically related.

It is easy to see that *the whole of Genesis is an introduction and*

preparation for the Mosaic Covenant contained in the following books. The sanctification of the seventh day at the end of creation is intimately connected with the Jewish Sabbath. The sacrifices of Abel, Noah, and Abraham, and the distinction made between clean and unclean animals in the account of the preservation of living beings in the ark during the deluge, are intimately related to the Mosaic institutions. The history of Joseph in Egypt, though it seems to break the thread of patriarchal history, is, in fact, a necessary part of that history, as it prepares the way for the descent of Israel into Egypt.

Genesis an introduction.

Between Genesis and Exodus there is a close connexion. God makes a covenant with Abraham, and promises him that his posterity shall inherit the land of Canaan, and that in his seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. In Genesis, also, God declares to Abraham that before his descendants shall come into possession of that land, they shall be strangers in another, in which they shall serve and be afflicted, and that the "nation whom they shall serve will I judge, and afterward shall come out with great substance. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again." Chap. xv, 13-16. Compare this with the afflictions of the Israelites detailed in the first chapters of Exodus, and with xii, 40, where it is said that the sojourning of the children of Israel in the land of Egypt was four hundred and thirty years. The declaration made to Abraham, being prophecy, was expressed in round numbers, while the history gives the exact number. In Exodus xiii, 19, it is stated that "Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you." This refers to Gen. i, 25.

Connexion between Genesis and Exodus.

In the third month after leaving Egypt the Israelites come to Mount Sinai (Exod. xix, 1, 2). There the Mosaic legislation properly begins with the delivery of *the decalogue, the moral law*, under the most solemn and awe-inspiring circumstances. Then follow four chapters of precepts; after which instructions are given respecting the making of the ark of the covenant, and the building of the tabernacle. These could not be made while the Israelites were travelling, and as they were necessary in divine worship, the building of them in this stage of the wandering is very appropriate. In the latter part of the same book we have a description of the dress of the high priest, his consecration, and matters pertaining to his service. All of this seems to be in the proper place.

When the tabernacle had been built, and Aaron and his sons were ready for the consecration to the divine service, Moses delivered precepts respecting the offerings to be made to Jehovah, and prescribed

the duties of the priests—which occupy the most of the Book of Leviticus. In the first part of Numbers we have an enumeration of the people, to ascertain who are liable to military duties and to other services. The remainder of the book is occupied with history and precepts. That Moses, at the close of the forty years' wandering, should have rehearsed the most important events in the history of the Israelites, as we find in Deuteronomy, is quite natural. The additional precepts which he inculcates—for example, the directions for carrying on war when they are about to enter the land of Canaan, where they would have many wars to wage—seem suitable to this stage of the history; and the earnest exhortation, and the deep solicitude of the lawgiver for the happiness of his people, are a fitting close of his wonderful life.

But the connexion of the events of the Pentateuch is not the only proof of its unity. A stronger evidence is furnished by the uniformity of language that pervades the whole five books, especially the archaisms which disappear in the subsequent books, even in those so ancient as Joshua and Judges.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ART OF ALPHABETICAL WRITING
AMONG THE HEBREWS, AND THE STATE OF THE ARTS AND
SCIENCES IN GENERAL IN EGYPT IN THE MOSAIC AGE.

AS a preliminary to the discussion of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, there arises the question of the antiquity of the art of alphabetical writing among the Hebrews: for if it can be shown that the art was well known among that people in the Mosaic age, the probability that their great lawgiver *wrote* his laws will be very great.

Writing in hieroglyphics, which preceded alphabetical writing, was known and practised in Egypt at a very remote period. The sacred books of Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury or Hermes, were written, in part at least, as early as the time of Suphis, (Cheops,) to whom the books were attributed.¹ This Memphitic king, according to Wilkinson, reigned about B. C. 2450. Numerous commentaries were written on these sacred books of Thoth. "Papyri are of the most remote Pharaonic periods, and the same mode of *writing* on them is shown from the sculptures to have been common in the age of Suphis, or Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid."² "Every thing was done in writing."³ They had decimal as well as duodecimal calculation, and the reckoning by units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, before the pyramids were built.⁴ Alphabetical writing came into use several centuries later. "From the Pal-
Alphabetical
writing in
Palestine.
 estinians, the people near the Mediterranean Sea received their alphabet. The sounds of the alphabet itself, as it is known to us, suit well the general lingual characteristics of the Semitics. It corresponds to their peculiarity, for it expresses their inclination to gutturals, and the variety of their hissing or aspirated sounds. We can, therefore, assert with high probability that *its inventor was a Semitic*."⁵ That the Israelites possessed alphabetical writing when they went down into Egypt is quite evident, otherwise they would have adopted the hieroglyphic system of the

¹ See Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, u. s. w., vol. i, p. 557.

² Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵ Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, u. s. w., vol. i, p. 720.

Egyptians.¹ The Phœnicians, who lived on the borders of Canaan, and whose language was nearly the same as the Hebrew, possessed writing at a very remote period. They attributed the invention of their alphabet to Taut, their world-god. The sacred writings of the Phœnicians, in which their cosmogony, the history of their gods and heroes, natural events, and astronomical, astrological, and psychological doctrines were contained, were called Taut-writings. Antiquity mentions seven such writings.²

Among the ancient Phœnician writers, Mochus, mentioned by Josephus³ as a writer of Phœnician history, may be named. Strabo states, on the authority of the very learned Posidonius, that Mochus lived before the Trojan war.⁴ There was a very ancient tradition among the Greeks that Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, brought sixteen letters of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece.⁵ On this point we have the testimony of Herodotus, who states that "the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought among the Greeks learning and letters." "I myself," says he, "saw the letters of Cadmus in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, in Bœotian Thebes, engraved upon three tripods."⁶ The age of Cadmus was more ancient than that of Moses. At all events it is certain that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phœnician. The letters speak for themselves.

Another proof of the great antiquity of the Phœnician, or Hebrew, alphabet is furnished by the linguistic researches in the antiquity of the art of writing in Italy. Dr. Mommsen remarks :
 "We must, both as regards Etruria and Latium, carry back the commencement of the art of writing to an epoch which more closely approximates to the first incidence of the Egyptian dog-star period within historical times, the year 1322 B. C., than to the year 776, with which the chronology of the Olympiads began in Greece. The high antiquity of the art of writing in Rome is evinced otherwise by numerous and plain indications."⁷ The alphabet came from the Phœnicians through the Greeks. Writing in Hindoostan furnishes another proof of the antiquity of the Semitic alphabet. According to Max Müller,⁸ the Vedas were written B. C. 1200 or 1500. And it has been shown, upon the firm ground of palæog-

¹ Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, u. s. w., vol. i, p. 723.

² Fürst, *Geschichte Bib. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 43. ³ *Antiq.*, i, 18. ⁴ *Lib.* xvii, 757.

⁵ So ancient was alphabetical writing considered to be, that it is attributed by Æschylus (B. C. 450) to the god Prometheus (*Prom. Desm.*, 460).

⁶ *Lib.* v, cap. 58. He also states that one of the tripods contained the inscription : "Amphitryon, returning from the Teleboans, dedicated me." This would be in the time of Lalus, the fourth in descent from Cadmus.

⁷ *History of Rome* (translated by Dickson), vol. i, p. 224.

⁸ *Lectures on the Vedas*, vol. i, p. 13.

raphy, by A. Weber, of Berlin, that the ancient Hindoo alphabet was derived from the Semitic or Phœnician.

A proof of the existence of writing among the Canaanites, and consequently among the Hebrews before the Mosaic Age, is the fact that when Joshua subdued the land of Canaan he found a city there called קִרְיַת סֵפֶר (Kirjath-sepher), *city of the book* or *books*.¹ That the Israelites made use of writing in Egypt is shown by their officers being called שֹׁטְרִים (shoterim), *scribes* (Exod. v, 6-19), from שָׁטַר (shatar), *to write*. And in various places in the Pentateuch writing is mentioned as practised by the Hebrews in the Mosaic age.

We may further remark that it is now generally conceded that writing among the Semitics dates as far back as B. C. 2000.

Writing material was abundant in Egypt in the Mosaic age. When the pyramid of Cheops was built papyri were used as writing material;² they were made from a plant that grew in lower Egypt. The papyrus employed for sacred writings was about thirteen inches wide; the length was from a few inches to twenty, thirty, and even sixty feet. One piece in the Museum of Turin is fifty-seven feet long, and another measures one hundred and forty-four feet.³ Skins of animals were also used for writing at a very early period in Egypt.⁴ "Records kept in the temple," written upon skins, are mentioned in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, the age of Moses.

Art of writing
in Egypt in the
Mosaic age.

As numerous allusions are made in the Pentateuch to embroidery, engraving on stone, and working in brass, silver, and gold, it is a matter of great importance to ascertain from other sources what was the condition of the sciences and arts in Egypt before and during the time of Moses.

Astronomy and mathematics were cultivated by the Egyptians at a very remote period. The Egyptian priests devoted themselves ardently to astronomy, and computed the length of the solar year with approximate correctness. According to Biot's investigations, they made, upon accurate examination, a reform of their calendar about B. C. 1780. Moiris, or Mares, a king of the twelfth dynasty (about B. C. 2000), is said to have been the founder of geometry. The mathematical knowledge of the ancient Egyptians was transferred to the Greeks through Phales, Pythagoras, and Democritus, who were disciples of Egyptian priests.⁵ Even when the pyramid of Cheops was built, the decimal system was in use.

Sciences and
arts in ancient
Egypt.

¹ Josh. xv, 15, 16.

² Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 98.

³ Wuttke, vol. i, p. 533. ⁴ Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 99. ⁵ Wuttke, vol. i, pp. 568, 569.

Gold wire was employed B. C. 2000, and silver wire probably at the same time, certainly not more than five hundred years later. The ornaments in gold found in Egypt consist of rings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, earrings, and numerous trinkets belonging to the toilet, many of which are of the time of Osirtasen I. and Thothmes III., who lived about B. C. 2080 and 1460. Gold and silver vases, statues, and other objects of gold and silver, of silver inlaid with gold, and of bronze inlaid with the precious metals, were also common at the same time.¹ Signet rings were worn as early as the Mosaic age, and even earlier.

Substances of various kinds were overlaid with fine gold leaf at a very early period, even in the time of Osirtasen I., about B. C. 2000. In the early age of Thothmes III. (about B. C. 1460) the people were already acquainted with various methods of overlaying with gold leaf, gilding, inlaying, and beating gold into other metals, previously tooled with devices to receive it.² The art of cutting glass was known to the Egyptians of the most remote periods, hieroglyphics and various devices being frequently engraved upon vases and beads. The art of grinding glass was known and practised. For engraving stone, emery powder and the lapidary's wheel were used.³ The Egyptians manufactured fine linen at a very early period. Striped cloths were woven in Egypt in the age of the Pharaohs of the twelfth (B. C. 2000) and the eighteenth (about B. C. 1460) dynasties. The

hieroglyphics on obelisks and on other granitic monuments are sculptured with a minuteness and finish which are surprising, even if steel as highly tempered as our own had been used. The hieroglyphics on the obelisks are rather engraved than sculptured; and, judging from the minute manner in which they are executed, we may suppose the Egyptians adopted the same process as modern engravers, and that they even, in some instances, employed the wheel and drill.⁴ Mirrors of metal, chiefly copper, were used by them.

It is not necessary to pursue this part of our subject any further. Enough has already been said to show that the statements of the Pentateuch respecting the arts employed by the Israelites in building the tabernacle, in making its utensils, and in adorning the priests, together with the allusions made to gold and other ornaments, are natural and credible, unless one can suppose that the Israelites, although dwelling in close proximity to the Egyptians for centuries, never learned any of their arts, and that no Egyptian artist ever appeared among them.

¹ Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 140. ² Ibid., p. 145. ³ Ibid., p. 67. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 156, 157.

CHAPTER X.

PROOF OF THE GREAT ANTIQUITY OF THE PENTATEUCH
FROM INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT NO PART OF THE PENTATEUCH COULD
HAVE BEEN WRITTEN DURING OR AFTER THE BABYLONIAN
CAPTIVITY.

THAT the Hebrew language would undergo no change in its vocabulary and syntax in nine or ten centuries, from the age of Moses to the Babylonian captivity, is very improbable, and unless we ignore all the teachings of history in similar cases it is certain on *a priori* grounds that the Hebrew language would be affected by coming into contact with the Chaldee during the Babylonian captivity. We accordingly find that in many instances the later Hebrew differs from the earlier, that the language of *all* the writers who lived during or after the Babylonian captivity is colored to a greater or less extent by the Chaldee; and that the writers themselves give unmistakable evidence of the age to which they belong. In proof and illustration of these statements we cite the following words: אֲבִיב, *Abib*, is used in Exod. ix, 31, and in Lev. ii, 14, for *green ears*. Four times in Exodus and twice in Deuteronomy it takes the article with חֹדֶשׁ, *khodēsh* (month) prefixed, חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב, *khonēsh haabib*, month of *Abib* or *greenness*. The fact that *Abib* takes the article is a proof that it is not a proper noun. It occurs nowhere except in the passages named, and everywhere else in the Pentateuch the Hebrew months are indicated simply as *first*, *second*, etc. But this *Abib*, the first month of the Hebrew year, is called נִסָּן, *Nisan*, in Neh. ii, 1; Esth. iii, 7; and in other books composed about the time of the Babylonian captivity, we have the proper names of some of the months. Thus, in 1 Kings vi, 1, we have "the month Ziv, which is the second month," and Ziv in verse 31. In 1 Kings vi, 38, mention is made of "the month Bul, which is the eighth month." In Ezra vi, 15, and in several passages in Esther, the twelfth month is called *Adar*. In Zech. i, 7, the eleventh month is called *Shebat*; and in vii, 1, the ninth month is

Probability of
change in the
Hebrew lan-
guage.

Later lan-
guage not
found in the
Pentateuch.

named *Chisleu*; and in Neh. vi, 15, the sixth month is called simply *Elul*. The most of these proper names came from the Chaldee.

אַזָּר, *azar*, to bind, and אֶזֶר, *ēzōr*, a girdle, are found in later books of the Bible, but nowhere in the Pentateuch.

דַּרְכָּכֹן and אֲרֶכְכֵּן, *darics*, the name of a Persian coin that came into use after the Babylonian captivity, is found in several places in Ezra and Nehemiah. Why is it not found in the middle books of the Pentateuch if they were written after the captivity?

בְּאַחַד, *kēhhadh*, as one, together, occurs three times in Ezra, and once in each of the books of 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, Isaiah, and Ecclesiastes, and nowhere else.

אֶלְגַּבִּישׁ, *elgabish*, hail, occurs three times in Ezekiel, and nowhere else. A different word is used in the Pentateuch and other biblical books.

The phrase לָקַח אִשָּׁה, *laqahh ishshah*, to take a wife, is found in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and most of the books of the Bible, but in several passages in Ezra, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles the phrase נָשָׂא אִשָּׁה, *nasah ishshah*, is used. It is, however, not used in the Pentateuch. It is difficult to think that if Leviticus had been written in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah it would not have contained this latter phrase.

בָּרַר, *barar*, to separate, to select, to choose, and to be pure, occurs thirty-four times in the Old Testament, generally in the later books, but never in the Pentateuch.

בִּירָה, *birah*, fortress, palace, or temple, is not found in the Pentateuch, but occurs in some of the books written after the Babylonian captivity.

בַּת, *bath*, liquid measure, one tenth of a homer, and equal to the ephah in dry measure, is nowhere found in the Pentateuch, and appears to be of late origin. It occurs once in Isaiah, several times in Kings and Chronicles, seven times in Ezekiel, and twice in the Chaldee of Ezra. עֹמֶר, *omer*, the tenth of an ephah, occurs ten times in the Pentateuch, and nowhere else. הֹמֶר, *homer*, a measure containing ten baths, occurs in the Pentateuch, Hosea, and Ezekiel, while כֹּר, *kōr*, the same measure, is never used in the Pentateuch, but occurs several times in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles, and once in Ezekiel. Had the middle books of the Pentateuch been written in the time of Ezekiel or Ezra, it is in the highest degree probable that the word *bath*, and very likely also the word *kōr*, would have been found in them.

נִמָּל, *to be defiled, to be polluted*, occurs in Isaiah, Zephaniah, Lamentations, Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but nowhere in the Pentateuch. It is evidently late Hebrew.

נִל, *to exult*, occurs forty-four times in the late books of the Old Testament, but never in the Pentateuch. יִאֵן, *to fear*, and יִאֵןָה, *fear*, are not found in the Pentateuch, but in 1 Samuel, Joshua, Psalms, Jeremiah, Proverbs, and three times in Ezekiel.

יִכִּי is used *fifteen* times in the books of Kings, Chronicles, and once in the Psalms for the *holy of holies* of the Jewish temple. Now, it is very probable that if the middle books of the Pentateuch had been written during, or after, the Babylonian captivity, they would have contained this word, applied to the most holy place of the tabernacle.

יִיֵּק, *watch tower*, is used in 2 Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and nowhere else.

יִיָּה, *to murmur*, and its derivatives are used thirty-five times in the later books of the Old Testament, but never in the Pentateuch.

יִסֵּן, *to appoint*, is used twice in Nehemiah and once in the Hebrew portion of Ezra; and יִסֵּן, *time*, occurs once in Nehemiah, and in Ecclesiastes and Esther. They are not found until the Babylonian captivity, and doubtless came from the Chaldee.

יִמֵּר, *to play, to sing*, is used more than forty times, but not in the Pentateuch. יִנָּח, *to be rancid*, occurs nineteen times, but is never used in the Pentateuch.

יִיָּה, *palate*, occurs eighteen times in various books, including Ezekiel.

יִיָּס, *to do violence*, is found in several late books, but neither word is found in the Pentateuch.

יִיָּהּ הַצְבָּאוֹת, *Jehovah of hosts*, or *Jehovah God of hosts*, is not found in the Pentateuch, though it occurs in Jeremiah, Zechariah, Malachi, and especially in Isaiah.

יִיָּהּ, *to be in a genealogical table*, is found only in Num. i, 18. Instead of this word, יִיָּהּ is used twenty times in Ezra, Nehemiah, and in 1 and 2 Chronicles.

יִכְתֹּב, *a writing, or book, or prescript*, is not found in the Pentateuch, but occurs as Hebrew three times in Chronicles, four times in Ezra, once in Nehemiah, and once in Ezekiel. It evidently, at the captivity, came from the Chaldee, which has a very similar form (כְּתִיב).

יִכּוּס, *a cup* occurs in several places in Ezra and in 1 Chronicles, but not in the Pentateuch.

כַּפִּיר, *a young lion*, is found thirty-one times in the Old Testament, but in no case in the Pentateuch.

לְהָטִים, *secret arts, magic arts* (Exod. vii, 22; viii, 3, 14), and לְהָטִים, *magic arts* (Exod. vii, 11), are found nowhere else in the Bible in this sense, except in the Pentateuch, but in the later books different words are used.

לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, *show bread*, is employed in Exod. xxxv, 13; xxxix, 36, and without the article in xxv, 30. The same name also is found in other books. But this bread is called twice in Chronicles and once in Nehemiah עֵרֶכֶת הַלֶּחֶם, *bread of the row, row bread*.

סֵפֶר, *a roll of a book*, occurs twenty-one times in the Old Testament, including four times in Ezekiel, but not in the Pentateuch.

כִּצְנַפָּת, *turban, mitre*, is found eleven times in Exodus and once in Ezekiel, but nowhere else in the Old Testament. In some of the later books צִנִּיף is used in the same sense.

כָּרוֹם, *high place*, occurs more than *fifty times* in the Old Testament, but nowhere in the Pentateuch. It seems to have come into use first when the Israelites occupied Jerusalem and other high places.

נָגִיד, *prince, leader*, etc., is not in the Pentateuch, but occurs *forty-two times* elsewhere, being found in Samuel, Kings, Job, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel.

נָגַע, in Ezra iii, 1; Neh. vii, 73; Hiphil in Ezek. vii, 12, has the singular meaning, *to come*.

נְתִינִים, *servants of the tabernacle, or temple, given to the Levites to aid them*, occurs eight times in Ezra, nine times in Nehemiah, and once in 1 Chronicles. If the middle books of the Pentateuch had been written in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is in the highest degree probable, if not certain, that this word would have been used to designate the servants of the Levites.

סְבִלָה, found only in the following form construct plural:

סְבִלֹת, *burdens, a bearing of burdens*, six times in Exodus, and nowhere else. Outside of the Pentateuch different words are used for burdens, סָבַל and סָבַלָה.

סָבַל, or סָבַלָה, *prefect, ruler, governor*, is not in the Pentateuch, but in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and Ezra, it is used for chief officers among the Hebrews, just as נָשִׂיא, *prince*, is used in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Why, then, does not this late word occur in the Pentateuch, if it belongs, in large part, to the time of Ezra?

הַפֶּלֶע, or סֶלֶע, *Sela Petra* (the Rock), is found in Judges i, 36; 2 Kings xiv, 17; Isaiah xvi, 1, and perhaps xlii, 11, for the well known Idumean city Petra, but it is not found in the Pentateuch. Is not this because the city had no existence when the Pentateuch was written?

סָעַר, *to scatter and to shake*, and its noun, סֶעָרָה and סָעַר, *storm*, are not found in the Pentateuch, but some of its forms occur in Kings, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Psalms, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Jonah.

סֹפֵר, *king's scribe or secretary*, also military tribune, and in Chronicles, Jeremiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it has the meaning of *scribe, one skilled in the law of Moses*; but this participle does not occur in the Pentateuch, which has the word שֹׁטֵר (from שָׁטַר, *to write*), *officer, leader, magistrate, thirteen times*.

עָוַר, *to gird*, occurs *eighty-two times* in the Hebrew Bible, but in the Pentateuch only twice, in the poetical chapters, Gen. xlix and Deut. xxxii.

עֹמֶר, *omer, the tenth part of an ephah*, occurs *ten times* in the Pentateuch, and nowhere else.

עֲרַב, *Arabia*, and עֲרַבִּי, *an Arabian*, are not found in the Pentateuch. But the name of the country occurs in Isaiah, Ezekiel, and 2 Chronicles, while the name of the people occurs also in Isaiah, 2 Chronicles, and in Jeremiah and Nehemiah. Now, as the history in the Pentateuch deals in genealogies and Gentile names, and as the largest portion of its history is transacted in Arabia, it is highly probable that if any large historical part of the work had been written near the period of the captivity it would have contained both the names for Arabia and Arab.

עָשָׂה, *to act proudly, to scatter*, does not occur in the Pentateuch, but in Jeremiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Malachi.

זָהָב, *pure gold*, is found in several late books, but not in the Pentateuch.

שָׂרָה, *governor*, is found eleven times in Nehemiah, seven times in Ezra, and also in Kings, Malachi, Ezekiel, Chronicles, Daniel, and Esther. If any considerable portion of the Pentateuch had been written about the time of the Babylonian captivity, is it not likely that this word would have been found in it?

פָּרָה, *a male mule*, is found *fifteen times* in the books of 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Isaiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Psalms. פָּרִיָּה, *a she mule*, is found three times in 1 Kings. But neither of these words occurs in the Pentateuch. Is it not, then, in

the highest degree probable that this hybrid had no existence when the Pentateuch was written, or, at least, was not known in the regions of Egypt¹ and Palestine?

צָבִי, *beauty, splendor*, is not found in the Pentateuch, but occurs in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, 2 Samuel, and Daniel.

צַחַק, *tsahhaq, to laugh, to make sport of*, occurs twelve times in Genesis, once in Exodus, once in Judges, and once in Ezekiel, but nowhere else. Instead of this the later writers use a word easier to pronounce, שַׁחַק, *sahhaq*, the צ (*ts*) being exchanged for ש (*s*).

צָעַק, *tsa'aq, to cry out*, is found seventy-two times in the Old Testament. Of these instances twenty-six are in the Pentateuch; the other form, צָעַק, *sa'aq* (the initial letter of which is more easily pronounced), is used instead of צָעַק in the Pentateuch only twice, but in the later books eighty-nine times.

צִפּוֹרִי, *a he goat*, is used in the Hebrew portion of Ezra as well as in the Chaldee, in 2 Chron. xxix, 21, and in Daniel. It is found nowhere else. But in the Pentateuch עִזִּי and עִזִּי are used for *he goat*; the latter word for the goat of the sin offering in Lev. ix, 3, etc., in the same sense that Ezra uses צִפּוֹרִי. If Ezra wrote the middle books of the Pentateuch, how is it that he did not insert for *he goat* the word which he uses in his own book?

קָבַל, *to receive*, is found in Ezra, Proverbs, Job, Chronicles, and Esther, but not in the Pentateuch. It is evidently from the Chaldee.

קָהָה, *to be dull, to be blunted*, is found only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Ecclesiastes.

קִיַּן, *to lament*, and קִנְיָה, *lamentation*, is found several times in Ezekiel and in some other books, but nowhere in the Pentateuch.

קִלְעַן, *a curtain*, occurs eleven times in Exodus, and twice in Numbers, but nowhere else.

קָשַׁב, *to listen*, in Kal conjugation, Isaiah xxxii, 3, and Hiphil, *to attend, to hearken*, occurs seven times in Isaiah, seven times in Jeremiah, once in Hosea, once in Micah, twice in Zechariah, six times in the Psalms, eight times in Proverbs, twice in Chronicles, once in Malachi, once in Nehemiah, twice in Job, once in 1 Samuel, once in Canticles, and once in Daniel. Now, as the precept *to hearken, to give heed*, occurs often in the Pentateuch, it is in the highest degree probable that if any considerable portion of the Pentateuch had been written in the period B. C. 700-400, it would have contained this

¹ A painting on an Egyptian tomb in the time of the eighteenth dynasty represents two white mules. Wilkinson's *Egypt*, by Birch, vol. i, p. 237.

word. Clearly, the word came into use after the Pentateuch was written.

רָגַל, plural of רֶגֶל, *foot*, signifies *times* in Exod. xxiii, 14; Num. xxii, 28, 32, and nowhere else. The word in general use to express *times*, is פָּעַמִּים, (*beats*).

שָׁמַן, and שָׁמַן, *to be secure, careless*, are not in the Pentateuch, but are found in eight of the later books.

שָׂאָה, *to gape after*, is not in the Pentateuch, but in several of the later books.

שָׁאָה, *leaven*, is found only in the Pentateuch.

שִׁכְכָּה, *effusion*, occurs in the Pentateuch alone.

שָׁוָא is used six times in Exodus and Deuteronomy, in the sense of falsehood—the only books of the Pentateuch in which it occurs; but in the later books it also occurs in the sense of *vanity*.

שֹׁהַד, in the sense *diamond*, occurs in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, but not in the Pentateuch.

שֶׁשׁ, *fine cotton*, the Egyptian *shensh*, is found twenty-two times in the Pentateuch, and elsewhere but seven times. For this material, בִּיץ, *byssus*, is used in Ezek. xxvii, 16, four times in the Book of Chronicles, and twice in Esther, but never in the Pentateuch. The word is of Aramæan and late origin. Had the middle books of the Pentateuch been written after the captivity, it would certainly have contained this word.

שָׂרָא, *a coat of mail*, occurs only in Exod. xxviii, 32; xxxix, 23. In the later books a different word, שָׂרִיץ, or שָׂרִיץ, occurring eight times, is used, and שָׂרִיץ in the Book of Job.

On the use of ל, with nouns after verbs, Gesenius remarks: "Sometimes Hebrew writers, especially the later ones, who inclined to Chaldaism, employ ל (the sign of the dative) incorrectly after active verbs for the accusative, as in Chaldee, Syriac, and Ethiopic; for example, לָקַח לְ, Jer. xl, 20; לְ, אָכַל לְ, Lam. iv, 5; לְ, הָרַג לְ, Job v, 2; compare 1 Chron. xvi, 37; xxv, 1; Psa. cxxxv, 11, etc. [where the same construction occurs]. Of such construction we know nothing in the Pentateuch.

מֵאָה, *a hundred*, in its regular position stands before the noun in the singular, as, מֵאָה שָׁנָה, *a hundred year* (for years). "Rarely, and only in the later books, is מֵאָה put after a noun plural, as מֵאָה רַגְלִים, 2 Chron. iii, 16; compare iv, 8; Ezra ii, 69; viii, 26," [in which the same construction is found].

אָדָם, *a cubit*, is placed after numbers above ten in the earlier Hebrew, but in the later we have also the plural *cubits* after large numbers, as Ezek. xlii, 2; 2 Chron. iii, 4.¹

In Ezekiel we find Chaldee plurals, חִטִּין, *wheat* (iv, 9), אִיִּין, *islands* (xxvi, 18); Chaldee infinitives, as מְסַאֲוִת כְּנָרָשׁ (xxxvi, 5; xvii, 9).

In Jeremiah there is one verse in Chaldee, and in Ezra there are whole sections in the same language.

Taking into consideration all the peculiarities that distinguish the Pentateuch from the books of the Bible written during or after the Babylonian captivity, it seems to us clearly impossible that any part of the Pentateuch could have been written during either of those periods.

In this view we have the support of the great Hebrew lexicographer, Gesenius, who belonged to the rationalistic school. In the last edition² of his Hebrew Grammar, published a short time before his death, he remarks: "The Old Testament writings which belong to this second period, B. C. 536-160, and in all of which this Chaldee coloring appears, although in different degrees, are, the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther; the prophetic books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; of the poetic books, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the later Psalms."³ "In the Book of Job, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are found decided approaches to the Chaldaizing language of the [this] second period."⁴ He places the Pentateuch in the first period of Hebrew literature.⁵

INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT THE PENTATEUCH IS OLDER THAN ANY OTHER PART OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the preceding discussion a considerable part of the linguistic arguments that we adduced indicated not only that no portion of the Pentateuch could be of as late origin as the Babylonian captivity, but also that the Pentateuch is older than any other part of the Old Testament. That this is really the case can be made clear from the *archaisms* that pervade the whole Pentateuch.

The pronoun הוּא, *hu* (*he*), throughout the Pentateuch is used as common gender, and occurs one hundred and ninety-seven times as feminine, *she* or *it*. It is used for the feminine fifty-seven times in Genesis, eleven times in Exodus, sixty-six times in Leviticus, twenty-seven times in Num-

¹ See Gesenius, sub voc., אָדָם.

² Thirteenth, published at Leipzig, 1842.

³ Ibid., p. 9, German edition.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵ Ibid. p. 7. We shall give his views on the Pentateuch more fully hereafter.

bers, and thirty-six times in Deuteronomy.¹ The feminine pronoun for *she* is הִיא, *hi*. This latter form is everywhere used in the Hebrew Bible for the feminine,² except in the Pentateuch, where it occurs only eleven times, its place being supplied, as we have already stated, by the masculine הוּא, *hu*. The feminine form, הִיא, *hi*, occurs three times in Genesis, in Exodus not at all, six times in Leviticus, twice in Numbers, and not once in Deuteronomy. The feminine form, הִיא, *hi*, occurs twenty-nine times in Joshua, but הוּא, *hu*, never as feminine. In the Book of Judges, הִיא, *hi*, feminine, occurs twenty-two times, but הוּא, *hu*, never as feminine. The Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic have distinct forms.³ אֵל, *these*, occurs at least eight times in the Pentateuch, but nowhere else except in 1 Chron. xx, 8, taken, doubtless, from the Pentateuch. הִלְיוֹה, *this*, occurs *twice* in Genesis only.

The Hebrew word for *boy* is נָעַר, *naar*; feminine נַעֲרָה, *naarah*, girl. The masculine, נָעַר, *naar*, is used for the feminine twenty-one times in the Pentateuch, eight times of them being in Genesis, and thirteen in Deuteronomy. The feminine form, נַעֲרָה, *naarah*, occurs but once in the whole Pentateuch, and that in Deuteronomy. Outside of the Pentateuch, the masculine singular is never used for the feminine. The masculine plural, נָעָרִים, is thought to be used for the feminine in Ruth ii, 21 (Gesenius and Fürst); and to include young men and maidens, in Job i, 19.

שָׂרָץ, as a verb, *to creep*, or, as a noun, שָׂרָץ, *a creeping thing*, occurs twenty-six times in the Pentateuch, and is distributed through all the books, except Numbers. Elsewhere it occurs but twice, once in Psalm cv, 30, as an indirect quotation, in speaking of the plagues

¹ We have carefully counted these instances from personal inspection. The number is greater than we made it in first edition.

² Gesenius (Heb. Lex.) remarks that הוּא, *hu*, is used for the feminine in three passages outside of the Pentateuch, namely, 1 Kings xvii, 15; Job xxxi, 11; Isa. xxx, 33. But these passages do not really form an exception to our statement, since in the first passage the Hebrew is evidently transposed: וְהָאֵל הוּא וְהָאֵל, *she and he did eat*. The Massora has corrected this by putting the feminine form first and the masculine second in the margin to be read. The passage in Job is הוּא וְהָאֵל הוּא. Here the masculine pronoun is used with a feminine noun, and a feminine pronoun with a masculine noun. The Massora has corrected this in the margin, and properly arranged the words. The Massora regards the passage in Isaiah as an error, and has corrected it in the margin.

³ The same as in Chaldee הִיא, *hi*, הוּא, *hu*; Syriac, ܗܝ, *hi*, ܗܘ, *hu*; Arabic, هِيَ, *hi*.

לְוָא, *lewa*, ܗܝ, *hia*, ܗܐ, *he*, *she*.

of Egypt, and once in Ezek. xlvii, 9, which seems to be taken from Genesis. *עֹלָה*, *burnt offering, sacrifice*, is found nearly fifty times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but nowhere else. Its plural is used sixteen times, and almost entirely in Leviticus and Numbers. Out of the Pentateuch it occurs but twice. *כֶּבֶד*, for *כֶּבֶשׂ*, *a lamb*, occurs thirteen times in all the books of the Pentateuch except Numbers. Elsewhere it does not occur. The feminine form, *כֶּבֶשׂה*, is found once in Leviticus. *נוֹרָא*, *a young bird*, occurs nowhere in the Bible, except once in Genesis and once in Deuteronomy. *זָכָר*, for *male*, occurs only in Exod. xxiii, 17; xxxiv, 23, and Deut. xvi, 16; xx, 13. In the first three passages the word occurs in the command that all the males should appear three times a year before Jehovah, but in the last passage the subject is entirely different, and shows that the Deuteronomist was not using the word, though antiquated, merely because he was repeating the words of an old law. *חַיָּה*, *a living thing*, is found twice in Genesis and once in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else. *אִמָּה*, *female*, is found twenty-one times in all the books of the Pentateuch, except Exodus. Elsewhere it is met with but once, in Jeremiah. *סִנֵּה*, *thorn bush*, occurs four times in Exodus and once in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else. *נֶאֱסָפוּ אֶל עַמּוּוֹ*, *to be gathered to one's people*, occurs in Genesis, Numbers, and in Deuteronomy. Elsewhere it is not found.¹

Some of the most important of these archaisms occur in those parts of the Pentateuch regarded by the impugners of its genuineness as the most recent, as well as in those portions acknowledged to be primitive.

Archaisms found in parts of the Pentateuch claimed by rationalistic critics to be the most recent.

"The Pentateuch," says Gesenius, "certainly contains some linguistic peculiarities which have the appearance of archaisms. The words *הוא*, *he*, and *נַעַר*, *young man*, are still common gender, and stand also for *she, young woman* (about as the old [German] *Gemahl* (husband) for *Gemahlin* (wife); and certain harder forms,"²) etc.

Now, it may be asked, In what way do those who deny the unity and genuineness of the Pentateuch dispose of its archaisms? Bleek admits them, but thinks that other considerations outweigh them.³ But we regard such archaisms as we find in the Pentateuch to be an irresistible proof that the entire Pentateuch is older than any other

¹ A very similar phrase occurs in Judg. ii, 10, and 2 Kings xxii, 20: "*to gather one to his fathers.*"

² Thirteenth edition of his Hebrew Grammar. Leipzig, 1842, pp. 7, 8.

³ *Einleitung*, pp. 341, 342.

portion of the Old Testament, and also a probable proof of the unity of the whole of it. Schrader, in his additions to De Wette's Introduction,¹ attributes them to "*a revision of the text for the sake of producing uniformity.*" This view is wholly untenable. A revision that changes usual and modern forms into antiquated ones for the sake of uniformity would be unnatural. For the natural tendency of a revision is to change the most ancient forms into modern ones, which was done in the Samaritan Pentateuch, where the most important archaisms were changed into modern forms; for example, אֱל into אֱלֹהִים; נֶשֶׁר in every instance into נֶשֶׁרֶת; הָיָה into הָיָא, when the feminine gender² was to be indicated.

Nor can we believe that the author of Deuteronomy, on the supposition that he was not Moses, but belonged to a quite late age, would have inserted archaisms in order to make the work uniform with the preceding books of the Pentateuch. For Deuteronomy is written in a spirit so free and independent that its author has been charged with contradicting the statements of the other books; certainly he does not slavishly follow them by giving historical events exactly as the preceding books do; and some of the laws of the other books are modified in this. If the author of Deuteronomy did not conform to the other parts of the Pentateuch in important matters, why should he have accommodated himself to them in minor ones, that is, those of verbal form?

The archaisms of the Pentateuch not only furnish confirmatory proof of its unity, but give the strongest evidence of its high antiquity, showing it to be the oldest writing of the Old Testament—older than even the Book of Joshua. For הָיָה, *hu*, is common gender all through the Pentateuch, meaning *he* or *she*; but in the Book of Joshua the distinct feminine form, הָיָא, *hi, she*, is invariably used for the feminine, occurring twenty-nine times.³ This is important, for it separates the authorship of the Book of Joshua from that of the Pentateuch, which some deniers of the genuineness of the latter refuse to do, and so get rid of the important independent testimony furnished by the Book of Joshua to the Pentateuch. But the Book of Joshua contains internal evidence of

¹ P. 87, Berlin, 1869.

² We have found *one* instance in which the old form, הָיָה, is allowed to stand for the feminine; but this is in all probability a mistake of some transcriber.

³ נָשָׂא, *boy or girl*, in the Pentateuch, occurs but once in the Book of Joshua, and as masculine. Joshua had but little need of it, nor does the feminine form, נָשָׂא, occur in it.

having been written before the reign of David, for it is stated (Josh. xv, 63) that the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem, "but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day;" that is, when the book was written. But David drove them out (2 Sam. v, 6, 7). The archaisms of the Pentateuch prove something more than its high antiquity. They furnish the most striking proof that the volume of Moses has come down to us in its original form.

The two propositions on the antiquity of the Pentateuch which we have discussed are entirely independent of its use and authority. Had it been buried or forgotten from the time of Moses until Ezra, the argument for its antiquity would not be affected.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROBABILITY THAT MOSES, AS LEGISLATOR, WOULD HAVE WRITTEN HIS LAWS, AND ALSO THE ANNALS OF THE HEBREWS.

IT may be taken for granted that Moses was the great legislator of the Hebrews, since the proof is so strong that it may be said to have hardly ever been questioned. All the writings of the Jews, and their oldest traditions, agree that Moses was their lawgiver; and the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans held the same view. Manetho, an Egyptian priest of Sebennyus, a man of great erudition, who wrote in Greek, about B. C. 300, the Egyptian History from their sacred writings, states that the Israelites left Egypt in the reign of Amenophis, and that their leader, a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiphus—whose name was changed to *Moses* after he went over to the Israelites—*gave them laws*, for the most part contrary to the customs of Egypt, enjoining upon them not to worship the gods, nor to abstain from those animals held sacred in Egypt, but to sacrifice and slaughter them all.¹ King Amenophis (Amonoph) is independent testimony concerning Moses. placed by Wilkinson at B. C. 1498–1478. Manetho's History of the Dynasties has been remarkably confirmed by the monuments of Egypt. Strabo, the great Greek geographer (*about B. C. 65), in speaking of the Jews, remarks: "Moses, one of the Egyptian priests, possessing a part of Lower Egypt, left there, being disgusted with the existing institutions, and many, honouring

¹ In Josephus against Apion, liber i, 460, 461.

the Divinity, left with him. For he said and taught that the Egyptians have not just conceptions of the Divine nature in representing it by beasts and cattle; nor have the Lybians; nor have the Greeks who represent it by human forms. For that only is God which embraces us all, both land and sea."¹

The Roman satirist Juvenal (about A. D. 100) speaks of "the law, all which Moses delivered in the sacred volume."² "Moses," says Tacitus,³ "gave the Jewish nation new rites contrary to those of other men."

Writing, as we have already seen, was extensively practised in Egypt long before the age of Moses. The oldest of the sacred books of Thoth were composed at least as early as the building of the great pyramid.⁴ These books were partly of a religious and partly of a scientific character; or, rather, they constituted a system of natural and revealed theology. They passed as a revelation. The Egyptians "had a grand code of laws and jurisprudence, known as the celebrated Eight Books of Hermes (Thoth), which it was incumbent on those high priests called 'prophets' to be thoroughly versed in, and which the king, who held that office, was also required and entitled to know."⁵ The great conqueror, Sesostris, published laws respecting the army. The ancient Mnevis is said to have published laws which he pretended were the commands of Thoth. The proceedings in the courts were conducted in writing. Near the judge lay the eight books of law; the plaintiff was compelled to present his demand in writing, with an exact statement of the attendant facts.⁶ Contracts were made in writing; also terms of sale and service, where with us an oral agreement would be sufficient. This was the custom in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, B. C. 1500. The priests wrote down the succession of their kings, and engraved on stone the pious and memorable deeds of their ancestors. They also wrote annals of the achievements of their kings, and preserved them in the archives of the temples. Instructive histories from their annals were read to their kings. The priests of On (Heliopolis) enjoyed the reputation of having the greatest knowledge of history.⁷ The number of books possessed by the ancient Egyptians was great. Books were gathered and piled up in the temples and in the graves of their kings. In Memphis there was a book temple in the sanctuary of Pthah. In Karnak, on the

Laws and other records among the Egyptians.

¹ Liber xvi, 760, 761.

² Jus tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.—Liber xiv, 101, 102.

³ Hist., liber v, 4.

⁴ Wuttke, 557.

⁵ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians, etc., vol. ii, p. 226.

⁶ Wuttke, 574, 575.

⁷ Wuttke, Geschichte der Schrift, u. s. w., p. 570.

monument of Osymandoa, the great King Rameses I. (who, according to Seyffarth, was born B. C. 1730), there is found at Tepe a consecrated collection of books with the superscription, "Institute for the Cure of Souls." Champollion discovered a library hall, the origin of which he places in the sixteenth century before Christ.

The preserved remains of the written monuments of Egypt are so numerous that they surpass in number those of the Greeks and Romans. They consist of many thousands of rolls of papyrus and of inscriptions on stone. The Arabian physician and historian, Abdallatif, who wrote about A. D. 1200, assures us in his *Memorials of Egypt*, that if one could translate into a book merely the writings found on the two largest pyramids, the translation would fill about ten thousand leaves.¹

With the foregoing facts before us, the probability is strong that Moses must have written his laws for the Hebrews; and the supposition is reasonable that he wrote the annals of the Hebrews of his own age, and of the age of his ancestors. There is no ground for the theory of those rationalists who hold that Moses wrote little or nothing. We have already seen that, according to Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, Moses was originally a priest of Heliopolis, a town already in existence about B. C. 2000, as the single obelisk standing in the center of the ruins of the ancient city, bearing the name of Osirtasen I., clearly shows. "It may be regarded as the university of the land of Misraim: its priests from the most remote epochs were the great depositaries of theological and historical learning; and it was of sufficient political importance to furnish ten deputies, or one third of the whole number, to the great council which assisted the Pharaohs in the administration of justice." Herodotus remarks that the inhabitants of Heliopolis were regarded as the most learned of the Egyptians;² and Strabo informs us that they pointed out to him the residences of Plato and Eudoxus, who remained thirteen years with the priests.³

Accustomed to law books in Egypt, and being educated in the most learned city, whose priests were especially devoted to historical investigations, and where he had often seen the annals of Egyptian kings, it would be strange, indeed, if, as a lawgiver, Moses should write no laws, and if with all his learning he should not do for his ancestors and contemporaries what the Egyptian priests had done for their countrymen, namely, give written history. During a period of forty years he had ample opportunity to write his laws and the annals of the Hebrew people. If Julius Cæsar could write seven books of Commentaries on the Gallic Wars, half the size of the Pen-

¹ Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, u. s. w., p. 573. ² Liber ii, 3. ³ Liber xvii, 29.

tateuch, in the midst of his campaigns, which lasted nine years, surely Moses, notwithstanding his numerous official duties, might write twice as much in forty years.

Mohammed, too, the great Arabic legislator, wrote down his system in the Koran, which is about the size of the Pentateuch, during the period of twenty-three years, the last half of which was spent in numerous wars. Moreover, writing was but little used in Arabia before Mohammed's time.

Zaleucus, the celebrated Locrian lawgiver, *wrote* his laws (B. C. 660); and so did the distinguished Athenian lawgivers, Draco (B. C. 621) and Solon (B. C. 594).

But, further, a legislator in the position of Moses would have had the strongest reasons for writing his laws. For many of his institutions were entirely new, and others were modifications of previously existing customs. A theology was to be inculcated wholly different from that of the idolatrous nations in close contact with the Hebrews, and the entire system was to be maintained in opposition to the public sentiment that everywhere prevailed. Without a written revelation, to which they could refer as a standard, and which would be a perpetual check to their idolatrous tendencies, there would have been the greatest danger of the corruption of the system. What would have become of Christianity itself if it had been handed down, for some centuries, by oral tradition only, instead of having been committed to writing in the first century?

Probability of
Moses writing
his laws.

CHAPTER XII.

THE STATEMENT OF THE PENTATEUCH RESPECTING ITS AUTHOR.

THAT Moses kept a record of his laws, and of the most important events of the journey through the Desert, appears from various passages in the Pentateuch. In Exodus xvii, 14 it is said, in reference to Amalek, "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in *the book* (not in a book, as in the English version), and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: For (that) I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." The inference to be drawn is, not that this writing was something unusual and exceptional, but that the statement might seem to be so unim-

portant that Moses would not think it necessary to write it in his book ; for no one will pretend that Moses wrote every event of the Exodus. He was to write it in the book of laws and records for permanency and emphasis. In Exodus xxiv, 3, 4, it is stated: "And Moses came and told the people all the words of Jehovah and all the judgments, . . . and Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah, . . . And he took (the) book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people." The book here referred to contained, evidently, *all* the laws and precepts hitherto given to the people. Again, in Numbers xxxiii, 2, we read: "And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the command of Jehovah."

The following commandment we find in Deuteronomy xvii, 18, 19: "And it shall be when he (the king) sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear Jehovah his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them."

Reference is also made to the book of the law in Deuteronomy xxviii, 61: "Also every sickness and every plague which is not written in *the book of this law*;" also in chap. xxix, 20, 21, 27: "All the curses that are written in this book;" "All the curses of the covenant that are written in this book of the law;" "To bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book."

Again: "If thou shalt hearken unto the voice of Jehovah thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in *this book*" (Deut. xxx, 10). "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee" (Deut. xxxi, 24-26).

There is nothing strange in the mention of the book of the law in the book itself; the fact has its analogy in other writings. Thus, in the Korân of Mohammed we have the Korân named: "They to whom we have given the book (of the Korân);" "Teach them the book (of the Korân);" "The month of Ramadân (shall ye fast), in which the Korân was sent down;" "This Korân could not have been composed by any except God;"¹ "Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled that they might produce a book like this Korân, they could not produce one like unto it. . . .

References to
the Book of the
Law.

The Korân.

¹ Sale's Korân, chap. ii, chap. x.

And we have variously propounded unto men in this Korân every kind of figurative argument ;" and, "We send down of the Korân that which is a medicine and a mercy unto the true believers." In other passages are similar allusions.¹ Jesus the son of Sirach, the author of one of the books of the Apocrypha, inserts his own name, near the end of the last chapter but one of his work : "I, Jesus, the son of Sirach of Jerusalem, have inscribed in this book instruction in wisdom and knowledge."

The statements in the Pentateuch respecting its authorship are in every way worthy of credit. If the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, it is a forgery. The most of the declarations respecting the Mosaic authorship are found in Deuteronomy.² If Moses did not write that book, then it is a wicked fraud, and not "an innocent fiction," as it has been called. The unity of the Pentateuch has been pointed out, and in another place we will show that it belongs to the Mosaic age, so that the declarations in the book itself respecting its authorship apply to the *whole* book.

It is objected that Moses, throughout the Pentateuch, is spoken of in the *third* person : "Jehovah said unto Moses." But this usage is no real objection to the Mosaic authorship, as can be shown from many analogies. Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries on the Gallic Wars, always speaks of himself in the third person, and it is impossible to ascertain from the phraseology whether he wrote the work or not. Xenophon, in the Anabasis, speaks of himself in the third person : "There was in the army a certain Athenian, Xenophon, who accompanied the army neither as a general nor a captain nor a private soldier; but Proxenos, an old acquaintance, had sent for him." (Book iii, cap. i.) The same form of speaking occurs in numerous other places. Likewise in the Memorabilia (i, cap. iii, § 9) he speaks of himself in the third person : "Tell me, Xenophon, he said," etc. "And Xenophon replied." Josephus, in his Jewish Wars, speaks of himself invariably³ in the third person, as for example : "Josephus, the son of Matthias, is appointed governor of the two Galilees,"⁴ and "it was reported that Josephus died at the capture⁵ (of the town)."

In Cæsar's Commentaries, Xenophon's Anabasis, and in the Jewish Wars of Josephus, the authors were prominent actors in the history they were writing, and they viewed themselves as a part of

¹ Sale's Korân, chap. xvii.

² Bleek admits that Deut. xxxi, 9, probably attributes the whole of our Pentateuch to Moses. *Einleitung*, p. 308.

³ I have used the word "invariably," for I find no passage in the Wars in which he speaks of himself in the first person.

⁴ Liber ii, cap. xx, 4.

⁵ Liber iii, cap. ix, 5.

that history of which they were both the historians and spectators. In the same way Moses, as the lawgiver and leader of the Jewish people, is the principal character in the whole history, and as a historian he considers himself to be an objective part of the story he is narrating, and, consequently, speaks of himself in the third person.

It has been thought by some that the passage, "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth" (Num. xii, 3), is not such language as a writer would use in reference to himself. But the Hebrew word *anav*, rendered here "meek" by our translators, is thus defined by Gesenius: "*oppressed, afflicted, wretched*, but every-where with the accessory idea of humility, meekness; i. e., *the humble, the meek*, who prefer to suffer wrong rather than do wrong." (Heb. Lex.) Miriam and Aaron had spoken against Moses on account of the Ethiopian woman [Cushite, Midianite] whom he had married; and they said, Hath the LORD spoken only by Moses? hath he not also spoken by us? And the LORD heard it, and his anger was kindled against them, and Miriam became leprous. The object of the statement respecting Moses' meekness is, apparently, to show that no one was farther removed

Meekness of
Moses.

from a revengeful spirit than himself, and that the punishment inflicted upon Miriam was not through any resentment on his part. Perhaps an additional object was to show that Miriam and Aaron presumed to speak against Moses *because he would not avenge an insult*. There are times when men of the greatest modesty and humility can speak in the strongest terms in self-vindication and self-commendation: it is when they feel that gross injustice has been done them, and that their very virtues have furnished the occasion for their bad treatment. Under such circumstances there is a tendency to use language stronger than calm reason would justify, and stronger than even personal friends would employ. Was there ever a more egotistical speech made than that of Demosthenes De Corona? The occasion required it. St. Paul was unquestionably a man of profound humility. He styles himself "less than the least of all saints." (Eph. iii, 8.) But in spite of this utterance he declares on another occasion: "For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles," (2 Cor. xi, 5). Could we believe, if we had not the facts before us, that such apparently contradictory statements could proceed from the same man? But the strong language of self-commendation was called forth in vindication of his apostolic character when that was assailed. How absurd is Dr. Davidson's exposition of this passage, that *false* apostles are here referred to!

Apparent inconsistencies
in Paul's statements.

In cases like the present, criticism should be careful not to go beyond proper bounds in determining from the critic's own subjective feelings, which vary in different individuals, what a man would say—in seeking utterances at variance with its standard of propriety, and in denying that they were ever spoken at all. This is, in the language of Merivale on another subject, “the last resource of the morbid skepticism which cannot suffer any author to say more or less than harmonizes with its own gratuitous canons of historical criticism.”¹

In the first verse of the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy we have the following statement: “And this is the blessing wherewith Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel.” There is no more necessity of referring this to Moses than there is of attributing to him the superscription of the ninetyeth Psalm: “A prayer of Moses, the man of God.” The thirty-second chapter closes with the command of God to Moses to get up unto Mount Nebo and die there, which properly finishes the book and the career of Moses. The superscription to the thirty-third chapter is given to mark definitely that it belongs to him, and to distinguish it from the next chapter, the last, which records his death, and belongs to a later hand.

Against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch it is urged by De Wette that “it is nonsense to suppose that one man should have created the epic-historical, rhetorical, and poetic styles of writing in their whole extent, the three departments of Hebrew literature in substance and spirit, and have left succeeding writers nothing to do but to follow him.”² In this statement there is a want of historical accuracy, and a narrow view of the possible powers of the human mind. Moses was not the creator of poetry, nor of his-
Answer to the
charges of De
Wette.
torical writing. Poetry³ was in use among the ancient Egyptians; and the ancient priests of Heliopolis,⁴ where

Moses was educated, were distinguished for their historical investigations. Poetical compositions are generally the first literary productions of a people, as we see among the Hindoos and Greeks. In the Pentateuch reference is made to those who speak in proverbs, חֲכָמִים, (*the poets*), Num. xxi, 27; “Israel sang this song,” xxi, 17. Thus it is evident that it was not Moses alone who possessed the poetic spirit. All the poetry attributed to him in the Pentateuch amounts to only three or four chapters, and it is not of that lofty style which characterizes Isaiah, nor has it all the fullness of the Psalms. The historical portions of the Pentateuch are marked by great simplicity,

¹ Remarks on the Genuineness of Cæsar's Commentaries on the Civil Wars.—History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. ii, p. 209, note.

² Einleitung, p. 268. ³ Wuttke, Geschichte der Schrift, p. 571. ⁴ Ibid., 570.

by an entire want of art, and abound in repetitions. Thus it is far from being true that Moses "left succeeding writers nothing to do but to follow him."

Moses was certainly a man of great intellectual power, and the variety of his gifts can be determined only by history. Nor is history deficient in parallels to Moses, so far as the gifts of genius are concerned. Julius Cæsar was a truly wonderful man. "He was at one and the same time a general, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a philologist, a mathematician, and an architect. He was equally fitted to excel in all, and has given proofs that he would have surpassed almost all other men in any subject to which he devoted the energies of his extraordinary mind."¹

The *natural* endowments of Cæsar seem to have been greater than those of Moses. Will the narrow criticism of De Wette reject the history of Cæsar as unhistoric, and banish it to the regions of the mythical?

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

THE Fifth Book of Moses is placed by some of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch as late as King Manasseh or Josiah, and it is sometimes represented as contradicting parts of the previous history and legislation. The book is undoubtedly written in a free and independent spirit, not with a slavish adherence to what precedes. This, however, is by no means an argument against its Mosaic authorship, but rather in favour of it; for who would be bold enough to deviate in any degree in such a work from the Mosaic history and laws? But this does not go to the root of the matter, for Deuteronomy professes to be written by Moses; and if it is not his work it is an impious fraud, and must have been executed under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. For a Mosaic code of laws had (on this hypothesis)

Supposed argu-
ment against
Deuteronomy.

¹Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, art. Cæsar.

been already long in existence, and been recognised as his, and used by David and quoted by the Prophets. Can we, for impossibility a moment, suppose that a newly written book, attributed of forgery. to Moses, could have so deceived the whole Jewish people as to be regarded as his real production, his final legislation, and his farewell address? Of all forged writings, codes of laws are the most difficult to execute with success, for they are matters of the greatest notoriety and of public interest; while writings of a private character, but little known and of little public interest, may be greatly enlarged by forgery. But the addition of Deuteronomy to the long well known code of the law of Moses was clearly impossible. No one in his senses could believe that such a document, originating with Moses, had been buried for five or eight centuries, especially when it is ordered that when "he [the king] sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites" (xvii, 18); and "when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing" (xxxi, 11). Further: "Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi" (xxxi, 9). Can it be supposed that a book thus submitted to the Levites by Moses, and ordered to be read at one of the great festivals at the end of every seven years, and of which the king was to obtain a copy for his guidance, should be absolutely unknown for so many centuries? For if this was incredible to the ancient Hebrews, they could never have believed that the newly-forged book was written by Moses. Imagine the effect that would have been produced in the Christian Church if a fifth gospel, bearing the name of Peter or James, had been forged five or eight centuries after Christ! With what contempt it would have been treated! And it is expressly enjoined in this book: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it" (iv, 2). A similar prohibition is made in xii, 32.

The Book of Deuteronomy bears the stamp of Moses in both its narrative and legislative parts; and its exhortations also suit Moses in a striking manner. In a brief recapitulation of the history of the Israelites Moses moves with great ease and freedom, supplying incidents not found in the previous history. A forger would not have ventured upon this, but would have made up his sketch from known incidents; nor would he have dared to depart in any degree from the Mosaic legislation lying before him.

Respecting this book, Bleek remarks: "It cannot escape the attentive reader that the legislation in Deuteronomy differs greatly

from the earlier books, in language, representation, in its entire tone, in the hortative, warning, and threatening character pervading the whole book, and leads to the supposition of a different author from the editor of the other books."¹ This is an exaggerated statement; but that it should be partially true is natural. Is not Washington's Farewell Address different from his messages to Congress? Is not a pastor's farewell discourse different from his ordinary sermons? Are we so well acquainted with Moses as to be able to know accurately the style and language he would employ, what he would say, and what he would not? So far is this from being true that we do not know in most cases what we ourselves would say under given circumstances. It is a narrow and overweening criticism that undertakes to determine what a writer or speaker should express on any given occasion, and, finding the style and expressions different from what was to be expected, declares the utterances spurious. In different circumstances and on different subjects the style of the same speaker or writer is often found to vary. Sometimes is this so much the case that the address or writing would, on internal grounds, be pronounced spurious if its genuineness were not established by undoubted external evidence.

The blessings which Moses declares shall come upon the Israelites if they are obedient, and the curses that are to overtake them if they shall prove to be disobedient, are detailed at length in Deuteronomy chap. xxviii. In Leviticus xxvi, 3-45, we have similar prophecies of the blessings and curses which may fall upon the Israelites, so that in this respect there is not the slightest pretext for pretending that Deuteronomy is different from Leviticus. The resemblance is so strong between the two chapters that Bleek² declares that the author of Deuteronomy wrote the chapter in Leviticus.³ This is, no doubt, true, but not in Bleek's sense.

In regard to the language of Deuteronomy, we have already remarked that the archaisms peculiar to the first four books of the Pentateuch run through this book. In Deuteronomy, as well as in Numbers, Jericho everywhere has the form יֵרִיחוֹ; but in Joshua it is always יְרִיחוֹ, and in 1 Kings xvi, 34, the form יֵרִיחוֹ is found. Horeb is used in several places in Deuteronomy, and Sinai but once (xxxiii, 2); but Horeb is also used in Exod. iii, 1, xvii, 6, xxxiii, 6; and it seems that the whole mountain was called Horeb, and a particular summit Sinai (so Robinson and Fürst); hence we have the expression בְּחֹרֵב *in Horeb*. Deut. i, 6

¹ Einleitung, p. 299.

² Einleitung, p. 312.

³ Dr. Davidson does not attribute Lev. xxvi, 3-45 to the author of Deuteronomy, but thinks the chapter in Deuteronomy an echo of that in Leviticus.

Psaln cvi, 19. And the different meanings of the two words suit this view: Horeb, *waste, desert*; Sinai, *rocky, jagged*. In the nineteenth of Exodus Mount Sinai is spoken of as if it were a single summit. But when Moses had reached the plains of Moab the single summit had receded, and the general range and name presented themselves to his view.

The stand-point of the author of Deuteronomy is evidently that of one in the position of Moses on the plains of Moab. In chap. xi, 30, it is stated respecting mountains Gerizim and Ebal: "Are they not on the other side Jordan, *by the way where the sun goeth down*, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains [Heb. *oaks*] of Moreh?" This language would be wholly unsuitable and false to one living in Palestine. According to Dr. Tristram, Ebal and Gerizim and the opening of the vale of Shechem¹ can be seen from the top of Nebo. And we have no doubt that from other high points beyond the Jordan, where Moses and the Israelites had been sojourning, the sun had been often seen to sink behind Ebal and Gerizim. To a writer living after the conquest of Canaan it was not at all necessary to state where Ebal and Gerizim are situated, for they are conspicuous mountains. The whole passage is decidedly Mosaic. The cities of refuge east of the Jordan are said to be toward the sunrising, which suits the position of Moses, but would suit Palestine equally well.

Phrases and passages applying only to the Mosaic age.

Moses, in Deuteronomy i, 7, 19, 20, speaks of the mountain of the Amorites (the central range of Palestine). Reference is made to this in Num. xiii, 29: "The Amorites dwell in the mountains." But in the Book of Joshua the range is already called "the mountain of Israel" (xi, 16). In Deut. iii, 11, mention is made of Og, king of Bashan, the remnant of the giants; "Behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man." This passage belongs most suitably to the Mosaic age, and could not have been written after the time of David, for we find in 2 Samuel xii, 26-31, that David took Rabbath of the children of Ammon, and destroyed the inhabitants, and got great spoil. Such an incident as this respecting the bedstead of Og would, in all probability, have faded away had it not been written down in the Mosaic age.

The declaration that a Moabite shall never enter the congregation of Jehovah (Deut. xxiii, 3) could not have been invented and attributed to Moses in the age of David, or subsequently, as King

¹ Land of Moab, p. 338.

David was the great-grandson of a Moabitess (Ruth iv). The prohibition that the future king should "not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses, forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way" (xvii, 16), was quite natural to Moses, who might fear that the Israelites would be tempted to return to Egypt. But centuries afterward, when the people had come to Canaan, there was no ground for this fear.

The precept not to abhor an Egyptian, "because thou wast a stranger in his land" (Deut. xxiii, 7), differs from similar precepts in the other books from its being special,—“an Egyptian,”—but it is very natural for Moses, who had left Egypt, to use it. In subsequent ages, however, other strangers had relations with Israel.

In Deut. xxviii, 68, it is said, "The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships." From this Dr. Davidson infers that the passage was written after the Egyptians had become a highly commercial people, and, of course, long after Moses. But waiving the prophetic character of the passage, it does not say, in *Egyptian ships*. In the Mosaic age the Phœnicians, living on the borders of Palestine, were the great traders of the world. In chap. xxv, 17-19, special directions are given to blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, when Jehovah shall have given Israel rest from their enemies, on the ground that he had smitten the hindmost of the Israelites when they were faint and weary. The charge is ended with the command: "Thou shalt not forget it." Both Saul and David gained victories over the Amalekites, and in the time of Hezekiah we find that five hundred men, sons of Simeon, went to Mount Seir, and "smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day" (1 Chron. iv, 41-43). After this nothing more is heard of the Amalekites. How unnatural it would be for a writer, after they had been annihilated, to represent Jehovah as commanding the Israelites "to blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it."

In the blessings pronounced upon the tribes of Israel (ch. xxxiii) there is no indication that the prophetic utterances were made up at a later period from the history of the tribes and put into the mouth of Moses. The language is too indefinite. The blessing pronounced upon Benjamin can have no allusion to the extension of his border to Zion: "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders" (xxxiii, 12). But little is said respecting Judah; and this would be inexplicable in a prophecy

made up of Judah in the days of her kings. In Deut. xviii, 18, God promises to raise up a prophet (נָבִיא), the singular. If the passage had been written in the time of the prophets with reference to them, it strikes us that the plural, נְבִיאִים, would have been used.

The mention of the Zamzummin (Deut. ii, 20) indicates that the book was written at an early period, as they must soon have faded out of the minds of the Israelites.

The language in xi, 10, is extremely natural for one in the position of Moses: "For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs." Respecting some of the details of the Israelitish history not found in the preceding books, from what source could the author of Deuteronomy have obtained them if he had written seven or eight hundred years after Moses? Are we to suppose that *minute* incidents in the Mosaic history, not incorporated into the first four books of the Pentateuch, had been floating about like sibylline leaves for centuries? It is incredible that there were historical sources for the Mosaic history outside of the first four books, on which the author of Deuteronomy could have drawn in the age of Josiah, or even in that of David. When Luke wrote his gospel many writings on the history of Christ had already appeared, but not a vestige of them is found in the second century. Two or three hundred years after Christ there was nothing authentic respecting him except what had been written in the apostolic age. And that age, too, was one of great literary activity, and the highest interest was felt in every thing pertaining to the Saviour. In the prophets, psalms, and historians of the Old Testament subsequently to the Mosaic age, the historical references to that period are taken from the Pentateuch, and from no other source.

No floating traditions out of which Deuteronomy could be written.

If the historical additions to the Mosaic history that are given in Deuteronomy are not from Moses, they are pure inventions. The additions are the following: The repentance of the Israelites after they had been defeated by the Amorites, "And ye returned and wept before the Lord" (i, 45); the stay of the Israelites in Kadesh, "Ye abode in Kadesh many days" (i, 46); the command, "Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of their land for a possession" (ii, 9); the divine command to cross the Arnon and to begin to possess the territory of King Sihon (ii, 24); and, what is more important, "the space in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty and eight

Additions in Deuteronomy to Mosaic history.

years; until all the generation of the men of war were wasted away from among the host" (ii, 14). In ch. i, 44 it is stated that the Amorites chased the Israelites; while in Num. xiv, 45, the Amalekites and the Canaanites are said to have smitten them; but the Amorites are doubtless included in the Canaanites. In x, 1, 2, we have two separate commands (Exod. xxv, 10, 16; xxxiv, 1) blended into one: "At that time the Lord said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them into the ark." In the first-named passage in Exodus the Israelites were directed to make an ark, in which "thou shalt put the testimony which I shall give thee;" while in the second, Moses is directed to hew two tables of stone like the first. These passages were evidently brought together by Moses for brevity's sake.

The statement made by Moses respecting the appointment of judges (Deut. i, 9-18) occurs between the command to leave Horeb and the actual departure; and he speaks of their having been constituted "at that time." But in referring to Exod. xviii, it seems that Jethro advised their appointment when Moses was at the mount of God; yet they may not have been appointed immediately. Again, in Deut. x, 8, Moses states: "At that time Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi;" but the stations of the Israelites, named in the verses immediately preceding these words, had not been reached when the tribe of Levi was consecrated to God. But Moses adds: "And I stayed in the mount, according to the first time, forty days and forty nights; and Jehovah hearkened unto me at that time also, and Jehovah would not destroy thee. And Jehovah said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in and possess the land." It appears, then, that Deut. x, 6, 7, has no connexion with what follows.

In reciting the principal events of the history of the Israelites after they left Egypt, it is not to be expected that Moses should state the exact time of the incidents on which nothing depended; it is sufficient that he does not contradict the previous history. But it must be observed that thirty-eight years had elapsed since the events narrated in Exodus and in a considerable portion of Numbers. Under these circumstances considerable latitude must be given to the phrase "at that time," which seems to be used to indicate the comparatively short period intervening between the departure from Egypt and the arrival in Kadesh-barnea. For after thirty-eight years the incidents of

Exact time of incidents not to be expected in Deuteronomy.

the early wanderings in the desert seemed to Moses to have occurred, as it were, in a unit, or in one period of time.

Respecting the deviations between Deuteronomy and the other books of the Pentateuch, Dr. Davidson remarks: "We admit that there is no positive contradiction between them. This has been successfully made out by Stähelin and Von Lengerke."¹

Davidson—"No positive contradiction" can be shown.

Respecting the legislation in Deuteronomy, it is to be observed that it is partly affirmatory and partly supplementary; but hardly any part is revocatory. The ten commandments delivered by God from Mount Sinai (Exod. xx) are repeated substantially in Deut. v, 6-21, with a reference to their original delivery, "As Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee;" "And therefore, Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." The legislation in Deuteronomy evidently presupposes that of the preceding books. The supplementary legislation became necessary in some cases from the changes that were about to occur in the condition of the Israelites, in their transition from wandering in the desert to the possession of the land of Canaan. Of such a character are the directions for carrying on war (Deut. xx), and the command to set up stones on Mount Ebal and to write on them the words of the law, and to bless the people from Mount Gerizim and to pronounce curses from Mount Ebal.

Legislation in Deuteronomy.

The modifications of the preceding laws are few. In Leviticus xvii, 4-9, the children of Israel are commanded to offer sacrifice only at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. But in Deut. xii, and in other passages, they are ordered, when they shall have entered the land of Canaan, to offer sacrifice only in the place "which Jehovah shall choose in one of thy tribes."

The prohibition against lending to poor Israelites upon usury (Exod. xxii, 25, Lev. xxv, 36, 37) is expressed in general terms: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother: usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury." And it is added: "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii, 19, 20). It does not appear that this precept not to lend on usury to the Israelites is a revocation of the similar ones in Exodus and Leviticus not to lend to the *poor* Israelite upon usury. For it would be the poor who would most likely borrow, as corporations, and large business establishments requiring capital, were unknown. Indeed the precept is based upon the principle of benevolence, and no one would feel himself bound to lend to the rich. In Lev. xxv, 35-37, it is said: "If thy brother be waxen poor,

¹ Introduction, vol. i, p. 367.

and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase: . . . Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." This is evidently a command to lend to the poor Israelite without interest; but in Deuteronomy there is no command to lend at all.

In Deut. xvi, 16, it is enjoined that "three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose." This command, with the exception of the last clause, is a repetition of that in Exodus xxiii, 14, 17, and xxxiv, 23. The children of Israel are directed to bring their sacrifices to the place which Jehovah shall choose out of all the tribes to put his name there, and in that place only to offer their burnt offerings (Deut. xii). It is given with special reference to their abode in Canaan (chap. xii, 1), while that in Lev. xvii, 3-5, to offer the sacrifices only at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, refers to the sojourn in the desert.

Dr. Davidson thinks, that by the expression in Deuteronomy, "the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there," Jerusalem, and not the place where the tabernacle should happen to be, is designated.¹ Of course, it is to him a proof of the late origin of Deuteronomy. Even upon the supposition that Jerusalem is referred to in Deuteronomy, the proof of its Mosaic authorship would not be invalidated, except in the opinion of those who deny that Moses was endowed with a prophetic spirit. But the supposition that the reference is to Jerusalem is destitute of all proof. For when the land was subdued by Joshua the tabernacle of the congregation was pitched at Shiloh (Josh. xviii, 1), and to this place the people went up to worship during the period of the Judges. "The house of God was in Shiloh" (Judg. xviii, 31); "there is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly" (Judg. xxi, 19); "and this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Lord of hosts in Shiloh" (1 Sam. i, 3); "and brought him unto the house of the Lord in Shiloh" (1 Sam. i, 24); and "so the people sent to Shiloh, that they might bring from thence the ark of the covenant of the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth between the cherubim" (1 Sam. iv, 4). But Jeremiah furnishes the clearest proof that Shiloh was the place chosen of the Lord before Jerusalem: "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people

Groundless
supposition of
Davidson.

¹ Page 363.

Israel" (vii, 12).¹ Here is a clear reference to Deut. xii, 11: "a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there."

The language of Deuteronomy, from its indefiniteness, suits any place, and contains nothing inconsistent with a Mosaic origin; moreover, it is referred to in several instances in the subsequent history of Israel. For example, Joshua "made them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord, even unto this day, *in the place which he should choose*" (Josh. ix, 27). In Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple we find an undoubted reference to Deut. xii, 5: "Toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there" (1 Kings viii, 29).

In connexion with the command to offer sacrifice only in the place which the Lord should choose, it is said: "Ye shall not do after all that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes" (Deut. xii, 8). Here Dr. Davidson supposes that the author of Deuteronomy has transferred the existing state of things at a late period to the Mosaic age.² But this is an unfounded supposition. If, however, it is to be referred to a period later than the Mosaic age, the period of the Judges, when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judg. xvii, 6; xxi, 25), and not that of King Josiah, more than eight centuries after Moses, would seem more suitable. But there is no necessity to refer it to a post-Mosaic period at all. The disorderly state of things grew out of the unsettled life of the Israelites before they entered Canaan: "For ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance which the Lord your God giveth you" (Deut. xii, 9).

In Lev. xvii, 3-7, the children of Israel are charged in the following language: "What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp, and bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord before the tabernacle of the Lord . . . to the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace offerings unto the Lord." In Deut. xii it is said, in respect to the place which Jehovah should choose: "Thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and heave offer-

¹ "So that he forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which he placed among men; . . . but chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion which he loved." Psal. lxxviii, 60, 68.

² Page 368.

ings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks: and there ye shall eat before the Lord your God." Then follows the command not to do as at present, "every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes." In Lev. xvii the command has reference to the *sacrifice of animals* only, while not a word is said in reference to tithes, heave offerings, vows, freewill offerings, and the firstlings of herds and flocks, respecting which Deut. xii gives directions after the people shall have entered the land of Canaan.

Respecting the legislation in Deuteronomy, we may ask, Who would venture to annul or modify any of the laws of Moses contained in the preceding books? Such abrogations or modifications could come only from the lawgiver himself. All additions to, or explanations of, the Mosaic legislation would have assumed the form of tradition, and would not have been incorporated into the written code. This has been actually the case with the oral tradition of the Jews, which they pretend was handed down from Moses. They have never been bold enough to incorporate it into the Pentateuch, but wrote it down in a separate work, The Mishna, more than sixteen centuries after Moses.¹ The Roman Catholic Church has numerous traditions, but it has never gone so far as to incorporate them into the New Testament. Nor have the Mohammedans inserted their numerous traditional precepts into the Koran.

Had the Pentateuch been revised by a late author, the supposed Deuteronomist, for example, it must have presented a different aspect, and all the precepts bearing upon one subject would, in all probability, have been brought together, and would not lie scattered, as at present, in an undigested form, as they were delivered at different times.

Deuteronomy properly ends with chapter xxxii, 49-52, "Get thee up into this mountain Abarim," etc. The blessing of Moses (xxxiii) has the addition, "the man of God," which is foreign to the rest of the Pentateuch. Chapter xxxiv shows itself to be quite a late appendix, from another hand, after the tribes of Israel had settled in Canaan. For it says the Lord showed Moses "all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah" (verse 2). This is very different from all the preceding part of the book. The same may be said of the phrase, "And not yet has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses" (verse 10), which points to quite a late period.

¹ The Mishna was written in its present form A. D. 219.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROOF OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH FROM
INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

AS we find no sufficient ground for separating Deuteronomy from the other books of the Pentateuch, and as all the five stand closely connected, the question arises, Do we find, in any of the books, portions bearing the strongest internal evidence of their having been written by Moses? For if it can be shown that Moses actually wrote a considerable portion of the Pentateuch, the genuineness of the whole will easily follow.

The instructions respecting the building of the ark, and especially of the tabernacle, and the history of the execution of the work, contain every mark of having been written during the sojourn in the desert, at the very time of the occurrences. First, we have in Exodus (xxv-xxxi) minute directions given to Moses from God respecting the construction of the ark, the table of showbread, the garments of Aaron and his consecration, and especially the tabernacle; and he is charged: "And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv, 40). In the next place we have, in Exodus xxxvi-xl, a detailed account of the work itself. All this would be unnatural in a post-Mosaic age. A laboured description of the way the tabernacle is to be built, and a tedious account of the execution of the work, are not to be thought of in the ages later than Moses. The directions respecting its construction seem to have been written before the tabernacle was erected, and it appears that it was built in accordance with the written plan. In this way it may be explained why we have both the directions respecting the building and the history of its execution.¹

Instructions concerning the building of the tabernacle and ark belong to time of Moses.

The laws relating to the leprosy (Lev. xiii, xiv, 1-32) were evidently enacted and recorded in the desert, for we find special reference to the encampment of the Israelites: "He [the leper] shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be" (chap. xiii, 46); "and the priest shall go forth out of the camp" (xiv, 3); "and after that he shall come into the camp" (xiv, 8). That these

¹ We have already shown the high state of art that existed in Egypt in the Mosaic age, thus refuting De Wette's objection to the Mosaic origin of the tabernacle

laws have special reference to the desert appears also from their being followed by laws upon the same subject that assume the living of the people in houses in Canaan: "When ye come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession" (xiv, 34). Also in Lev. xvi, 10, 21, 22, where it is stated that the scapegoat is sent into the wilderness (desert): "And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat¹ in the wilderness" (desert); ver. 22. Mention is also made of the camp: "And afterward come into the camp;" and "afterward he shall come into the camp." The incident related in Lev. xxiv, 10-16, concerning the blasphemy of the son of the Israelitish woman whose father was an Egyptian, and the proceedings in his case, bear the stamp of historical truth.

The Book of Numbers opens with an enumeration of the children of Israel, in which we find the exact number of each of the ten tribes and of the half tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, with the omission of Levi (chap. i). We have in the following chapter the position assigned the most of the tribes in the line of march. All this, in its circumstantiality, bears marks of having been written in the desert. In chapter iii an enumeration is made of the Levites, and a statement is given of their respective charges. Chapter iv gives specific directions concerning the parts of the tabernacle to be borne by the men between the ages of thirty and fifty in the families of the three sons of Levi. This regulation pertained to the Levites only during the wanderings in the desert and their entrance into Canaan. After the tabernacle had been pitched in Shiloh, and the Levites settled in forty-eight cities, this temporary arrangement certainly ceased.

The Levites, with the exception of those who bore the tabernacle, entered the divine service when twenty-five years of age (Lev. viii, 24). Such an arrangement as this, with all the attendant circumstances, could not have originated in an age subsequent to Moses, but bears every mark of having been adopted on the journey through the desert. The minute details of the offerings brought before the Lord (chap. vii) must have been recorded at the time they were made. The incident

¹ *שְׂעִיר*, *Asazel*, rendered *scapegoat* in the English version, is most probably Satan, as Hengstenberg understands it. Both Gesenius and Fürst give it as *an evil demon*. It may be Typhon, the evil being of the Egyptian mythology, equivalent to Satan. The goat upon which were confessed the sins of the people was sent away to *שְׂעִיר*, *Asazel*, in the desert, not so much as a sacrifice to this evil being as an indication to whom evil belongs, and to give Satan his due.

in Numbers ix, 6, 7, where certain men, defiled by a dead body, are kept back from observing the passover, and apply to Moses for redress, bears every mark of being a genuine event recorded at the time of its occurrence.

The law relating to the blowing of the trumpets in Numbers x must also have been written in the desert, as the following language shows: "When ye blow an alarm, then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward. When ye blow an alarm the second time, then the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey; they shall blow an alarm for their journeys." The remaining part of the chapter abounds in details indicative of contemporary history. The narrative respecting the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, and who was kept confined until the will of God respecting him was known, bears the stamp of truth. Nor does the prefatory remark, "*And the children of Israel were in the desert, and found,*" etc., imply that the passage was written after the Israelites had entered Canaan. It could certainly have been written when they reached the land of Moab.

In Numbers xvii, 2, we have the following: "Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of every one of them a rod according to the house of their fathers, of all their princes according to the house of their fathers, twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod." Here we have reference to an Egyptian custom, familiar to Moses and to the other Israelites who had lived in Egypt. Wilkinson remarks: "When walking from home Egyptian gentlemen frequently carried sticks, varying from three or four to about six feet in length, occasionally surmounted with a knob imitating a flower. . . . *The name of each person was frequently written on his stick.*"¹

In Numbers xix we have an ordinance evidently written in the desert: "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, . . . and ye shall give her unto Eleazar the priest, that he may bring her forth without the camp;" "afterward he shall *come into the camp*;" and "a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and lay them up *without the camp* in a clean place." The reference here to the encampment of the Israelites in the desert is obvious. The song sung by Israel, Num. xxi, 17, 18, "Spring up, O well," etc., evidently originated in the desert, and was perhaps written at the time.²

The customs and usages of ancient Egypt, as represented upon her monuments belonging to the Mosaic age, show by their frequent correspondence with the institutions of the Pentateuch that the

¹ Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii, 346-348.

² Also the song in xxi, 27-30, was most probably written at the time of the events.

author of that work was not only thoroughly acquainted with ancient Egypt, but that in all probability he had been educated in that country.

Egyptian customs prove the acquaintance of the author of the Pentateuch with ancient Egypt.

The Abbé Victor Ancessi, in his treatise on *L'Égypte et Moïse*, shows so many points of correspondence between the mitre, the robe, and the breastplate of the Jewish high priest, the material of the dress of the priests, the garments of the Levites, and the sacrifice of doves¹ as described

in the middle books of the Pentateuch, and the arrangements of a similar nature found on the monuments of Egypt, that it is impossible to doubt that this legislation originated in the desert during the Mosaic age. "It is impossible that these pages [the pages of the Pentateuch that describe the garments of the Hebrew

Ancessi proving correspondence between Jewish services and similar arrangements on Egyptian monuments.

priests and the sacrifice of doves], which are bound by bonds so close and strong to the entire work of Moses, were not written immediately after (*au lendemain, on the morrow*) the Exodus and for a people still full of the memory of Egypt. Moreover, these pages were evidently dictated by a man who knew thoroughly the Egyptian rites and customs, and who had been initiated into the ideas, tastes, and arts of the most original civilization of antiquity. Now, in all the history of Israel, only one considerable and influential man is found in these conditions—that is Moses. The only time when the organization of worship could take place was in crossing the desert. It is useless to insist upon these two points. No one is allowed to call them in question. It was, then, by Moses, and during the sojourn of the Hebrews in the Peninsula of Sinai, that these pages were written."² We may add that the pictures of the Egyptian arks on the monuments sufficiently correspond with the description of the Hebrew ark of the covenant (Exod. xxv, 10-22; xxxvii, 1-9) to show the pattern after which it was largely modeled.³

The foregoing facts prove conclusively that the priestly legislation in the Pentateuch was largely affected by Egypt, and there is not a vestige of Babylonian influence visible in its composition; thus the theory of Graf, Wellhausen, and W. Robertson Smith that the priestly legislation was the work of Ezra, and possibly others during or after the Babylonian captivity, carries its own refutation upon its very face.

¹ The sacrifice of doves is mentioned in Lev. i, 14-17; v, 8. The English translation is partly erroneous. The dove's neck is to be wrung, but not separated from the head. There are pictures on the Egyptian monuments in which the priests are wringing the necks of the doves, but not separating them from the head.

² *L'Égypte et Moïse*, par L'Abbé Victor Ancessi, Paris, 1875.

³ See pictures of the Egyptian arks in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, and in M'Climock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*.

The remark on the daughters of Zelophehad, and their inheritance, found in Num. xxvii, 1-7, has all the marks of genuine history, and was recorded, no doubt, at the time of the event. Chapter xxxiii contains the journeys of the Israelites from the time they left Succoth until they arrived in the plains of Moab; and, from the nature of the case, the narrative must have been written in the Mosaic age. Besides, it is expressly stated: "Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys."

Even of those who deny the genuineness of the Pentateuch, there are found some who admit that large portions of it were written by Moses. Bleek thinks that large sections were written either by Moses, or by some one in his age. Bleek's concession of large sections of Mosaic origin. "Of this nature," he says, "are many laws which contain clear traces of the Mosaic age, found especially in Leviticus, and also in Numbers and Exodus, which refer to relations and circumstances that existed only in the Mosaic age, when the people wandered in the desert and were closely pressed together in camps or under tents—a condition of things which was entirely changed after the people took possession of the land of Canaan, and had settled in the towns and in the open country."¹ Under this head he places the *first seven chapters* of Leviticus, chapters xi-xvi, xvii, and Numbers xix. He evidently regards Exodus xxv-xxxi, which contains the account of the building of the tabernacle and kindred matters, as having been written in the Mosaic age. He also supposes three songs in Numbers xxi, 14, 15, 17, 18, 27-30, to have been written in the same period.²

Bleek draws the following conclusions from the laws which he acknowledges to have been written by Moses himself, or, Bleek's conclusions. at least, in the Mosaic age: "1. Although it may be supposed that the Pentateuch in its present form was not composed by Moses, and that many single laws in it are the product of a later age, yet the legislation contained in the Pentateuch, in its entire spirit and character, is genuinely Mosaic. 2. Already in the Mosaic age writing must have been in use among the Hebrew people; for, without it, such laws in such fulness would not have been written down at that time. 3. In the Pentateuch (at least so far as the three middle books are especially concerned) we stand in general upon *historical* ground. As, indeed, in these laws the same relations of the Israelitish people are presupposed which the historical part of the Pentateuch brings before us, so do they serve to establish the historical character of the Pentateuch in general."³

Dr. Samuel Davidson also acknowledges that considerable portions of the Pentateuch were written by Moses, or a contemporary.

¹ Einleitung, p. 202.

² Ibid., pp. 202-209.

³ Ibid., p. 206.

He makes Moses the author in substance of Exod. xx, 2-14, and xxi-xxiii, 19. Chapters xxv-xxxi, relating to the building of the tabernacle, he looks upon "as originating with Moses, and as probably written down by him in its present state."¹ "Probably," says he, "these are not the only legal prescriptions in Exodus which Moses wrote." "Another portion," continues the same author, "which seems to be Mosaic in its origin, and probably, too, in its composition, is Lev. i-vii." Chapters xi-xvi, and xvii with a slight exception, he also refers to Moses, and thinks that xxiv, 1-9, was probably written by him.

In Numbers he refers chapters i, ii, iv, x, 1-8, xix, to the Mosaic age, and regards vi, 22-27, as probably belonging to the same period. Also in Numbers xxi "three poems are referred to, or given, which belong likewise to the Mosaic age." "These," says he, "are not the only parts of the three middle books of the Pentateuch written by Moses; but they are the most probable and perceptible ones. Doubtless, single prescriptions are scattered here and there throughout the present books which also came from Moses' pen. . . . The *germ* and *nucleus* of the entire legislation contained in these three books [Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers] is Mosaic. Some parts he wrote himself; others were probably written by a contemporary under his direction, or with his sanction."²

The concessions of Bleek and Davidson are valuable, as coming from able critics who are not disposed to attribute to Moses more than they can well avoid conceding. And we remark that the former has evidently more confidence in the Mosaic history than the latter.

In fact, no fair-minded critic can deny that large portions of the Pentateuch came from Moses. With this solid foundation on which to stand, we can fairly claim the whole Pentateuch to be his work, a few passages possibly excepted, which we shall subsequently consider. For we have already seen that there is a *unity* of plan running through the whole of it, and that from Genesis to Deuteronomy it is pervaded by the same archaisms. There is no possibility of evading the genuineness of the Pentateuch, except by adopting the document hypothesis. Now this can be applied with any show of reason to the book of Genesis only, and breaks down altogether when applied to the entire five books.

When we find in various parts of an ancient author such strong internal evidence as fixes the *age* of those parts, we naturally attribute the *whole* work to the same age, even where we do not discern the same internal evidence. For all parts of

¹ Introduction, p. 109.

² Ibid., vol. i, pp. 109-112.

a work do not furnish us with criteria by which to determine the age and the author. And if passages are discovered which might be referred to a later age than that clearly indicated by other parts, we still refer them to the age otherwise established. But if in a work of such a character we find words, or even sentences, of a later period, we regard them as interpolations, especially if they do not constitute an integral and inseparable part of the whole.

These principles of criticism, we think, are just, and they should be applied in the examination of the Pentateuch.

When it is once established that Moses wrote a portion of the laws in the Pentateuch, it becomes probable that he wrote others also which were of equal importance. In fact, during the period of forty years, there was ample time to develop the whole legislative system of the Hebrews; and being familiar with the comprehensive legislation of the Egyptians, it was not to be expected that he would leave a code of laws very imperfect,—which would be the case if we deny his authorship of any considerable part of the legislation in the Pentateuch.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that a small body of laws written down by Moses as having been delivered by God to him—the great legislator who was believed to be commissioned from heaven—would have received so many large additions. Whatever laws Moses wrote would have had the greatest authority with the Hebrew nation, and would have been safely kept, and guarded as a sacred treasure, separate and distinct from all other laws. Customs and regulations lying outside of the written code would be preserved as oral tradition. This is precisely analogous to what has actually occurred with Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, as we have already shown. The history in the three middle books of the Pentateuch is so interwoven with a great deal of the legislation that it is impossible to separate them; so that whatever establishes the Mosaic authorship of the laws, at the same time establishes that of the history. And independently of this consideration, there are, as we have seen, portions of the history that bear internal marks of having been written in the Mosaic age. At all events, we are authorized to conclude that the Pentateuch originated with Moses. And to this view that distinguished orientalist and liberal biblical critic, Roediger, accedes: “The point of commencement for this period, and in general of the literature of the Hebrews, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses, even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present structure and form, as modeled by a later hand.”¹

¹ Roediger's *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, translated by Conant, p. 9.

It has been objected to the genuineness of the Pentateuch that its language does not differ as much from that of the later books of the Old Testament as might have been expected. Dr. Davidson says, there is no important difference between it and that of the books written shortly before the return of the Israelites from the Babylonian captivity;¹ and he makes this a ground of objection to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But there is a glaring, palpable inconsistency in his reasoning, for he acknowledges that whole chapters in the Pentateuch were written by Moses. The language of these chapters does not differ from that of the rest of the Pentateuch, nor does Davidson attempt to show that it does. The argument drawn from the want of greater difference between the language of the Pentateuch and that of the later books is utterly worthless, so long as it is acknowledged that any portion of the Pentateuch was written in the Mosaic age.

But analogies are not wanting. The Syriac language changed but little from the second to the twelfth century of our era. Nor has the written Arabic changed from the time of the composition of the Koran, in the seventh century, to the present time. Upon this point Fwald is certainly a competent judge. In speaking of the Arabic language having been cultivated and used by a great number of writers of all kinds, he remarks: "So that *for nearly a thousand years* it has preserved in writings its purity and peculiar character intact."²

Between the Mosaic age and the time of David and Solomon, of whom we have some undoubted writings in many of the Psalms and in the book of Proverbs, only four or five centuries intervened. The Pentateuch should be compared with these writings, and the difference, we admit, is not great. But we must bear in mind that the Oriental tongues possess more stability than the western, and that, as the books of Moses contained the civil and religious code of the Israelites, they moulded and fixed in a great degree the whole language, which was not, until a late period, disturbed by foreign influence. It must also be remembered that Moses wrote the Pentateuch without vowel points. These points, and those indicating the doubling of the consonants, were not written until about two thousand years after his time. Accordingly, the changes that occurred in the vowels, and in the doubling of the consonants, fail to be seen on account of the language being punctuated according to a later standard.

¹ Vol. i, p. 103.

² Ut per mille fere annos puritatem suam et indolem peculiarem integram in scriptis conservavit.—Proleg. to his Arabic Grammar.

It has been urged against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch that it gives but few incidents that occurred during a period of nearly thirty-eight years,¹ the time intervening between the first arrival of the Israelites in Kadesh-barnea (Num. xiii, 26), and their crossing the brook Zered (Num. xxi, 12, 13; Deut. ii, 14). But this can afford no valid objection to the genuineness of these books. These thirty-eight years are passed over slightly because little or nothing of a theocratic character intervened, and scarcely any laws were given during this period. For the same reason several centuries—from the death of Joseph in Egypt until the birth of Moses—are disposed of in a single chapter, because there was nothing of a sacred character to relate. In the same way Matthew, having given an account of the birth of Christ (i, ii), in the very next chapter begins with the preaching of John the Baptist, passing over a period of twenty-eight or twenty-nine years in the life of the Saviour, evidently because there was nothing of an official character to disclose. No one, so far as we know, has ever objected to the genuineness of the Gospel of Matthew on this ground; it is, indeed, rather an argument in favour of its genuineness. It is only apocryphal gospels that have attempted to fill up the chasm left by Matthew and the other evangelists. Is not the silence of the Pentateuch in reference to the history of the Israelites during so many years an argument in favour of its Mosaic origin, or, at least, of its genuine historical character? Two years had not passed away, after leaving Egypt, when spies were sent to explore Canaan. Upon their return and the giving of their report, the people murmured against Moses and Aaron. The Israelites, on account of their unbelief, were not allowed to enter the land of Canaan, but were thrown back into the desert, and were compelled to wander about for thirty-eight years, as if forsaken of Jehovah. But if any thing of importance had occurred during the time thus passed over in comparative silence, it would have found its way into the history of the exodus in the same way as the other events, whether the history were written down by Moses, or by some one subsequently from tradition, or from documents belonging to the Mosaic age. It cannot reasonably be supposed that this period was passed over by the author of the Pentateuch from his ignorance of its history; for only on the supposition of ignorance can this omission be an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The knowledge which the author displays of minute events in other places forbids it. In Num. xxx we have a list of the encampments of the Israelites from the departure from

Reason given
for slight treat-
ment.

¹ Bleek lays great stress on this, pp. 226, 227.

Egypt until their arrival in the plains of Moab. And in Deut. ii, 14, the number of years passed over from Kadesh-barnea—from their arrival there it would seem—until they came to the brook Zered, is stated to be thirty-eight years. It is difficult to believe that a writer acquainted with the exact time spent between these two points—the last of which is of little importance—should know but little of the history itself. The most of this period seems to have been spent at Kadesh-barnea, for Moses says, "Ye abode in Kadesh many days." Deut. i, 46.

The Pentateuch was, very probably, revised by Moses a short time before his death, and some passages were, perhaps, added to what he originally wrote.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FALSITY OF THE THEORY THAT THE EARLY LEGISLATION OF THE PENTATEUCH CONSISTED ONLY OF EXODUS XXI-XXIII.

OUR new school of skeptical critics contends that the early legislation of the Pentateuch consisted only of Exodus xxi-xxiii; but an examination of these chapters shows that such a view is wholly untenable. The injunctions in these chapters are of too indefinite a nature, and too meagre, to have comprised all the early legislation of the Pentateuch.

The law concerning involuntary homicide is of an indefinite and obscure character, and needs further legislation: "He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee" (xxi, 12, 13). A specific description of what is to be decided as involuntary homicide is given in Num. xxxv, 22, 23, and Deut. xix, 4, 5. These passages supplement the passage in Exodus, while Num. xxxv, 13, 14, and Deut. xix, 7, 9, fix the number of the cities of refuge to be appointed on each side of the Jordan.

In the command to keep three feasts a year to the Lord, there is an indefiniteness respecting them, and the paschal lamb is not mentioned, while the feast of the passover is called simply the feast of unleavened bread. The language employed, "as I commanded you," implies previous instruction, as we find it in Exod. xii, 15-27. In

Lev. xxiii, 4-42, particular injunctions are given concerning all these feasts, but most especially respecting the feast of Pentecost and the feast of tabernacles.

In the three chapters of Exodus under consideration (xxi-xxiii) the word priest does not occur, and there is no mention made of the ark and of the tabernacle. In short, there is scarcely any provision at all for religious services. Is it likely that the system of Moses, who was learned in the lore of Egypt and acquainted with its priestly system, would be so meagre and have nothing in it of a priestly nature? Such a scanty legislation seems to be clearly contradicted by the history of the Israelites immediately subsequent to Moses. For, to say nothing of the history of the Book of Joshua, which clearly establishes the authority of the Pentateuch, we find in Judg. xx, 27, 28, the following statement: "The children of Israel inquired of the LORD. (for the ark of the covenant of God was there [at Bethel] in those days, and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, stood before it in those days)" Likewise in 1 Sam. i, 3, 9; ii, 13-16, 27-30, we find a tabernacle, a priesthood, and sacrifices—the two latter declared to be of divine appointment. Had Moses nothing to do with these arrangements? Kuenen acknowledges that the ark of Jehovah came from Moses' himself. Did he make no regulations respecting it? If he did, why should he not have recorded them?

Meagre legis-
lation in relig-
ious services
in Exod. xxi-
xxiii.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY BEARS WITNESS TO A MORE EXTENSIVE LEGISLATION THAN EXODUS XXI-XXIII.

The entire skeptical school of critics, though they deny the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, grant that it was written before the Babylonian captivity, in the reign of Manasseh or Josiah. In Deut. iv, 5, it is declared: "Behold I have taught you statutes and judgments even as the LORD thy God commanded me," etc. And after referring to the ten commandments, Moses adds: "And the LORD commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, that you might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it" (verse 14). It is possible that this verse might refer only to Exod. xxi-xxiii. In x, 9, Moses refers to the tribe of Levi having been set apart by Jehovah for his service: "The Lord is his inheritance, according as the LORD thy God promised him." Here it is evident that, at the time of the composition of Deuteronomy, there were regulations respecting the tribe of Levi and their service, and that well known promises had been made to the

¹ Religion of Israel. vol. i, p. 289.

tribe. It is most natural to suppose that these regulations and promises were written just as we find them now in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Again, respecting the priests and the Levites, "The LORD is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them" (xviii, 2). Where is this said except in Num. xviii, 20? In Deut. xxiv, 8, it is enjoined, "Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I have commanded them, so ye shall observe to do." These regulations respecting the leprosy are contained in Leviticus, embracing chapters xiii and xiv. It is clear that when Deuteronomy was composed these chapters had already been written, and ascribed to Moses. In Deut. v, 2; xxix, 1, reference is made to the covenant God established with Israel at Horeb. At the end of Lev. xxvi it is said: "These are the statutes and judgments and laws which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai, by the hand of Moses." Also the closing verse of the last chapter of Leviticus has a shorter but similar statement. The Mosaic legislation as far as Num. x, 12, was made in the wilderness of Sinai, a prominent mountain in the range of Horeb. In Deut. xi, 6, allusion is made to the destruction of Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up, "their households and their tents," etc. Here we find reference to the rebellion against Moses and Aaron in connection with the priesthood of Aaron, as described in Num. xvi. In the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were conspicuous characters, who became a sign (Num. xxvi, 9, 10).

Korah is omitted in Deuteronomy, possibly because his children perished not (Num. xxvi, 11), while the families of Dathan and Abiram did. Kayser says: "The Deuteronomist had manifestly read nothing of Korah (in Num. xvi), otherwise he would not have omitted him."¹ Yet he acknowledges that the author of Psalm cvi, in which the same omission occurs, was acquainted with Korah's rebellion.²

In Deut. xx, 6: "And what man is he that planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it" (Heb., חָלָלוּ, *hath profaned it*)? we have a reference to Lev. xix, 23, in which the children of Israel are forbidden to eat of the fruit of any tree which they may plant until the fourth year.

Our new critics grant that the Deuteronomist was acquainted with what they call the Jehovistic legislation and history, but deny his knowledge of the Elohist. Yet in Deut. x, 22, it

¹ Vor-Exilische Buch, p. 132.

² Ibid., p. 174.

is said: "Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons." Now this refers to Gen. xlvi, 27, and Exod. i, 5, both of which are Elohistic.¹ Here, again, we have a refutation of the theory that the Elohistic history in Genesis was written about the time of Ezra.

Refutation in Deuteronomy that the Elohistic history was written in Ezra's time.

THE TESTIMONY OF HOSEA TO A LARGE WRITTEN CODE OF LAWS THAT IN HIS AGE HAD BEEN ALREADY GIVEN TO ISRAEL.

This prophet, who flourished B. C. 785-725, bears witness to a *large written* code of laws in the following language:

אֲכַתְּבֵהּ לְרַבִּי תוֹרַתִּי בְּמַרְזֵר נֶחֱשָׁבִי, *I wrote for him (Ephraim) multitudes (numerous precepts) of my law; what a strange thing were they counted!* (viii, 12). The verb *to write* (כָּתַב) is in the future tense (אֲכַתְּבֵהּ), and "*were counted*" is in the perfect. But the future tense is often used for the past,² of which we have undoubted examples in this prophet. "I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them and decked herself with earrings," etc. (ii, 13). In this passage "burned incense" is in the *future hiphil*, and "decked" is the *future vav* conversive. "And I have redeemed them and they have spoken falsehood against me" (vii, 13). Here "have redeemed" in the Hebrew is the *future* tense. "They have sacrificed flesh for the sacrifices of mine offerings, and have eaten them" (viii, 13). "Have sacrificed" is the *future* in the Hebrew. "They sacrificed unto Baalim and burnt incense to graven images" (xi, 2). "Sacrificed and burnt incense" are both in the *future*³ in the original. "I drew them with cords of a man" (xi, 4). "Drew" is in the *future* in the original. In other passages in this prophet the *future* tense in the Hebrew is used for the *present*.

Professor W. Robertson Smith translates the passage in Hosea as follows: "Though I wrote to him my Torah in ten thousand precepts, they would be esteemed as a strange thing."⁴ But this translation is inadmissible, for there is no particle of condition or contingency in the Hebrew text—nothing to indicate a supposition. Such a method of translating the biblical Hebrew has no parallel in any other instance, and

W. Robertson Smith's incorrect translation of passage in Hosea.

¹ Professor Smend acknowledges the reference to a former Elohist, Moses apud Prophetas, p. 74.

² This is a common construction in Arabic as well as in Hebrew, and abounds in the Qoran.

³ The tense we call "*future*" is by some Hebrew grammarians called the "*imperfect*."

⁴ The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, p. 297.

nothing but the requirement of a preconceived theory could induce any one to think of such a version. If the prophet had expressed a mere supposition he would have employed the particle אם , *im*, *if*, *although*, before the verb "wrote," just as in Isa. i, 18: "Though (אם , *im*) your sins be as scarlet . . . though (אם , *im*) they be red like crimson," etc.; and in Isa. x, 22. Or, possibly, the prophet might have used כִּי , *even if*.

Nor do we see how the latter part of the passage can be rendered, "They would be esteemed as a strange thing;" for the tense "counted," or "esteemed," is *perfect* in the Hebrew, and there is no connective particle that can give it a *future* meaning. Professor Smith renders רַבּוֹ "ten thousand precepts,"¹ taking it for רַבּוֹ , which is found in hardly a single instance in the books written before the captivity and never as a construct "ten thousand of"—in this instance "ten thousand of my law." The Masorites have put the vowels to the text, and given the reading on the margin which makes the word read רַבּוֹתַי , *multitudes of my law*. And it is thus that Gesenius defines it. The singular is thus used in Lev. xxv, 16, "multitude of years." The Septuagint, the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Peshito Syriac, and the Vulgate have either "multitude" or "multitudes" of my law.

Professor Smith's version of the passage does not make good sense. For, in the first place, the prophet Hosea assumes that Ephraim is a transgressor of the divine laws with which the tribe was acquainted. Why, then, should he say, If I were to write for him ten thousand precepts (or any great number) they would be counted strange? Is it more likely that a large body of laws would be obeyed, rather than a small one? Would not a law of "*ten thousand precepts*" really have astonished, and quite confounded, Ephraim?

In the next place, even according to Prof. Smith's translation, the divine law consists of *numerous* precepts, and not simply of the three chapters of Exodus which Prof. Smith recognizes as a written code existing in Judah.

The translation, "I wrote," is the rendering of both the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel and the Peshito Syriac. De Wette translates the passage: "I am writing out for him many of my laws; how strange they have been considered." But, at the foot of the page, he give also another way of translating it, namely, "I wrote." Pusey in his "Commentary on the Minor Prophets," renders "I

¹ He has evidently thus translated the word to show that "ten thousand precepts" would not be applicable to the Mosaic law, as being too large a number.

write" in the sense that the law was written in the past, but is still in force in the present.

In the verse immediately preceding the one under discussion, Hosea says: "Because Ephraim has multiplied altars to sin, they have become altars to sin." Then follows our text: "I wrote for him the numerous precepts of my law [Torah], what a strange thing were they counted!"

That Hosea refers, in this passage, to the Mosaic law, is clear from his using the word *Torah*, and from the fact that we know of no other divine law that had been given to Israel. To this law Hosea also refers in the following passages: "Because thou [Israel, the ten tribes] hast forgotten¹ the law [Torah] of thy God" (iv, 6). "They [Israel] have transgressed my covenant and trespassed against my law [Torah]" (viii, 1).

Prof. Smend remarks on the passage: "The words of Hosea in the eighth century [B. C.] prove that there were many written laws among the Ephraimites, which were contained in one book or more, and, although neglected, they were known to every body, and in the judgment of the prophet they could claim obedience from all, as they seemed to possess as much divine authority as if they had been written by Jehovah himself."² Hosea thus refutes Kuenen's refutation of Hosea, who says: "In the eighth century B. C. but few laws. . . . were ascribed to Moses and carried back to the sojourn in the desert of Sinai."³ For we may ask, Who but Moses gave these laws to the Ephraimites?

¹ Prof. Smith infers, from the fact that the law was forgotten, that it was not written, but was merely the oral law; just as if a *written* law could not be forgotten! God says in Ezek. xxiii, 35: "Because thou hast forgotten me." Similar is Hos. viii, 14, and elsewhere. If Israel could forget his Maker, why could he not forget a *written* law?

² Moses apud Prophetas, pp. 13, 14, Halis, 1875.

³ Religion of Israel, vol. i, p. 139.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXAMINATION OF THE VIEWS OF THE NEW CRITICAL SCHOOL
ON THE PRIESTLY AND SACRIFICIAL SYSTEMS IN THE PEN-
TATEUCH.THE THEORY OF THE NEW CRITICAL SCHOOL CONCERNING THE
JEWISH PRIESTHOOD REFUTED BY FACTS.

ACCORDING to the new critical school, in the original legisla-
tion of the Pentateuch, all the Levites were capable of becom-
ing priests, and "before the exile the high priest was looked upon
as the first among his equals."¹ But we find in Ezra i, 5; ii, 70,
the distinction between priests and Levites already existing when
Zerubbabel went up to Jerusalem, in accordance with the
decree of Cyrus, about eighty years before Ezra went
up to Jerusalem. At that time it is stated that certain
sons of the priests were unable to show their genealogy, that they
were put out of the priesthood as polluted, and that the governor
had forbidden them to eat of the most holy things until there stood
up a priest with Urim and Thummim. Here we have a refer-
ence to the regulation in Lev. xxii forbidding any one but the
priests to eat of holy things; also to Num. iii, 10, respecting the
Aaronic priesthood; and, finally, to the high priest with Urim and
Thummim, Aaron as named in Exod. xxviii, 30, and Eleazar in
Num. xxvii, 21.

Many of the priests and Levites who went up with Zerubbabel
are stated to be old men, and to have seen the first house (Ezra
iii, 12). Hence it is clear that it would have been impossible to
impose on them regulations that had not existed under the first
temple.

The number of the priests who went up with Zerubbabel to
Jerusalem is stated to be over four thousand (Ezra ii, 36-39). This
number of priests may seem to be too great for the whole number of
returning captives—forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty.
But it must be remembered that many of the priests in the kingdom
of Israel in the time of Jeroboam left it for the kingdom of Judah.
Besides this, it is natural to infer that the priests would be espec-

¹ Kuenen.

ially anxious to return to their own country, to resume their sacred functions.

In the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 515)—about sixty years before Ezra came up to Jerusalem—when the new temple was dedicated, it is said, “They set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God which is at Jerusalem; as it is written in the book of Moses” (Ezra vi, 18).

Artaxerxes, in his decree in favour of Ezra, giving the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem, speaks in two places of “priests and Levites.” Hence these two classes were already discriminated before Ezra went up to Jerusalem.

Nehemiah, governor of Judah, in his book (chap. xii) gives an account of “priests and Levites” who went up to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. It seems perfectly plain, then, that at least eighty years before Ezra the distinction between priests and Levites was clearly recognized. Nowhere does there appear a single trace of dispute respecting priests and Levites; their status appears already fixed. No dissatisfaction on the part of the Levites appears. They join heartily in the services and offer up prayers.

But how could the Levites who were not descendants of Aaron be deprived of the priesthood without provoking the bitterest opposition? Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah gives us the slightest hint of it; nor does Jewish tradition know any thing of it. In 2 Chron. xxiii, 18; xxx, 27; and Neh. xi, 20, the priests are called “the priests the Levites.” In 2 Chron. xi, 14, it is said: “Jeroboam and his sons had cast them [the Levites] off from executing the priest’s office.” In 2 Chron. xxix, 5, the priests and Levites are addressed as “Levites.” From the first of these passages, if not from the second, it could be easily inferred that *all* Levites are priests. In Joshua the phrase “the priests the Levites” occurs twice in iii, 3, and viii, 33, but never yet “priests and Levites.” Both Chronicles and Joshua discriminate clearly the priests from the Levites in other passages. Joshua assigns the priests, the sons of Aaron, thirteen cities (xxi, 4, 19). The account of the assignment of these cities must antedate the Babylonian captivity. For, apart from the arguments that may be advanced from the language of the book, which no unprejudiced Hebraist can assign to the period of the captivity, or later, some of the cities assigned by Joshua to the Levites among the tribes of Israel, already in the time of Jeremiah; no longer belonged to Israel. Jahazah (Josh. xxi, 36) is given to the Levites, but in Jer. xlviii, 21, it belongs to Moab. Mephaath (Josh. xxi, 37) and Heshbon (Josh. xxi, 39) are also assigned to them. But in the time of Jeremiah the first of these two cities belonged to

Moab (Jer. xlviii, 21), and the other also to Moab (xlvi, 3), and already in the time of Isaiah (xv, 4). In Josh. xxi, 18, Anathoth is assigned to the priests. This is confirmed by the statement of Jer. i, 1, that he was among the priests of that town. In the description of the dedication of Solomon's temple mention is made of "the priests and the Levites" (1 Kings viii, 4), the only passage in this book where they are named together.

That the priesthood, in the original Mosaic law, was restricted to the sons of Aaron is clear from 1 Sam. ii, 27, 28, where a man of God says to Eli the priest: "Thus saith the LORD, Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house? And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me? and did I give unto the house of thy father all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel?" That Eli was a descendant of Aaron through Ithamar appears from a comparison of 1 Chron. xxiv, 3; 1 Sam. xxii, 20; and 1 Kings ii, 27. By "the house of thy father" the descendants of Aaron alone can be intended. For there exists not a vestige of proof that God appeared to Levi and gave him the priesthood several centuries before the Exodus and the Mosaic legislation. Nor could "the house of thy father" be one of the descendants of Aaron, for, in that case, the LORD could not have spoken to him in "the house of Pharaoh." The passage in Samuel under consideration clearly refers to Exod. xxviii, 1, 4; Num. xvi, 5; xviii, 1, 7; Lev. ii, 3, 10, etc. Also in 1 Sam. ii, 30, the declaration, "I said indeed that thy house and the house of thy father should walk before me forever," evidently refers to Exod. xxix, 9: "And the priest's office shall be theirs [Aaron and his sons] for a perpetual statute."

In the Book of Deuteronomy the phrase "the priests the Levites" occurs four times, and the phrase "the priests the sons of Levi" twice. In Deut. xxvii, 9, it is said: "Moses and the priests the Levites spoke unto all Israel, saying, Take heed and hearken, O Israel; this day thou art become the people of the LORD thy God." It is very improbable that, by this language, "the priests the Levites" means the whole tribe of Levi united with Moses in speaking to "all Israel," of which the tribe of Levi was a part. "The priests the Levites" is equivalent to *Levitical* priests. In similar language Korah and his company are called "sons of Levi" (Num. xvi, 6-8). They are named after the tribal head. When first appointed the priests are often called "Aaron and his sons" (Numbers) for identification.

In Deut. xxxiii, 8-10, in the blessing pronounced by Moses upon Levi, it is said: "Thy Urim and thy Thummim belong to thy pious one [literally, to the man thy pious one] (Aaron), whom thou didst tempt in Massah, with whom thou didst strive at Meribah; who said to his father and to his mother, I have not seen him [them]; and his brethren he did not recognize, and his sons he did not know; for they shall observe thy word and keep thy covenant. They shall teach thy judgments to Jacob, and thy law to Israel: they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt offerings upon thy altar." If we refer these priestly acts to the sons of Aaron, the last noun before "they shall observe," etc., the passage is in perfect harmony with the Aaronic priesthood as laid down in the Pentateuch. But it is contended that these priestly offices are attributed to the tribe of Levi, and not simply to the descendants of Aaron. To this we reply, that what belongs to a part (Aaron and his sons) may be ascribed to the tribe of which they form a part. Thus in Psalm lx, 7, it is said, "Judah is my lawgiver" (sceptre—Gesenius); that is, the king is of that tribe. In the same way, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah" (Gen. xlix, 10) naturally means that the sceptre, the emblem of kingly power, belongs to some individual or family of that tribe, and not to the *whole* tribe. In the Athenian Senate the tribe out of which the presiding officer was taken was called the "presiding tribe," not because the whole tribe presided, but for the simple reason that the president was of that tribe. Hence the language of Socrates: "I was Senator and our tribe happened to be the *presiding* (*πρυτανεύουσα*) tribe."¹

In a similar manner, Malachi—seventeen years after Ezra came up to Jerusalem, when the distinction between priests and Levites is acknowledged to have existed—declares: "My covenant was with him" (Levi). But "Ye [the priests] have corrupted the covenant with Levi, saith the LORD of hosts" (ii, 5, 8). Here the covenant with Aaron is called the covenant with the tribal head.

In Deut. x, 8, Moses says: At that time "the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day." Here the offices of priests and Levites are blended. To bless the people in the name of the Lord seems to have been the prerogatives of the priests only.²

In Deut. xviii, 1, it is said: "The priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel: they

¹ *Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους*, cap. xx.

² Prof. Curtiss, in his scholarly work on the Levitical Priests, clearly shows that this was the office of the priests only.

shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance" (that is, what is offered to God). This language is applicable to the priests only, who had a share of what was offered as sacrifice. Besides this, the addition made to the words "the priests the Levites," of "all the tribe of Levi," indicates that the priests do not comprehend the whole tribe. Verse 3 describes the part of the sacrificed animal which the priest shall receive.

In various passages in Deuteronomy the Levite is spoken of in such a way as to show that he could not be a priest. The Levite is to have a share of the tithes brought to the place which *the* Lord should choose (Deut. xii, 12). Of the tithes laid up within the gates of the Israelites at the end of every three years the Levite is to have a share. In Deut. xxvi, 12, it is said: "When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithes of thine increase the third year, which is the year of tithing, and hast given it unto the Levite, the stranger," etc. According to Num. xviii, 21, 24, the tithes are given to the Levites. No such provision is made for the priests.

The Levite is set forth in Deuteronomy as a proper subject of charity, but the priests are never thus described. Besides, it is very unlikely that, if all the Levites were priests, they would be called by their tribal name, and not by their official name. Furthermore, Deuteronomy requires the Israelites to offer sacrifice only in that place which Jehovah should choose from among all the tribes (xii, 5, 11, 14). In the same spirit Leviticus commands that the sacrifices shall be offered only at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (xvii, 3-7). In Num. iv, 46-48, the number of the Levites from thirty years of age to fifty who entered into the service of the tabernacle is eight thousand five hundred and eighty. Now, it is in the highest degree improbable that Moses, or any one else, would appoint all these Levites to be priests, to officiate at one sanctuary alone. But if we are not to rely upon this large number, it is still incredible, or, at least, highly improbable, that all the middleaged male Levites would be made priests, to offer sacrifice at one tabernacle.

In Deut. x, 6, it is stated: "There Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead." This accords with the other books of the Pentateuch. Aaron and Eleazar are the only priests definitely named in Deuteronomy, and the language certainly favors the view that Aaron had been chief priest and head of the family of priests. In deciding difficult matters of controversy, it is directed that they shall be taken up to the place which Jehovah shall choose, to be decided by the priests and the judge who shall be there. And it is added:

"That the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the LORD thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die" (Deut. xvii, 8-12). The naming of a single authoritative priest in the last verse indicates that he is the high priest.

In the history of the Israelites subsequent to Moses we find several references to a high priest. In Josh. xx, 6, we have reference to "the high priest" that shall be in those days. In Judg. xx, 27, 28, we find Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron standing before the ark of the covenant. He was evidently high priest. In 2 Kings xii, 10, in the time of King Jehoash (B. C. 856), mention is made of the high priest. In the time of Josiah (B. C. 624), it is stated that the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest and *the priests of the second order*, etc. (2 Kings xxiii, 4); and in chap. xxv, 18, and in Jer. lii, 24, Seraiah is chief priest and Zephaniah the second priest. In the time of the prophet Haggai (B. C. 520), we find that Joshua the son of Josedech is high priest (i, 1, 12, 14; ii, 2, 4). About the same time this Joshua is called high priest in Zech. iii, 1, 8; vi, 11; that is, about sixty years before Ezra came up to Jerusalem from Babylon. It is evident, then, that the office of high priest was no invention of Ezra.

According to 1 Chron. xxiv, the distinction of priests and Levites evidently existed in the time of David, and is recognized in various other passages in the two books of Chronicles. Ezekiel, in his vision of the land of Israel, declares that "the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary, when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me" (xliv, 15). Now, Zadok was a descendant of Aaron through Eleazar (1 Chron. vi, 3-8; Ezra vii, 1-5).

PROOF THAT THE SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM OF THE MIDDLE BOOKS OF THE PENTATEUCH IS A PART OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF MOSES.

It has been asserted by the new critical school that the sacrificial system of the middle books of the Pentateuch formed no part of the original Mosaic code. The leading proof text in support of this position is Jer. vii, 21-23: "Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Put your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you.

that it may be well unto you." It can be clearly shown that this language does not necessarily mean that God absolutely said nothing, and gave no commandment about burnt offerings and sacrifices. In Gen. xlv, 8, Joseph in Egypt tells his brethren: "Ye did not send me hither, but God." But according to Gen. xxxvii, 28, Joseph's brethren sold him to the Ishmaelites who were going into Egypt. Of course, the meaning is that Divine providence had arranged his coming into Egypt. In the same manner, in Exod. xvi, 8, Moses says to the Israelites: "Your murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD." Yet in the second verse of this very chapter it is said: "The whole congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron." Their murmurings against these leaders was nothing in comparison with their murmurings against God. Similar is the language of 1 Sam. viii, 7, where God says to Samuel, when the Israelites demanded a king: "They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me that I should not reign over them." But, in fact, they had rejected Samuel. Again, in 2 Chron. xx, 15, Jehoshaphat is told by the Lord: "For the battle is not yours, but God's;" that is, it pertained more to God than to him.

Refutation of
sceptical ob-
jection to mid-
dle books of
Pentateuch.

There is one passage in the New Testament which is a striking illustration of the language in Jeremiah. The apostle Paul declares that "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel" (1 Cor. i, 17). We might infer from this, not only that Paul never baptized, but also that in his judgment baptism was not a Christian ordinance, and from this we might conclude that between him and the other apostles there was on this subject a radical difference. But the epistles of Paul refute such an inference. He clearly means that the chief part of his mission was preaching.

The passage in chap. vii of Jeremiah, under discussion, shows in the most striking language the superiority of obedience to the Divine commands to sacrifices and offerings, and the utter worthlessness, and even hatefulness, of these forms, when those who offer are polluted by crime. In the ninth verse of this chapter the prophet asks: "Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye know not; and come and stand before me in this house?" Also in vi, 20, it is said: "Your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifice sweet unto me." In the same spirit Samuel reproves Saul: "Hath the LORD delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv, 22). Furthermore, it is difficult

Superiority of
obedience to
sacrifice.

to believe that Jeremiah did not recognize as Mosaic the sacrificial and priestly system of the Pentateuch. The following passages seem to make this matter clear: "For thus saith the LORD . . . neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to kindle meat offerings, and to do sacrifice continually" (Jer. xxxiii, 17, 18); and, "Thus saith the LORD; If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season; then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne; *and with the Levites the priests, my ministers*" (xxxiii, 20, 21).

That the Book of Deuteronomy at least was recognized by Jeremiah as proceeding from Moses is evident from the use Jeremiah's recognition of Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy. he makes of it. Nor is its existence in the time of Jeremiah denied by the sceptical critics,¹ who identify it with the Book of the Law found in the temple in the time of King Josiah. Now, sacrifices and offerings are clearly enjoined in Deuteronomy.

As a further proof that God was not pleased with the sacrificial system of the Israelites, the new school of critics appeal to Isa. i, 11-14: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to trample [*to profane*—Gesenius] my courts? Bring no more vain oblations [*a lying sacrifice*]; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them." Now, in this list of observances which are declared an abomination and not to be endured, are the "sabbaths." But even the new sceptical school admits that the sabbath is a part of the Mosaic system, it being one of the ten commandments. And if the passages on the feasts and sacrifices of the Jews quoted from Isaiah prove that these institutions were not of divine authority, it is at the same time proved that the sabbath is not a divine institution. But this logic proves too much, and therefore proves nothing. The verse following the passages quoted adds: "When ye make many prayers, I will not hear." This might be quoted to prove that God does not approve of prayer. But the explanation of the whole passage is easy: "Your hands are full of blood" (verse 15). The lan-

¹ Colenso holds that Jeremiah wrote Deuteronomy.

guage of Isaiah creates no difficulty. It merely asserts strongly the futility and hatefulness of rites and ceremonies when hypocrisy and crimes pollute the observers of them.

The superiority of morality and piety to sacrifice, and the comparative insignificance of the latter, is emphasized by the prophet Micah: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (vi, 8). But if we press upon this language closely the feast of the passover, and even the sabbath, may be excluded from the list of requirements.

The Lord, in Isaiah, speaking of the sons of the stranger who join themselves to him, says: "Their burnt offering and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon my altar" (lvi, 7); and in lx, 7, he declares of the rams of Nebaioth: "They shall come up with acceptance upon my altar."

That sacrifices were acceptable to God appears from Mal. iii, 4: "Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the LORD, *as in the days of old, and as in former years.*"

In 1 Sam. ii, 29, a man of God reproves Eli for the violation of the law of sacrifice, declaring: "Thus saith Jehovah, . . . Wherefore kick ye at my sacrifice which I have commanded in my habitation?" The divine authority of sacrifice is here recognized.

In Exod. xx, 24, standing in close connection with the ten commandments, it is enjoined: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee;" that is, in whatever place I shall appoint for worship and sacrifice. In Exod. xxii, 20, it is declared: "He that shall sacrifice to any god save to the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed," which shows that sacrifices are to be offered unto Jehovah. In Exod. xxiii, 18, it is ordered: "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning." Here we have regulations respecting sacrifice. Now our new sceptical critics admit that Exod. xxi-xxiii was the first legislation.

In concluding this subject we may remark, that as Moses found the custom of offering sacrifices already in existence, it would be in the highest degree improbable that he should make no regulations respecting the kind of sacrifices to be offered, the persons by whom they were to be offered, and the time and place of their offering.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ALLEGED TRACES OF A POST-MOSAIC AGE IN THE
PENTATEUCH.

THAT the Pentateuch, though composed by Moses, should have suffered no interpolation whatever in the course of more than three thousand years, is not very probable. We know that the New Testament itself, though only eighteen centuries old, and very widely spread by numerous manuscripts and several important versions—having, in this respect, the advantage of the Pentateuch—has not wholly escaped interpolation.¹ Interpolations as glosses most generally occur in the historical portions of a work, and mostly at an early period of its existence, when more is known respecting a subject than is recorded. But they rarely ever occur in the midst of laws or general discussions. Frequent interpolations, of course, weaken the authority of a document.

We can easily imagine that in a few instances explanatory remarks, and new names for obsolete ones, might have been written on the margin of the Mosaic Pentateuch, and afterward have been incorporated into the text, and yet that they might be of such a nature as not to affect the general integrity of the text, or weaken in the least its authority.

Minor and accidental interpolations do not weaken authority.

In the Septuagint we have two remarkable interpolations in the Book of Joshua. When this leader of the Hebrews razed Jericho, he pronounced a curse upon its rebuilder (Josh. vi, 26). The Septuagint adds to the Hebrew text the following: "And thus did Hozan of Bethel. In Abiron his firstborn he laid its foundations, and in his youngest surviving son he set up its gates." This is substantially taken from 1 Kings xvi, 34. Again, in Josh. xvi, 10, we find it stated that the children of Israel "drave not out the Canaanites that dwell in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute." But the Greek version adds to the Hebrew text: "Until Pharaoh king of Egypt came up and took it, and burnt it with fire, and killed the Canaanites and Perizzites, and those who dwelt in Gezer, and Pharaoh

¹ See Tischendorf's eighth critical edition of Greek Testament. The instances, however, are few. John v, 4; vii, 53-viii, 11, are instances.

gave it as a dowry to his daughter." This is manifestly taken from 1 Kings ix, 16.

The alleged post-Mosaic passages of the Pentateuch, if real, do not bring down the work in its present form—if we except one or two passages—later than the age of Joshua. But in determining what might have been written by Moses, and what could not much depends upon our preconceptions. If we regard miracles and prophecies as impossibilities, or violent improbabilities, in connexion with the Mosaic history, and consider Moses as nothing more than a human legislator, we shall be unable to form a correct judgment respecting the Pentateuch. Under such misapprehensions, wherever we meet with the record of miracles, we will conclude that this cannot be contemporary history, but only legend; and wherever we meet with prophecy, we will immediately infer that the prophecies were written after the predicted events. To one holding these views, the genuineness of the Pentateuch will be quite impossible. But the credibility of the miraculous, as belonging to a different department of Christian theology, we do not here discuss.

We have already seen, in the sketch which we have given of the opinions respecting the Pentateuch, that it is a favourite idea with the opponents of its genuineness that the whole five books passed under the revision of some *rédacteur*, or editor, who lived seven or eight centuries after Moses.

But there seems to us a remarkable want of candour in those who hold such an idea. For if they find some traces of a post-Mosaic age in the Pentateuch, why can they not adopt the following hypothesis:

"We believe that the Pentateuch was substantially written by Moses, but that it passed under the hands of a *rédacteur* some centuries after his time." Or could they not even allow that it was revised by Joshua or Samuel?

Instead of some such hypothesis as this, there seems to be a studied effort on the part of not a few critics to avoid, as far as possible, conceding the Mosaic authorship, from a fear, it would seem, of the evangelical consequence of such a concession.

But the question, whether there are any interpolations or post-Mosaic passages in the Pentateuch, must be determined from the examination of the alleged instances. The first among these is Gen. xii, 6: "And the Canaanite was then in the land." There is a similar statement in Gen. xiii, 7: "And the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land." In reference to both of these passages the inquiry arises, whether the language indicates that in the time of Abram the Canaanites were living in the land, but were afterward

driven out; or that they were already in the land, having arrived there before Abram? The latter seems to be the meaning; for was it necessary for the historian to inform the Israelites that the Canaanites once lived in Canaan, when everybody knew it? But it was not known, independently of the statements in Genesis, that already, in the time of Abram, the Canaanite and the Perizzite were in the land. The first of these passages stands in close connexion with the promise made to Abram, "Unto thy seed will I give this land," which at that time was held by the Canaanite. The second passage seems to assign a reason why there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle; because the Canaanite and the Perizzite being in the land, there was not room enough for the herds of both Abram and Lot. The context would seem to indicate this.

In Gen. xiv, 14 it is stated that Abram pursued the kings unto Dan. As there was in the northern part of Palestine a city (Laish) to which the Danites gave the name Dan some time after the conquest of Canaan (Josh. xix, 47, Judg. xviii, 29), it has been thought by many that the passage in Genesis must have been written after that event. But it is very probable that the Dan in Genesis ^{The location of} is a different place from that called Laish in Joshua ^{Dan.} and Judges. In 2 Sam. xxiv, 6, mention is made of Dan-jaan, which would show that this place was different from that called simply Dan. Jerome remarks on the passage, "he pursued them unto Dan," "to a town of the Phœnicians now called Paneas."¹ And in his *Onomasticon* he says, "Dan is a small village four miles from Paneas as you go to Tyre, which is so called to-day." From this it appears that he believed in the existence of *two* Dans. Yet in another place he says, that the Laish which the Danites took is to-day called Paneas; and in still another, that it is situated near Paneas. Dan existed in his time, as he tells us, and it is now called *Tell Kadi* (*hill of a Judge*, or *hill of Dan*), and he clearly distinguishes Paneas from this. The two places have been clearly identified in modern times, and are two or three miles apart.

Fürst, in his Hebrew Lexicon, under the word דָּן gives *Judge, ruler*, a Phœnician name of *Eshmun*, or Pan, otherwise called [on the coins of בָּעַל יָעַן, i. e., Paneas] Bal-inas, i. e., Ba'al Ya'an) n. p. of a Sidonian-Phœnician city, situated on one of the sources of the Jordan, in the valley בֵּית־דָּחֹז, at a short distance from Paneas, called in Hebrew דָּן יָעַן [*Dan-jaan*], in Phœnician בָּעַל יָעַן [Ba'al-ja'an], as the deity worshipped there (Gen. xiv, 14). He defines דָּן יָעַן, *Dan-jaan*,

¹ Questiones in Genesim.

Dan playing the pipe, as the proper name of Paneas, where דן נָפֵץ, i. e., Pan, was worshipped in a grotto (2 Sam. xxiv, 6).

It is, therefore, in the highest degree probable that the Dan mentioned in Gen. xiv, 14 was a Phœnician town already existing in the time of Abraham, or at least in the Mosaic age.

But the narrative in which Dan occurs bears every mark of antiquity and accuracy, and such a blunder as making Abraham pursue the kings to a Dan that was not so called until five or eight centuries later is not to be thought of in such a connexion. In this part of the history we have the name that Zoar bore previous to the overthrow of Sodom: "And the king of Bela (the same is Zoar)." The valley above the Dead Sea is called "The Vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea" (ch. xiv, 3), a name found nowhere else, and apparently the more ancient one. Mention is also made of Hazezon-tamar, which in Joshua is called simply En-gedi, which is shown in 2 Chron. xx, 2, to be the same. The description of the meeting of Melchizedek with Abram is likewise highly indicative of early times. Had the passage under discussion been written after the Danites had captured Laish, and had the reference been to that town, we should have expected to find the following: "Unto Laish, the same is Dan."

In Gen. xxviii, 19, it is said that Jacob "called the name of that place Bethel: but the name of that city was called Luz at the first." But it is stated in Judges i, 23: "And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel: now the name of the city before was Luz." Here there is no difficulty at all, for, although Jacob in passing through the place called it Bethel, yet the Canaanites would still continue to call it Luz, the old name, even if they knew that Jacob called it Bethel. When the Israelites captured it, they simply gave it the name by which Jacob had called it several centuries previously.

In Gen. xxxvi, 31, there occurs the following passage, which many have regarded as having been written after Israel had kings: "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." But in Gen. xxxv, 11 God promises Jacob kings shall come out of his loins. God had also said unto Abraham respecting Sarah (Gen. xvii, 16): "She shall be a mother of nations; kings of people shall be of her." The prophecy respecting Judah was: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come" (Gen. xlix, 10), and this conveys the same idea of kingly power to be possessed. At the birth of Jacob and Esau it was predicted, "The elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. xxv, 23). Yet in the time of

No inconsistency between the Bethel of Genesis and Judges.

Moses Israel had not yet had a king, but had been in servitude: in Egypt; while Esau, the younger, had kings among his descendants.

It does not follow from the language of the passage that Israel already had kings: this would be the inference if kings had not been promised: but Moses, being well acquainted with the promises made the patriarchs, confidently expected kings, and viewed them as a future reality. These considerations, of course, will have no weight with one who believes that such promises were never made to the patriarchs; but he may still believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and regard the passage under consideration as a later addition.

But the enumeration of the kings and the dukes of Edom (Gen. xxxvi, 31-43) may be made to yield a positive testimony to the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The list contains *eight* kings and *eleven* dukes, and the government appears to have been an elective monarchy, as in no instance does the son succeed the father. In the days of Moses Edom had a king; for it is stated (Num. xx, 14) that Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom. And it had also dukes, for in the song which Moses and the children of Israel sang at the Red Sea, after the overthrow of Pharaoh, it is said: "Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed" (Exod. xv, 15); that is, when they hear what Jehovah has done to Pharaoh. These dukes, at least a great part of them, were contemporary with Moses, and lived at the same time with one or more of the kings of Edom, and none of them can well belong to a post-Mosaic period. Certainly, they could not reach far beyond Moses, for they are too few.

Enumeration of kings a testimony to the genuineness of Pentateuch.

In Gen. xxxvi, 9-19, there is given a list of the dukes of Esau—his grandchildren. This is followed by a list of important Horites, the sons of Seir, whom the Edomites drove out, as is stated in Deut. i. 12. Then follow the names of the kings who reigned in Edom before any king reigned over Israel; and then come eleven dukes. The Horites seem to have been driven out by the grandsons of Esau, probably one hundred and fifty or two hundred years before Israel entered Canaan.

Eight elected kings, beginning with the subjugation of the Horites, would extend to about the same period. There is a strong probability, if not a certainty, that Hadar, the eighth king, was a contemporary of the author of the Pentateuch, as no mention is made of his death; while of the other kings it is said that they died, and, what is remarkable, the name of not only Hadar's wife, but of her mother and grandfather, is given. This last is not done in the case of any other of these kings, and it

Hadar and Moses contemporary.

shows a more intimate acquaintance with the last of the eight; and such accurate knowledge Moses, being a contemporary, and in close proximity with him, could have easily obtained. We know that Hadar¹ was not the last king of Edom, for mention is made of a king of Edom in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Kings iii), and of the king's seed (1 Kings xi, 14) in the time of Solomon.

The monarchy of the Edomites at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch was elective,² certainly not hereditary; but in the time of David and Solomon it was hereditary; for when Joab slew all the male Edomites, Hadad, of the king's seed, was raised up to be an adversary of Solomon, doubtless by attempting to cause a revolt of Edom from Solomon in favour of himself, the heir of the throne of Edom. As Hadar belonged to an elective monarchy—a strong proof of his great antiquity—and was evidently a contemporary of the author of the Pentateuch, we have another proof of the very early composition of this work. Certainly, all the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi, 31–39, lived before the time of Saul, and this fact itself carries back the Pentateuch at least to the days of the judges. But if the Pentateuch existed at that time, it must have been written in the Mosaic age, for it could not have been composed in such an age as that of the Judges.

The incident mentioned in chap. xxxvi, 24, in naming the Hōrites, "This was that Anah that found *the warm springs* (English version erroneously, *mules*) in the desert, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father," indicates such an intimate knowledge of these early times as a late writer could not have possessed.

The language employed by Joseph in his request to the chief butler has been thought to indicate a post-Mosaic age: "For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen.

¹ It has been suggested against the genuineness of the Pentateuch that this Hadar (called Hadad in 1 Chron. i, 50, 51) is the same that is mentioned as the adversary of Solomon (1 Kings xi, 14). But in Gen. xxxvi, 31, it is stated that the kings there named reigned before there was any king in Israel; therefore, before the time of Saul. When Joab, in the time of David, slew all the males of Edom, Hadad, being yet a little child, fled with others into Egypt about forty years before he became the adversary of Solomon, Edom, in the meanwhile, being subject to the Jewish kings. The Hadar in Genesis reigned instead of Baal-hanan, while the Hadad in 1 Kings seems never to have reigned at all, as Edom continued subject to the Jewish monarchs; and if he had, in whose stead would it have been? The whole history of the Edomites in the time of David and Solomon, as compared with the statement, in Genesis xxxvi, 31–39, completely refutes the idea that the Hadar of Genesis is the same as the Hadad of 1 Kings.

² This clearly appears from the list of the kings, Gen. xxxvi, 31–39.

xl, 15). To object to this language on the ground that it supposes that the children of Israel had already taken possession of Canaan, is at least hypercritical. For "the land of the Hebrews" is equivalent to "the land where the Hebrews dwell," as they were then dwelling in the land of Canaan. Perhaps this appears more clearly from the use of the article "*the* Hebrews." If we were to call Frankfort-on-the-Main "the city of the Rothschilds," that would simply mean that they were born or live there, not that the *whole* city belongs to them, and that nobody else lives there. And we may illustrate this usage from Scripture. God says to Abraham, "Get thee out of *thy* country" (Gen. xii, 1), that is, out of Mesopotamia, though he owned little or none of it. And Jacob says to Laban, "Send me away . . . that I may go to *my* country," that is, Canaan (Gen. xxx, 25).

It has been contended by some that the passage, "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan" (Exod. xvi, 35), could not have been written by Moses, since the manna did not cease until the children of Israel had crossed the Jordan and encamped in Gilgal (Josh. v, 12). But it must be observed that the Hebrew *וְעַד*, *until*, does not always mark a final limit, but occasionally a first limit. We may say in English, "*Farewell until we meet again*;" or in German, "*Auf wiedersehen*;" or in French, "*Au revoir*." But this does not imply that we have no concern afterward about the person addressed. The passage in Exodus says not a word about the *cessation of the manna*; nor does it state *definitely* how long it continued. But in Joshua v, 11, 12, we have a very definite statement: "And they did eat of the old corn of the land on the morrow after the passover. . . . And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year." If the passage in the Pentateuch respecting the continuance of the manna had been written after the Mosaic age, it is natural to suppose that it would have stated definitely where the manna ceased to fall. When Moses was about to die, on the borders of the land of Canaan, the Israelites had been fed with manna forty years, and he must have known that the manna would cease upon their entering Canaan, so that he made an indefinite statement respecting it, simply asserting that it continued to fall until the Israelites reached the borders of Canaan. The Jordan could be called the border (*קצה*) of Canaan, just as the Arnon, forming the boundary between the Moabites and the Am-

rites, is called *the border*¹ of Moab (Num. xxi, 13). The seashore is also called קָצֶה, *border of the sea* (Josh. xv, 2). In the close of the book of Numbers it is said: "These are the commandments and the judgments, which the Lord commanded, by the hand of Moses, unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho."²

In close connexion with the preceding statement respecting the objection based on explanation of size of omer. manna, it is said: "Now an omer is the tenth of an ephah." This has been thought to indicate a post-Mosaic age, inasmuch as it is an explanation. Some critics have regarded the *omer* (Heb. עֹמֶר, Sept. *gomor*) to be the name of a vessel, the same as the Arabic *gomer*, a cup. Both Gesenius and Fürst define the word to mean both a *measure* and a *sheaf*. This is a strange combination of meanings. The statement respecting the size of the omer may have been made on one of two grounds—either because it was a measure previously unknown, or but little known, to the Israelites; and, therefore, Moses, in giving the Israelites a command respecting the quantity of manna each one is to gather, defines its capacity; or because, being generally unknown in the post-Mosaic age, it was added to the original account as an explanation. No mention is made of the *omer* until the giving of the manna; and, except in Exodus xvi, 16, 18, 22, 32, 33, 36, it is nowhere found in the Bible in the sense of a measure.³ But the *ephah*, of which the *omer* is a tenth, occurs in various places from Exodus to Ezekiel. Gesenius regards the word *ephah* (אֶפָה) as of Egyptian origin. Then, of course, it was already known to the Israelites, who had come out of Egypt. And this seems to have been the standard measure of reference in the Mosaic legislation, for we have numerous passages⁴ in which the *tenth of an ephah* is expressed simply by עֲשֵׂרִין, *a tenth*, and the *omer* is left entirely out of sight. This may be illustrated by an analogous case. *The shekel of the sanctuary*, or *the holy shekel*, seems to have been unknown previously to the exodus, for Moses defines its weight: "Twenty gerahs (*beans*, kernels) shall be the shekel" (Lev. xxvii, 25); and the number of *gerahs* to the shekel cannot be regarded as the addition of a later age, for it seems to occur nowhere out of the Pentateuch except in Ezekiel xiv, 12.

¹ גְּבוּל is here used for *border*.

² In the account of the manna, it is stated that it resembled coriander seed. This comparison was very natural, for, according to Pliny, the coriander was a noted production of Egypt, and the Israelites who had come out of Egypt must have been familiar with it.

³ In Leviticus xxiii, and in a few other passages, it has the sense of *sheaf*, or *handful* of grain.

⁴ Especially in Leviticus. See chaps. xiv, xxiii, *et al.*

which is evidently based on passages in the Pentateuch. There is no serious difficulty in supposing that the statement respecting the size of the omer was really written by Moses. But if the explanatory remark was made in a post-Mosaic age, when the size of the omer was generally unknown, it shows the antiquity of the account of the manna.

The pot into which the omer of manna was to be put for a memorial is called כֶּלִי זָכָר, which is found nowhere else in the Bible—^{***} certainly a proof of the antiquity of the record.

The occurrence in the Pentateuch of the name *Hebron*, a celebrated city in Southern Palestine, has been thought by many to be post-Mosaic, since it is stated both in Josh. ^{Difficulty concerning Hebron.} xiv, 15, and in Judg. i, 10, that, before the town was captured by the Israelites, its name was Kirjath-arba. But it is evident that Kirjath-arba was not the most ancient name of the town; for it is stated immediately in connexion with this name *Kirjath-arba* (city of Arba), "which Arba was a great man among the Anakim" (Joshua xiv, 15). Now, in the days of Abram, there were no Anakim in Hebron; but Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and of Aner, dwelt there, with whom Abram was confederate (Gen. xiv, 13). In Gen. xiii, 18, it is called the "plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron." Hence it is impossible that the town could have had the name of Kirjath-arba in the time of Abram. But when Moses sent spies to search out the land of Canaan they found the Anakim already in Hebron. Consequently the name Kirjath-arba was given the city some time between the age of Abraham and the exodus. Although Abraham called the city Hebron (*Alliance*) in commemoration of his *alliance* with Mamre, Aner, and Eshcol, and it was called Mamre by others, yet the Anakim naturally changed the name to Kirjath-arba, (city of Arba) after the name of a great man among them. But Hebron being the name by which Abraham and his descendants in Egypt probably called it, the Israelites, after conquering it, very naturally restored to it the old name, as in the case of Bethel. That Hebron was already a town in the time of Abraham is evident; for it is stated in Num. xiii, 22, that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt, and we have proof that Zoan existed as far back as the time of Abraham. In speaking of the great temple of Zoan, Wilkinson¹ remarks: "The temple not only bears the names of kings of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasty [B. C. 2000]; it existed, according to M. Mariette, in the time of the sixth" [B. C. 2200]. What accurate knowledge is here displayed by the author of the Pentateuch in the notice of the building of Hebron

¹ Hand-book of Egypt, pp. 219, 220.

and Zoan—the latter of which was one of the capitals of Egypt in the days of Moses, and situated on the borders of Goshen! And who was so likely to possess this accurate knowledge as Moses, skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians? And in giving this exact statement the place is called Hebron. Besides, the following is very natural language if written by one outside of the Promised Land: "Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah¹ before Mamre: the same is Hebron in *the land of Canaan*" (Gen. xxiii, 19). Also we have: "Kirjath-arba: the same is Hebron in *the land of Canaan*" (ch. xxiii, 2). Outside of the Pentateuch it is nowhere stated that Hebron is *in the land of Canaan*, for to writers in Palestine the language would be unnatural, as everybody knew where it was; but it is called simply Hebron. In Num. xiii, 22, no addition is made to define its locality, for that is clear from the context.

In Numbers xxi, 14, mention is made of "*the book of the wars of Jehovah*," which some think to be post-Mosaic. But surely there was ample time before the death of Moses

for the composing and writing of a poem which would give a sketch of the wars of Israel. The events to which allusion is made in Numbers xxi, 14, 15, occurred six months or more before the death of Moses, and they could easily have been added to the book of the wars of Jehovah, and have been referred to by Moses. The song sung by Moses and the Israelites on the drowning of Pharaoh was incorporated into the Pentateuch (Exod. xv, 1-19). We have also in Num. xxi, 27-30, a quotation from one of the songs current in the last part of the Exodus, prefaced with the following remark: "Wherefore the poets say, Come into Heshbon, let the city of Sihon be built and established."

The reference to what is contained in the *book of the wars of Jehovah* is obscure, and the English translation of the passage is erroneous. The Hebrew may be rendered thus:—

Vaheb (He took) in a storm
And the streams of the Arnon.
And the outpouring of the streams
Which turn to the dwelling of Ar;
And lie near the border of Moab.

The preceding quotations of poems in the Pentateuch, celebrating the events of the exodus, give a strong confirmation to the Mosaic history.

¹ The cave of Machpelah, now covered by a mosque, is on the extreme east of Hebron, which lies below in the valley, "before Mamre," or Hebron. See the author's *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, p. 134.

Portions of the prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiv) have been thought by some to contain internal evidence of a post-Mosaic age. In predicting the future power of Israel he says: "His king shall be greater than Agag." This has been referred by a certain class of critics, and even Bleek among them, to the Agag mentioned in 1 Sam. xv, who was captured by Saul and slain by Samuel; and consequently the prophecy was composed not earlier than the reign of Saul. But there is strong probability that Agag was the common title of the kings of Amalek, and Gesenius gives the word as the name of several of them. Fürst remarks, under אָגָג, *Agag*, "This name of the Amalekite kings may have existed before the time of Samuel;" and Josephus and Jewish tradition explain *Agagite* in Esther iii, 1, as *an Amalekite by birth*. There is nothing in the language to require a reference to the Agag of Samuel. When the prophecy was delivered Amalek was called the first of the nations. This was not true of the time of Samuel; nor would there be much force in the declaration that the king of Israel would be greater than Agag, if the king of that name destroyed by Samuel be referred to. But there are portions of the prophecy which carry us down to the Assyrian, Greek, and Roman periods. For example: "The Kenite shall be destroyed until Asshur [Assyria] shall carry thee away captive." Here we have a reference to the times of Shalmaneser and Sennacherib: "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim [the regions of Greece] and afflict Assyria, and shall afflict Eber" [the Hebrews]. Here we have reference to the overthrow of the great Asiatic power by Alexander the Great (about B. C. 330), and the subversion of the Jewish State by the Romans (A. D. 70). Was the prophecy of Balaam written after all these events? No one will assert that. The passages are found in the Samaritan text, which cannot be later than B. C. 400, and in the Septuagint B. C. 280, as well as in the common Hebrew text.

"These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel *beyond* (בְּעֵבֶר) Jordan in the wilderness" (Deut. i, 1). Also in verse 5: "*Beyond* Jordan, in the land of Moab." The opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch regard this language as that of a writer whose standpoint is *west* of the Jordan in the land of Canaan; for to such a writer only, they contend, could the tract east of the river be called *beyond* Jordan. The real question here is, Was the tract east of the river called by the Israelites already, in the Mosaic age, *beyond* Jordan? This is in the highest degree probable, for the inhabitants of Canaan, even before the time of Abraham, in all probability, called the region east of the Jordan, *beyond* Jordan. Abraham, in adopting the language of the Ca-

Agag, a generic title for Amalekite kings.

Objection to the expression "beyond Jordan."

naanites, would use the same phraseology. At all events, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had sojourned long enough in Canaan to give the territory east of the Jordan the name *beyond* Jordan, and this phraseology they would naturally carry with them into Egypt, and bring back with them. Josephus calls the country beyond Jordan, *Peræa*¹ (from *πέραν*, *beyond*). And it is well known that Cæsar² calls that part of Gaul between Rome and the Alps "Hither Gaul," and the part beyond the Alps "Farther Gaul," although to him, now waging war in Farther Gaul, this latter region was really Hither Gaul.

But, after all, it is clear from various passages that the country between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea was also called *beyond* Jordan. In Deut. iii, 20, 25; xi, 30, *בְּעֵבֶר* has this meaning; and in Num. xxxii, 19, we have *בְּעֵבֶר*, *from beyond*, applied to *both sides* of the *Jordan*: "For we will not inherit with them *beyond* Jordan and farther, because our inheritance is fallen to us *beyond* Jordan eastward." Here the last word is added to distinguish the country east from that west of the river. We also find the country *west* of the Jordan called *beyond* Jordan in Josh. v, 1; xii, 7; xxii, 7. With good reason, then, does Fürst explain the phrase, *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן*, *beyond* *Jordan*, as used for *both sides of the Jordan*. He defines *עֵבֶר* as *bank-land*. In view of these facts there is scarcely the shadow of an argument against the genuineness of the Pentateuch from the use of the phrase, "*beyond* Jordan."

In Deut. ii, 12, in reference to the children of Esau having dis-
Passages supposed to indicate a post-Mosaic age. possessed the Horites, it is said: They "*dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.*" This passage has been supposed by some to have been written after the children of Israel had driven out the Canaanites. But it must be borne in mind that when this language was attributed to Moses, the country east of the Jordan had already been subdued, and given to Reuben, Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh (Num. xxxii, 33), and Moses knew that the Canaanites would also be dispossessed. But such language could be used without any reference to the Canaanites, even if the conquests and inheritance of the Israelites had been limited by the Jordan. But, further, there is no necessity for rendering the passage in the absolutely past tense, for the preterite of the Hebrew is used also for the present and the future.³ The preterite and the future

¹ Antiq., 636, *et al.* This was the common name of the trans-Jordanic territory.

² In his Commentaries.

³ See Roediger's Gesenius, Heb. Gram., p. 224.

being the only tenses in the language, are used in a wider sense than the same tenses are in the western languages. Hence we can render the passage, without doing violence to the original, thus: "As Israel *does* to the land of his possession, which the Lord *gives* unto them."

The following passage, also, has been thought to indicate a post-Mosaic age: "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day" (Deut. iii, 14). In Judges x, 3, 4, mention is made of a Jair who judged Israel twenty-two years, and who "had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts, and they had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-jair unto this day, which are in the land of Gilead." Some have supposed that this Jair is the one mentioned in Deuteronomy, transferred by mistake to the Mosaic age. So far as the genuineness of the Pentateuch is concerned, all that is necessary here is to show that the statements respecting Jair in Deuteronomy are historical facts, belonging to the Mosaic age.

In Numbers xxxii, 40, 41, we find a confirmation of the passage in Deuteronomy: "And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the small towns thereof, and called them Havoth-jair" (villages of Jair). In Joshua xiii, 30, after speaking of the inheritance which Moses gave to the half tribe of Manasseh, it is added: "All the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities." We also find in 1 Chron. ii, 21-23, a confirmation of the passage in Deuteronomy, where it is stated that Segub, a brother of Caleb, "begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And he took Geshur, and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, even threescore cities." The Jair named in Judges x, 3-5, who governed Israel, is evidently a different one from that mentioned in the Pentateuch; and there is nothing strange in there being a second Jair, a descendant of the first mentioned, and bearing his name. The villages possessed by Jair's sons (Judg. x, 4) are called Havoth-jair; but it is not stated that they are so called for the first time.

It is stated in Deut. iii, 14, that the villages are called "Bashan-havoth-jair *unto this day*." This expression, in several places in Deuteronomy, is regarded by some as indicating quite a long period intervening between the events and the time of the writer. But in every instance in Deuteronomy in which "unto this day" is used, except the one relating to *Havoth-jair*,

The Jairs in Judges and in Joshua confounded by false criticism.

Objection to the term "unto this day."

twenty-eight years, at least, had elapsed. In the middle books of the Pentateuch the phrase nowhere occurs. It is impossible for us to fix the minimum interval to which the language can be applied. In Joshua xxii, 17, it is used to express an interval of, apparently, about eight years.

The only instance in which the use of the expression *unto this day* can create any difficulty, is the passage to which we have already alluded in Deut. iii, 14, that Jair called the villages "after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day." In Numbers xxxii, 41, it is simply stated that he "called them Havoth-jair." It could not have been more than a year, perhaps was less, after the conquest and naming of these villages that the discourse in Deuteronomy was delivered, so that less than a year, in all probability, intervened respecting which it is said that he called them "Bashan-havoth-jair *unto this day*." But the passage simply means that Jair gave these villages his own name, by which they are now called, the name having permanently adhered to them. The improbability of this meaning cannot be shown.

There is something apparently singular in the use of "unto this day" in Gen. xix, 37, where it is said, "the same is the father of the Moabites unto this day;" and especially in Deut. xi, 3, 4, in which, after an enumeration of the mighty acts of God in punishing the Egyptians, it is added, "how the Lord hath destroyed them *unto this day*." The events to which reference is here made occurred in the space of a month or two, and forty years before the address of Moses was delivered; and the phrase *unto this day* must mean simply in *time past*, or in *the time preceding this day*. As Moses was about to leave the Israelites, he takes a survey of the affairs of his people, describes the *present* condition of things, and is thus led to use the expression "*unto this day*" in various places.

The directions respecting the future king of Israel (Deut. xvii. 14-20) have been regarded by some¹ as written after the people had

Objections
against the di-
rections con-
cerning future
king of Israel.

a king, since it was contrary to the divine will that they should have one, and according to 1 Sam. viii, 7, there was a rejection of Jehovah himself in asking for one. But this argument is utterly unsound. For it was foreseen of God, and even promised, that kings should spring from the posterity of Jacob; and Deuteronomy prescribes certain regulations for the king that they might set over them. It may, however, be objected that Deuteronomy, to be consistent with 1 Sam. viii, 7, ought absolutely to have prohibited the Israelites from having a king. But in this objection there would be no force,

¹ Among others, by Bleek, p. 216.

for God *does* allow them to have a king (1 Sam. viii, 22). Is it not the part of wisdom to make regulations for events that are certain to arise? And though it had been better had they never occurred, yet, under the circumstances, the absolute prohibition would work a greater evil.

But, further, the demand of the Israelites to have a king was a rejection of Samuel, and also a rejection of Jehovah, who had appointed Samuel to be their judge. It was not inconsistent with the Mosaic economy, and with the theocracy, to have a king subordinate to God. For, had that been the case, God would not have granted their request at all. The people sinned in rebelling against the existing arrangement and the appointed ruler, instead of waiting to be directed by the Almighty. The Israelites, in Deuteronomy xvii, 15, are charged: "Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose." We find this law complied with by Samuel; and God chose Saul (1 Sam. x, 24). Samuel also "told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord." In this there seems to be a reference to the regulations in Deut. xvii, 14-20, respecting the future king, and the language of the elders of Israel to Samuel, "Now make us a king to judge us like all the nations," is very similar to 1 Sam. viii, 5.

Directions concerning kings based on certainty of future facts.

In Deut. xvii, 18, the future king is directed to "write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites." Now, at whatever time this part¹ of Deuteronomy may be supposed to have been forged, it must have been immediately detected as spurious, since no former king would have known anything of it, nor would it in former times have been in the ark.

But the legislation in this seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy presupposes that the *shophet, judge*, is the highest officer of the people in the land of Canaan: "And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the *judges* that shall be in those days, and inquire" (ver. 9). In the regulations respecting the king it is enjoined that "he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses." The ground of this prohibition is given: "Forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way." This language is natural enough in Moses, for he might fear a return to Egypt of the people who had just left it; but in the ages of the kings such a fear could not be entertained. In 1 Kings iv, 26, we find that "Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for

¹ It is generally conceded that the Book of Deuteronomy is from one author.

his chariots." As he had no intention of conducting the people back to Egypt, he, perhaps, considered himself justified; and there would be some ground for this view. In a similar manner we violate the *letter* of the second commandment, which prohibits the making of any image. But we take it in connexion with what follows, and interpret accordingly: "Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." Whence we infer that the making the image with no idolatrous purpose is not sinful. He is further enjoined: "Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away; neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold." The reason for the last prohibition doubtless was, that in such a case he would impoverish the people; but the obtaining of gold for the enriching of his people might not be forbidden the king.

That Solomon departed from the Mosaic regulations in some things is not to be wondered at; and, indeed, we are informed that he built "a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, . . . and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon" (1 Kings xi, 7). But these departures from Deuteronomy, and in part from the very fundamental principle of the Mosaic religion, do not prove that Deuteronomy had no existence in the age of Solomon. On the same principle, by comparing the lives of some professed Christians with the New Testament, we might infer its non-existence. But Solomon alludes to Deuteronomy in his prayer at the dedication of the temple. (Compare 1 Kings viii, 29 with Deut. xii, 11).

But would any Israelite have forged the laws respecting the king hundreds of years after Solomon, to condemn what he had done? The supposition is preposterous.

The objection from the prohibition against the removal of landmarks considered. In Deut. xix, 14, it is enjoined, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." Some have considered this as having been written after the Israelites had fully settled in Canaan. But the word *עֲדָוָתָם*, rendered "they of old time," can be well translated "*former ones*." Is there any inconsistency in Moses giving a precept of this kind to be observed by the Israelites in Canaan? And if given, what form should it have? Reference must be made to a boundary already fixed, for the sin would lie in removing what had formerly been established as a landmark. And it is expressly stated in the passage, "In thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it" Is it possible that a writer should contradict himself in the same passage,

in one part using language indicating that Israel had long been in Canaan, and in the other representing them as having not yet entered the land, and giving directions how they should act when they should enter it? No writer, much less the author of Deuteronomy, could be guilty of such stupidity.

The regulations respecting war in Deut. xx refer to the future of Israel, when they shall have entered the land of Canaan; and there is nothing in them that could not have been written by Moses.¹

In concluding this part of our subject we may remark, that if the Pentateuch, comprising about one fourth of the Hebrew Bible, and extending over a period of more than twenty-five hundred years, had been composed centuries after Moses, it would have contained numerous palpable references to post-Mosaic times. On the contrary, however, we find no clear allusion to anything of an age later than that of Moses; and the supposed allusions of that nature, upon examination, disappear in every, or in almost every, case. It is not inconsistent with the genuineness of the Pentateuch to suppose, as we have before stated, that a few interpolations have found their way into it, but of this we have proof in hardly a single instance. The whole colouring and spirit of the book is Mosaic.

¹ Because in the Pentateuch *יָם*, *seaward*, is used for *westward*, and *בְּנֵי־יָם*, *toward the dry region*, especially *the southern part of Judah*, for *south*, Robertson Smith affirms that the Pentateuch was written in Canaan (p. 323). But suppose Moses wrote or revised it in the land of Moab, what then? The Mediterranean Sea was west of him, and the south country of Judah was south of him. But how often are words used in a sense different from their primitive force! We can say of a Philadelphia merchant, he *ships* his goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, just as if a sea lay between the two cities. Herodotus (viii, 60) speaks of *yoking up ships* (*ἀναζεύγνυμι*), that is, removing them. Did he think that *ships* were a species of oxen?

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

THE Samaritans at Nablûs,¹ a remnant of the ancient sect of that name, have the Pentateuch in Hebrew, written in very ancient irregular characters, and differing but little from the Pentateuch of the Jews. In determining the value of the Samaritan Codex, and its bearing on the genuineness of the Jewish Pentateuch, it is necessary, first of all, to inquire, *Who were the Samaritans?* The most ancient account of the origin of this people is found in 2 Kings Origin of the Samaritans. xvii, where it is stated that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried away Israel captive into Assyria (B.C. 721), "and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes;" and that "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." But it is not likely that the king of Assyria carried off *all* the inhabitants. The remnant of the ten tribes was incorporated with the colonists of the Assyrian king, and thus the Samaritans became a mixed people. At first they knew not the God of Israel, and lions were sent among them, which slew some of them (chap. xvii, 25). Upon this the king of Assyria gave directions: "Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land" (ver. 27). "Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord" (ver. 28). "They feared the Lord, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations" from which they had been taken. And when the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity, and were engaged in rebuilding the temple, the Samaritans wished to take a part in it, coming to Zerubbabel and to the chief of the fathers, saying: "Let us build with you: for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon [about B. C. 709] king of Assur, which

¹In January, 1870, the author had an interview with the high-priest of the sect at Nablûs, and was told that they numbered one hundred and fifty. See the author's *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, pp. 183-186.

brought us up hither" (Ezra iv, 2). This request was promptly refused, as the Samaritans were for the most part pure heathen¹ and worshipped false gods along with Jehovah. This rejection of their offer seems to have been the source of their hatred of the Jews. During the reign of Alexander the Great, Sanballat, whose son-in-law, Manasseh, was a brother of Jaddus, high priest at Jerusalem, obtained permission from the king, while engaged in the siege of Tyre (B. C. 332), to build a temple for Samaritan worship on Mount Gerizim.² This Sanballat executed with zeal. Afterward the Jews, who had become obnoxious to their brethren in Jerusalem on account of their violations of law, took refuge among the Samaritans.³ Josephus informs us that in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (B. C. 181-146) the Samaritans, who revered the temple built on Mount Gerizim in the time of Alexander the Great, and the Jews had a disputation in the presence of the Egyptian sovereign concerning the claims of their respective temples, the Samaritans affirming that the temple on Gerizim was built according to the Mosaic law. The Jews denied this, establishing from the law the priority of their own temple in Jerusalem, and the succession of the high priests who had the charge of it; and showing, also, that the kings of Asia had honoured the Jewish temple when that on Gerizim had no existence. The king decided the dispute in favour of the Jews, and put to death the Samaritan disputants.⁴

Jesus son of Sirach (about B. C. 180, or even earlier) expresses the feelings of the Jews of that period toward the Samaritans: "There are two nations with which my soul is vexed, and the third is no nation—those who dwell in the mountain of Samaria, the Philistines, and the foolish people who dwell in Shechem"⁵ (Samaritans).

Josephus⁶ observes that when the Jews were in prosperity the Samaritans claimed relationship, affirming that they were of the family of Joseph; but that when the Jews were in adversity the Samaritans denied any affinity with them, declaring themselves to be foreigners who had migrated to Samaria. And we accordingly find, that when the Jews were severely persecuted on account of their religion by Antiochus Epiphanes

¹ The heathen element predominated most strongly in the Samaritans. Hengstenberg and others have regarded them as *purely* heathen. In our visit to the Samaritans we failed to distinguish any thing Jewish in their features.

² Josephus, *Antiq.*, book xi, 8, 4.

³ *Antiq.*, xiii, cap. iii, 4.

⁴ *Antiq.*, ix, cap. xiv, 3.

Testimony of Jesus son of Sirach.

Testimony of Josephus.

⁵ *Antiq.*, xi, 8, 7.

⁶ *Cap.* i, 25, 26

(B. C. 167), the Samaritans, to avoid similar treatment, informed Antiochus, that although they kept the Jewish sabbath, and had been offering sacrifices in the temple built on Mount Gerizim, this edifice was nevertheless not sacred to the supreme God, but was nameless, and that they were ready to dedicate it to the Grecian Zeus.¹ The feeling of hostility on the part of the Jews toward the Samaritans still existed in the time of our Saviour, as appears from the New Testament, and in turn was resented by the Samaritans, who still looked upon the Jews as heretics. In an interview with the high priest of the Samaritans at Nablûs, I asked him his opinion respecting Judaism. He replied, that the "Hebrew prophets were learned men, but not inspired; that Solomon was the predicted Shiloh, with whom the sceptre had left Judah, as that monarch had ruined every thing by his course; and that in many things the Jews

The author's
interview with
the Samaritan
high priest
Amram.

act contrary to the divine law, and are a species of heretics." He also stated that he expected a Messiah, and based his expectation principally upon Deut. xviii, 15.² It is evident, then, that the Samaritans regard themselves as the theocratic people, the regular successors to the ten tribes of Israel. Thus they exclude the Jews, from the days of Solomon, with whom the sceptre left Judah. It appears that they have never received as canonical any part of the Old Testament except the five books of Moses, which at present they hold as alone of divine authority. Hippolytus remarks of the Samaritans: "They pay no attention to the prophets, but only to the law given by Moses."³ Origen observes, that they receive nothing more than the Pentateuch of Moses.⁴ Jerome had a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch in his own hands, for he has given us a reading which he found in it.⁵

Now the question arises. From what source did the Samaritans derive their Pentateuch? Did the priest appointed by the Assyrian king to instruct the new colonies in Samaria in the knowledge of the God of Israel (2 Kings xvii, 27) make use of a copy of the Pentateuch which had been in use among the ten tribes before they were carried away captive by Shalmaneser? There is proof from the prophets that the Pentateuch was known among the ten tribes, and the most natural supposition is, that it was received from them by the Samaritans. The priest must have had a book of the law out of which to instruct the colonists,

Origin of the
Samaritan
Pentateuch.

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii, 5, 5.

² See the author's *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, pp. 183-186.

³ *Contra Hæreses*, liber ix, 30.

⁴ *Com. on Joan*, tom. xiii, 26.

⁵ *Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens inveni Chol. Com. on Galatians* liber ii, cap. iii.

and the language of 2 Kings xvii evidently* presupposes written laws and statutes among them (ver. 34). Also in Ezra, chap. iv, 2, the Samaritans assert that they have been sacrificing to the God of Israel since the days of Esar-haddon, king of Assur (about B. C. 700). They must have had a Pentateuch by which to make this sacrifice. There is, accordingly, probability that their Pentateuch is considerably older than the date of the Babylonian captivity. The irregular characters in which the Samaritans write their Pentateuch is a proof of its antiquity, as the square Hebrew characters were introduced after the return of the Jews from Babylon, though it appears that the irregular characters in use previously to that event were continued to some extent down to the time of the Maccabees. But the Samaritan characters differ much from those old Hebrew characters on the coins of the times of the Maccabees, and from those of the Phœnicians. It is probable that the Samaritan characters are older than any Semitic characters found on monuments. The changes in the Semitic alphabet going on in all directions made no change in the Samaritan. We may conclude that the ancient Pentateuch, their oldest literature, fixed their alphabetical forms.

Antiquity of the Samaritan characters.

We cannot, however, assert that the Samaritans, if they had not already possessed a copy of the Pentateuch upon the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, would have failed to obtain it from them.

Bleek admits that the worship of Jehovah, established among the Samaritans by the priest sent back by the king of Assyria (2 Kings xvii, 27), was, without doubt, based upon the Mosaic law, though not upon the Pentateuch as we now have it; and that, without doubt, the Samaritans, among whom the reformation of worship by Josiah extended, had heard of the discovery in the temple of an authentic copy of the law, and that it is possible that single chapters of it reached them. He thinks, however, it more probable that the formal reception of the Pentateuch among them in its present form, as an authentic codex of the divine law, did not take place until after the Babylonian exile.¹ De Wette is of opinion that the Samaritan Pentateuch was obtained from the Jews when the Samaritans built their temple on Mount Gerizim, in the time of Alexander the Great (about B. C. 330).²

Admission of Bleek.

The existence of a written code of the laws of Moses among the ten tribes and Samaritans is fatal to the hypothesis of the late origin of Deuteronomy, under Manasseh or Josiah. For the priest from among the ten tribes must

False hypothesis of late origin of Deuteronomy.

¹ Pp. 337, 338.

² Einleitung, p. 204.

have instructed the new colonists out of the Mosaic code, as it existed among his people, and the Samaritans could not have had the book of Deuteronomy unless it had been already acknowledged by the ten tribes of Israel; for if the Jews had added this book to the Mosaic code afterward, it would have been rejected by the Samaritans as a forgery.

The fact of the existence of the Mosaic code among the ten tribes, in connexion with the fact that one of the priests of those tribes taught the new colonists the knowledge of the God of Israel, furnishes a strong proof that the Samaritan Pentateuch has come down from the ten tribes, and that in this form it existed in the time of Solomon. This is, therefore, a valuable testimony to the existence of the *whole* Pentateuch as early as the time of that monarch. The hatred of the Jews by the Samaritans led the latter to reject every thing that pertained to Judah alone.

But it does not follow that the Samaritan Pentateuch is of equal authority with the Jewish. It was not to be expected that it would be preserved with all the care and accuracy with which that of the Jews has been preserved. Preserved among a people of purer faith, of wider culture, and of large numbers, the Jewish Pentateuch has had every thing in its favour.

The agreement between the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of the Septuagint, it seems to us, has been frequently overstated by scholars. It is true that there are many passages in which the two agree together, and differ from the Jewish Pentateuch; but in a far greater number of instances the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of the Septuagint differ from each other. Let us take, for example, the ten commandments. Where the Jewish Pentateuch and the Septuagint have, "*remember* the sabbath day to keep it holy," the Samaritan has, "*keep* the sabbath day," etc. The command to honour father and mother is stated in the same way in both the Jewish Pentateuch and the Samaritan; but the Septuagint has, "*that it may be well with thee . . . upon the good land,*" etc. The sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments stand in the same order in the Jewish and Samaritan texts, but are differently arranged in the Septuagint. In the command not to covet, both the Samaritan and the Septuagint have, in addition to the things prohibited in the Jewish text, "his field;" but the order of the words is not the same. The Septuagint has, in addition to both the Jewish and Samaritan texts, "nor any of his cattle." Also in the fourth commandment, "Thou shalt not do any work," the Samaritan and Septuagint supply the words "in it" to complete the sense.

Advantage of
the Jewish
Pentateuch.

Disagreement
between the
Samaritan Pen-
tateuch and the
Septuagint.

In chronology the Jewish Pentateuch differs widely from the Septuagint, but less from the Samaritan. Nor have we any proof that the Samaritan Pentateuch has been interpolated from the Septuagint, or that the latter has been interpolated from the former. Not only the difference between them, but the history of the text of each of these copies, is inconsistent with such hypotheses.

In various places in the Samaritan Pentateuch we find explanatory remarks, taken from some other part of the book, added. In the account of God's meeting Balaam (Num. xxii, xxiii), in several instances the *angel of God* is substituted for God himself. But what is most remarkable, the archaisms are almost invariably exchanged for later words. *Matres lectionis*, especially י and ך, with *skurek* and *tsere* and *chirek*, are used oftener than in the Jewish Pentateuch, for the *full* method of writing generally characterizes a later period of the Hebrew language, to which the Samaritans laboured to conform theirs.

But, upon the whole, the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees well with the Jewish, and is an independent witness to its integrity.

Hengstenberg attaches but little value to the Samaritan Pentateuch as an auxiliary proof of the genuineness of the Jewish, since he thinks it might have been obtained from the Jews after the Babylonian captivity, though he admits that the fact of the reception of the Pentateuch among the ten tribes furnishes a very probable proof that the Samaritan copy came down from them. Nor do we see that Hävernicks makes any use of it in defence of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. That the Samaritan Pentateuch has come down from the ten tribes of Israel has been held by Morin, Houbigant, Capellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Stuart, and others. There are a few readings in it that seem preferable to those of the Jewish, but, taken as whole, the Samaritan Pentateuch is decidedly inferior.

Explanations
in the Samaritan
Pentateuch

Hengstenberg's opinion.

Views of Hävernicks and others.

CHAPTER XIX.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE ANTIQUITY, AUTHORITY, AND
INTEGRITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

ONE of the most convincing methods of establishing the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is to show that it has existed ever since the time of Moses, and that it has always borne his name. We know that at the time of Christ all parties of the Jews—in Palestine, in Egypt, and in whatever parts of the world they were found—received the Pentateuch as the work of Moses. From this period we shall trace back the Pentateuch to the age of Moses.

The first book of Maccabees, written about B. C. 100, states that in the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes (about B. C. 170), if the *book of the covenant* was found with any one he was put to death (1 Macc. i, 57). Here the whole Pentateuch is called the book of the covenant. Jesus the son of Sirach (about B. C. 180 or earlier) speaks of the book of the covenant of the most high God, *the law which Moses commanded* (chap. xxiv, 23). Here, too, the reference to the Pentateuch is obvious.

The Pentateuch, as we have already seen, was translated into Greek about B. C. 280. This translation, forming a part of the LXX, agrees remarkably with the Hebrew Pentateuch, and is the most accurate part of the Greek version. The translators, because of their reverence for the work of Moses, took no liberty with the text.

The Pentateuch of the Samaritans agrees closely with the Jewish, and shows that no changes have been made in the latter since the Samaritan was taken from it. But the Samaritan Pentateuch could not have been derived from the Jewish later than B. C. 330, when Sanballat, with the permission of Alexander the Great, built the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. For the Samaritans must have obtained it then, even if they did not already possess it.

Since the school of Ezra made no changes in the Pentateuch after B. C. 330, why should they have made any in it before? Its use for centuries, and its reputation as the work of Moses, rendered it sacred in the eyes of the priests and scribes, and would naturally

prevent it from being altered or enlarged. Even if any priest or scribe had attempted such a thing, it is not to be supposed that the mass of the priests and scribes would have consented to it.

Malachi, about B. C. 440, seventeen years after Ezra returned from Babylon, exhorts the people: "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments" (iv, 4). Here the prophet recognizes the Pentateuch of that day as having been delivered in Horeb *for all Israel*, and not as something recently contrived for the Jews only. In Malachi i, 7, 12-14, in the offering of polluted sacrifices and blind and maimed animals, there is a reference to Lev. xxii, 22, and Deut. xv, 21. In the withholding of the tithes (iii, 8) we have a reference to Lev. xxvii, 30; Num. xviii, 21; Deut. xxvi, 12. In the Book of Nehemiah, B. C. 440, we find clear references to the Pentateuch: "And they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses which the LORD had commanded to Israel" (viii, 1). Further, in verse 14, we read: "And they found written in the law which the LORD had commanded by Moses that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month." This has reference to Lev. xxiii, 34, 42. Nehemiah does not seem to have had the least suspicion that this command, as well as the whole priestly system of the Pentateuch, was an interpolation and forgery of Ezra. In the prayer offered by the eight Levites there is a recapitulation of the Israelitish history and legislation of Moses in which there are references to all the five books of the Pentateuch (ix, 6-35). Also in xiii, 1, 2, passages are given which it is said "they read in the book of Moses"—the identical passages of our present Pentateuch. Malachi's recognition of early origin of Pentateuch. Nehemiah and Ezra in support of early origin of Pentateuch.

In the Book of Ezra it is stated that the Jews who went up with Zerubbabel from Babylon to Jerusalem (B. C. 536) built an altar in the latter city "to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the law of Moses the man of God. . . . And they offered burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD, even burnt offerings morning and evening. They kept also the feast of tabernacles, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt offerings by number, according to the custom, as the duty of every day required; and afterward offered the continual burnt offering, both of the new moons and of all the set feasts of the LORD that were consecrated," etc. (iii, 2-5). Here the reference is to Exod. xxix, 38, 39; Num. xxviii, 3, 4. The last clause of Ezra iii, 4, is the exact language of the last clause in Lev. xxiii, 37. These sacrifices were offered according to the Mosaic law about eighty years before Ezra came up to Jerusalem. It is, therefore,

clear that he could have had nothing to do with the prescriptions of the law concerning sacrifices.

Respecting Ezra himself, who went up to Jerusalem about B. C. 457, it is said: "He was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the LORD God of Israel had given" (Ezra vii, 6). "Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the LORD, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." He was a student in the law, not its author, nor its amender, nor one who had incorporated traditions into it. The tradition of the Jews knows nothing of Ezra's having written any part of the law. "His merit is celebrated in these words: 'Ezra would have been worthy of the law's being given through him if Moses had not anticipated him.'"¹

Haggai. In this prophet, who prophesied about B. C. 520, when the Jews were rebuilding the temple, we find the following reference to the Mosaic law: "Ask now the priests concerning the law [*Torah*], saying, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the priest, answered and said, No. Then said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the priests answered and said, It shall be unclean" (ii, 11-13). In the last verse the reference is to Num. xix, 11: "He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean," and to xix, 22: "Whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean."

Zechariah. In this prophet, who was contemporary with Haggai, we find references in xiv, 16, 18, 19, to the feasts of tabernacles, according to the law in Lev. xxiii, 34, 43, and Deut. xvi, 13; and in iii, 5, to the mitre upon the head of the high priest, according to the arrangement in Exod. xxxix, 28; Lev. viii, 9.

Ezekiel. This prophet, who lived in Chaldea during the first part of the Babylonian captivity, makes frequent references to the Mosaic laws, and even to some of those very laws which the new school of critics would have us believe Ezra, or the prophet himself, wrote. In iv, 14, Ezekiel declares: "My soul hath not been polluted: for from my youth up even till now have I not eaten of that which dieth of itself, or is torn in pieces; neither came there abominable flesh into my mouth." The "torn" refers to Exod. xxii, 31; "that which dieth of itself" to Lev. xvii, 15; and the "abominable thing" to Deut. xiv, 3: in which passages,

¹ In Sanhedrim 21b and Yer. Megilla i, 9 in Weber, *System der Alt. Syn. Paläst. Theologie*, p. 2, Leipzig, 1880.

it is forbidden to eat these things. In describing the righteous man, the prophet asserts that "he hath not come near to a menstruous woman" (xviii, 6), in reference to Lev. xviii, 19, and xx, 18: "And hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; he that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, . . . hath executed true judgment between man and man, hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments, to do truly; he is just," etc. (xviii, 7-9). Some of the foregoing prohibitions and injunctions refer to Exod. xxii, 21, 22, 25, 26; Lev. xix, 15; xxv, 14; Deut. xv, 7, 8; xxiv, 12, 13. In chap. xx we have a reference to God's revelation of himself to the Israelites in Egypt: "I gave them my statutes, and showed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them. Moreover also I gave them my sabbaths. . . . But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments: . . . then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness, to consume them. . . . Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them" (11-15), in reference to Num. xiv, 28, 29. In the phrase, "Which, if a man do, he shall even live in them," there is the language of Lev. xviii, 5. The oath that the Israelites should be scattered among the heathen, and dispersed through the countries, refers to Lev. xxvi, 33, and to Deut. xxviii, 64; for in the former passage *נִדָּח*, to scatter, is used, and in the latter *נִפְּץ*, to disperse, both verbs being combined.

In xvii, 26, it is declared: "Her priests have violated my law [*Torah*], and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my sabbaths, and I am profaned among them." Here the prophet refers to the *Torah* (law), and to the ordinances respecting things clean and unclean, as we find them in Lev. xxii. In xxiv, 7, we observe a reference to the precept in Lev. xvii, 13, where it is enjoined to pour out the blood, and to cover it with dust. In the command not to exhibit signs of grief (Ezek. xxiv, 18-23), the head is not to be uncovered, and the lip is not to be covered (with hair), with reference to Lev. x, 6, and xiii, 45.

Ezekiel's references to Leviticus and other parts of the Pentateuch.

In xxxvi, 27, it is said: "I will cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them;" and in verse 38

"the solemn feasts" are named. In xvi, 38-40, we find the following: "I will judge thee as women that break wedlock and shed blood are judged; . . . they shall stone thee with stones." In Lev. xx, 10, and Deut. xxii, 22, nothing is said about the kind of death the adulteress shall die. If, therefore, the precept in Leviticus is later than the passage in Ezekiel, it is strange that the manner of the death of the adulteress is left undetermined.

In chap. xlv, 6-8, in the prophet's vision of the house of the LORD (B. C. 574), God directs him to say unto the house of Israel: "Let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that you have brought into my sanctuary strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it, even my house, when ye offer my bread [the name for sacrifice in Leviticus], the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant because of all your abominations. And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things." In these passages the reference is to Lev. xxi, 6-8; iii, 16; xvii, 11, where the bread of God and the fat and blood of sacrifice are mentioned. These sacrifices are declared to be of divine appointment.

In Ezekiel's description of the qualifications and duties of the future priests (xlv, 15-31), we find a repetition of the regulations for the most part in the Pentateuch. This proves his acquaintance with those books. In some matters, however, Ezekiel departs from the Pentateuchal regulations. This is not to be wondered at, in an ideal state of the future, in which the Levites have a tract of land nearly fifty miles by twenty (xlviii, 13): Issachar bordering on Simeon (verse 25), and Gad on Zebulun (verse 27). The city has twelve gates. All these descriptions are contrary to the geographical location of the tribes, and in contradiction with the number of gates which Jerusalem had. There are other descriptions of a similar unreal character. Was Ezekiel ignorant of the geography and topography of Palestine? Hardly. If, then, some of his regulations are different from those of the Pentateuch, does that prove his ignorance of it? Certainly the returning exiles never dreamed of fashioning their commonwealth after the ideal style of Ezekiel.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah. This book, written shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, contains several references to the institutions of the Jews which are found in our Pentateuch. "The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts" (i, 4). Here the reference is to the appointed feasts of the Pentateuch. "The heathen entered into her sanctuary whom thou didst command that they should not enter into thy congregation" (i, 10). Here the reference is to Deut. xxiii, 3, where it is

enjoined that "an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord," etc. "The Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and the sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion" (ii, 6). "The law [*Torah*] is no more" (ii, 9). "Her Nazarites were purer than snow" (iv, 7). The institution of the Nazarites is found in Num. vi, 1-8.

The prophet Jeremiah. In this prophet, whose ministry extended from B. C. 629 to 589, we find many references to a code of laws corresponding to our Pentateuch, which were manifestly written. "The priests said not, Where is the LORD? and they that handle the law [*Torah*] knew me not" (ii, 8). "I had put her [adulterous Israel] away, and given her a bill of divorce" (iii, 8). This is based on Deut. xxiv, 3, where a man may, under given circumstances, give his wife a "bill of divorce" and dismiss her. "I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was without form, and void" (יהוה וָחֵדָּה) (iv, 23). This is the exact language of Gen. i, 2, and shows that Jeremiah had before him what is called the *Elohistic* account of creation, and proves the falsity of the theory that this part of Genesis was written after the captivity.¹ "Behold, I will bring evil upon this people, . . . because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it" (vi, 19). "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law [*Torah*] of the LORD is with us? Lo, certainly in vain made he it; the *pen of the scribes* is in vain" (viii, 8). Here it is evident that the reference is to the *written* Torah (law). "Because they have forsaken my law [*Torah*] which I set before them" (ix, 13). "Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of this covenant, which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace, saying, Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God: that I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey" (xi, 3-5).

In this section we have a reference to the curse pronounced upon those who do not obey the law, based on Deut. xxvii, 26. "The iron furnace" is the exact language of Deut. iv, 20. "A land flowing with milk and honey" is the language of the Pentateuch. "Your fathers have not kept my law [*Torah*]" (xvi, 11); "The law shall not perish from the priest" (xviii, 18); "To walk in my law which I have set before you" (xxvi, 4): the combination of

¹ It is very probable that the phrase "When ye be multiplied and increased" (Jer. iii, 16) refers to Gen. i, 28: "Be fruitful and multiply," and to Gen. viii, 17, both Elohistic passages.

these three passages shows that "the law" (Torah) is the law of God in the hands of the priests, and that it is no new thing. "The planters shall plant vineyards and profane" them (xxxii, 5): here we have a reference to Lev. xix, 23, where it is enjoined that when the Israelites plant any kind of fruit trees, they shall not eat any of the fruit for *three* years. Hence, "to profane a vineyard" is to eat of its fruit. In xxxii, 31-33, God declares that he will make a new covenant with the house of Israel different from the one he made with them when he brought them out of Egypt. He further says that he will write this new covenant upon their hearts, which shows that the first covenant was written upon something else.

In xxxii, 8, Hanameel, the son of Jeremiah's uncle, addresses the prophet, respecting a field in Anathoth: "The right of inheritance is thine and the redemption is thine; buy it for thyself." This passage refers to Lev. xxv, 25, in which it is stated: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away a part of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold." In xxxiv, 13, 14, the prophet speaks of the covenant God made with the Israelites when he brought them out of Egypt, in which a Hebrew slave is to be set free after six years' servitude. This law is found in Exod. xxi, 2, and Deut. xv, 12. "Neither have they feared, nor walked in my law, nor in my statutes, that I set before you and before your fathers" (xlv, 10). "Nor walked in his law, nor in his statutes, nor in his testimonies" (verse 23). "A fire and a flame . . . shall devour the corner of Moab, and the corner of the head of the tumultuous ones" (xlviii, 45). Gesenius¹ rightly regards this passage as an imitation of Num. xxiv, 17: "A scepter shall rise out of Israel and shall smite the corners of Moab."

The prophet Isaiah. In the first chapter of this prophet, who flourished B. C. 758-705, we find named, "sacrifices," "burnt offerings," "incense," "new moons," "sabbaths," "assemblies," "feasts," etc., as Jewish observances, doubtless the same as we have in our Pentateuch. "They have cast away the law [Torah] of the LORD of hosts" (v, 24). "Bind up the testimony, seal the law [Torah] among my disciples" (viii, 16). In these passages there is doubtless a reference to the Pentateuch. In xxiii, 18, we have "splendid garments;" that is, as Gesenius² explains it, "The splendor of the sacerdotal vestments handed down from antiquity." In xxiv, 5, we have the following: "They have transgressed the laws, broken the everlasting covenant."

¹ Heb. Lex., תָּרָו, and Com. Samart. Pent.

² See his Heb. Lex., שִׁבְרֵי תְּהִיָּה.

"In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book" (xxix, 18); that is, as Gesenius understands it, "the book of the law."¹ We also read: "Children that will not hear the law of Jehovah" (xxx, 9); "seek ye out of the book of the LORD and read" (xxxiv, 16). The reference here seems to be to the fact that Isaiah's prophecies form a part of a collection of sacred writings. "Thus saith the LORD, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement whom I have put away" (i, 1)? Here the reference is to Deut. xxiv, 1, where the law permits the husband to dismiss his wife with a bill of divorce. Both in Deuteronomy and Isaiah the same phrase, כִּטְרֵי תוֹחַ, is used, the latter being written defectively without the ו in Deuteronomy, as might be expected from its being the earlier writing. שְׁלַח, to dismiss, is used in both passages.

Nahum. In this prophet, who flourished about B. C. 630, we find the following: "O Judah, keep thy solemn feasts, perform thy vows" (i, 15). This language implies the divine institution of the Jewish feasts, and refers to the regulations of the Pentateuch respecting vows.

Habakkuk. In this prophet (B. C. 625) there is a reference to the Pentateuch in the following words: "The law [Torah] is torpid" (i, 4).

Zephaniah. This prophet (B. C. 625) refers as follows to the law: "Her [Jerusalem's] priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law [Torah]" (iii, 4).

Joel. This prophet, who flourished about B. C. 880, makes several references to the institutions of the Pentateuch. "The meat offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the LORD; the priests, the LORD's ministers, mourn" (i, 9). "Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly: gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the LORD your God, and cry unto the LORD" (verse 14). Again: "Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the people, sanctify the congregation, . . . let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord" (ii, 15-17). It is clear that Joel recognizes the divine authority of the priests, and certainly approves of their services. "The meat offering" (כִּנְוָה), and "the drink offering" (נֶכֶךְ), are the words of the Pentateuch. In Num. x, 2, 3, it is enjoined that "the calling of the assembly" shall be made by blowing trumpets.

Micah. This prophet, who began to prophesy about B. C. 750, makes several references to the Pentateuch. In chap. v, 6,

¹ Heb. Lex., שִׁבְרָה שֹׁמֵר.

Assyria is coupled with the land of Nimrod in reference to Gen. x, 8-12; and in vi, 4, Miriam is named along with Moses and Aaron. The following passage is evidently taken from Micah's allusions to the Pentateuch.

Numbers: "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal" (chap. vi, 5). The passage, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (chap. vi, 8), seems to be based upon the following in Deut. x, 12: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul."

The Prophet Amos, who flourished about B. C. 800, shows in various passages his acquaintance with the Pentateuch. In chap. i, 11, there is a probable reference to Gen. xxvii, 41: "Because he [Edom] did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever." Allusion is also made to the forty years' wandering through the wilderness (chap. ii, 10). There is a clear reference in chap. ii, 11, 12, to the law in Numbers vi, 2-21: "And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites. . . . But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink." It was one of the requirements of the Nazarite that he should drink no wine. "They have despised the law of the Lord, and have not kept his commandments" (ii, 4).

"You only have I known of all the families of the earth" (Amos iii, 2) refers to Exodus xix, 5, and Deut. vii, 6. In "Bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes after three years" (chap. iv, 4), we have a clear reference to Deut. xiv, 28: "At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates." In Amos we have לְשִׁלֶּשֶׁת יָמִים, *at the end of three days*, literally. But Gesenius gives several examples of the use of יָמִים, *days* for *years*, and translates the passage: "*After the end of three years*," or, better, *every three days*—in bitter irony. In either case the reference would be to the law requiring the bringing of tithes at the end of three years found only in Deut. xiv, 28. "I have smitten you with blasting and mildew" (chap. iv, 9), was a judgment threatened in Deut. xxviii, 22. Compare "I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt" (chap. iv, 10), with Deut. xxviii, 60: "Moreover, he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt." In chap. v, 22, "Though

ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts," we have named various sacrifices enjoined in the Pentateuch. In addition to these sacrifices we have in chap. iv, 5: "Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven," in allusion to Lev. vii, 13. In chap. iv, 4, the command is given to bring the sacrifice every morning, thus referring to Num. xxviii, 3, 4. In ii, 7, "To profane my holy name," we have a reference to Lev. xx, 3. In chap. viii, 5, the new moon and the sabbath are mentioned as Israelitish institutions. We have in chap. v, 25, 26, a reference to the idolatry of the Israelites in the desert: "Ye have offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel. And ye have borne the tabernacle of your king, even Chiun your idol, the star of your god, which ye made for yourselves."¹ This language does not imply that the Israelites in the desert had not a knowledge of the true God, but simply that, while making sacrifices to the true God and performing the external rites of worship, they combined with it the idolatrous worship of Saturn,¹ whose image and tabernacle they carried with them in their wanderings. The whole history of the Jews in the Pentateuch shows their frequent lapses into idolatry.

The knowledge of the Pentateuch which Amos displays is remarkable, as he had received no training in the schools of the prophets, but was simply "a herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit." "And the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go prophesy unto my people Israel" (chap. vii, 14, 15).

Hosea. In this prophet, who began to prophesy about B. C. 785, we find a considerable number of references to the Pentateuch. The comparison of the children of Israel to a woman who leaves her husband and goes after other men is a favorite simile with Hosea to set forth the apostasy of Israel from the true God and their devotion to idolatrous worship. For example: "The land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord" (chap. i, 2); and "they have gone a whoring from under their God" (chap. iv, 12). The simile is obviously based on the language of the Pentateuch. In Exod. xxxiv, 15, it is said: "Lest thou make a covenant with the land, and *they go a whoring after their gods*, and do sacrifice unto their gods." Again, in Deut. xxxi, 16: "And this people will rise up, and *go a whoring after the gods* of the strangers of the land."

In the following passages we have a reference to the institutions of the Pentateuch: "I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her

¹ That Chiun means Saturn, see the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst.

feast days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts" (ii, 11); "And I that am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles, as in the days of the solemn feasts" (xii, 9). In the latter passage the reference is to the feast of tabernacles, as enjoined in Lev. xxiii, 42, 43, in which the people are to dwell in booths—the only passage in the Pentateuch in which the dwelling in booths or tabernacles is mentioned. This refutes the new school of Graf, Wellhausen, and others, who hold that Leviticus was not written until the Babylonian captivity, or even later. "Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted" (ix, 4). In this passage there seems to be a reference to Deut. xxvi, 14. In xi, 8, Admah and Zeboim are named from Gen. xiv, 2. In chap. xii, 3, 4, we have a clear reference to the history in the Pentateuch: "He [Jacob] took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God: Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Beth-el, and there he spake with us." This is taken from Gen. xxv, 26; xxxii, 24-30; xxviii, 11-20. The second of these passages in Genesis is Elohistic, the name of *Elohim* (*God*) occurring twice in it.

But according to the new critical school of Kayser, Wellhausen, and others, the *Elohistic* portions of Genesis were written about the time of Ezra. Now, Hosea's reference to this Elohistic section is a palpable refutation of their theory. In chap. xii, 12, we have a reference to Gen. xxix, xxx: "And Jacob fled into the country of Syria, and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep." In ix, 10, Hosea, speaking of Israel in the wilderness, says: "But they went to Baal-peor, and separated themselves unto that shame; and their abominations were according as they loved." Here we have a clear reference to Num. xxv, in which there is a description of the conduct of Israel, who "joined himself unto Baal-peor," and of the calamities that overtook the people, and of the promise to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood. The school of Wellhausen put this chapter of Numbers into the Codex of the Priests, which, according to their theory, was written about the time of Ezra. Could any refutation of this be clearer than Hosea's reference to this very chapter? The Pentateuch is clearly referred to in the passage, "Thou hast forgotten the law¹ [Torah] of thy God" (iv, 6). Schrader² acknowledges that Hosea was acquainted with Genesis.

¹ On Hosea viii, 12, see p. 145.

² In his edit. of De Wette's *Einleitung*, pp. 316-318.

CHAPTER XX.

ALLUSIONS TO THE PENTATEUCH IN THE BOOKS OF PROVERBS AND PSALMS.

THE Book of Proverbs. From the character of the Book of the Proverbs of Solomon we are not to expect any references to the Mosaic history, but to the Mosaic precepts. And such we actually find. Compare, "Let not mercy and truth forsake thee; bind them about thy neck" (chap. iii, 3); and in reference to moral precepts: "Bind them upon thy fingers" (chap. vii, 3), with Deut. vi, 8, "Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes;" and also with Deut. xi, 18, and Exod. xiii, 19, upon which the passages from Proverbs are based. Compare, "My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of his correction; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth" (chap. iii, 11, 12), with Deut. viii, 5, "Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee." "A false balance is abomination to the Lord" (chap. xi, 1) is obviously based on Deut. xxv, 13-16, "Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small: . . . For all that do such things . . . are an abomination unto the Lord thy God." "It is not good to accept the person of the wicked, to overthrow the righteous in judgment" (chap. xviii, 5) is said, very probably, in reference to Lev. xix, 15, and Deut. xvi, 19. "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set" (chap. xxii, 28) refers to Deut. xix, 14, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." "He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance" (chap. xxviii, 8) has reference to the Mosaic law forbidding the loaning of any thing upon interest (Deut. xxiii, 19). "He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack" (chap. xxviii, 27) seems to be based on Deut. xv, 7-10. "Add thou not unto his [God's] words" (chap. xxx, 6) is derived from Deut. iv, 2, and xii, 32. The prayer of Agur (xxx, 8, 9) appears to be founded in part on Deut. viii, 8-17, where the Israelites are warned against forgetfulness of God when their goods shall increase.

The Book of Psalms. The Psalms—the earliest¹ of which were written about B. C. 1050 by David, and the last about B. C. 450—show an acquaintance on the part of their authors with the Pentateuch. No fair minded critic can deny our statement. The testimony is altogether free from suspicion, and is of the most satisfactory kind. Many of the Psalms furnish internal evidence of the age in which they were written. They afford incidental knowledge of the existing institutions in Israel, and refer to the Mosaic history in the most natural way, and allude to the law, the statutes, and the commandments, showing the existence of a Mosaic code which had a divine authority among them. All the references to the Mosaic law and history prove that they were the same that we now possess. In the very first Psalm, written, in all probability, by David, the good man is represented as delighting “in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.” In Psalm xv, 5, we have a reference to the law prohibiting lending on interest: “He that putteth not out his money to usury.” The eighteenth Psalm was undoubtedly written by David, and there is a reference to him in the fiftieth verse. In verse 22 we have a reference to the Mosaic law, “For all his judgments were before me, and I did not put away his statutes from me.” In Psalm xxxiii, 6–9, we have an allusion to Gen. i, “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made. . . . He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.” This Psalm, in all probability, belongs to David. And in Psalm lx, 7, which also belongs to him, we have a reference to Gen. xlix, 10: “Judah is my lawgiver.” Compare this with “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet,” etc.

In Psalm lxxviii, attributed to Asaph, a contemporary of David, and bearing internal evidence of belonging to that age, we have a sketch of the history of the Israelites from the time that God visited them in Egypt until David's reign. In the first part of this Psalm it is declared that Jehovah “established a *testimony* in Jacob, and appointed a *law* in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, . . . who should arise and declare them to their children.” Here we have a reference to the command which God gave the children of Israel, recorded in Deut. vi, 7: “And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children;” and, “but teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons” (chap. iv, 9); “and ye shall teach them your children” (chap. xi, 19). The command to teach the children the law is found *only in Deuteronomy*, and we thus have a

¹ We must except from this statement the Ninetieth Psalm, which is attributed to Moses.

very old testimony to this book. In the history of Israel belonging to the Mosaic age, it is evident that the author of the Psalm had the Pentateuch before him. In describing the plagues of Egypt he has in most cases used the very words of the Pentateuch.

In Psalm lxxxix, 30, 31, it is said, in reference to David, in whose age it was written, "If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments." This evidently refers to a written Mosaic code. Psalm xcix, which seems to belong to the time of David, contains an allusion, after naming Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, to the Mosaic legislation: "He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar: they kept his testimonies, and the ordinance that he gave them."

Israelitish history exhibited in the Psalms.

Psalm cv contains a history of the Israelites from Abraham until their settlement in Canaan. Here the history in the Pentateuch is closely followed, and occasionally some of the facts are thrown into a poetical form. All the parts of this Psalm stand closely connected, and it bears a strong resemblance to Psalm lxxviii, which evidently belongs to Asaph, David's chief musician. The one hundred and fifth Psalm, as far as the 22d verse, is a part of the Psalm of which it is said, "Then on that day David delivered first (this) to thank the Lord into the hand of Asaph and his brethren" (1 Chron. xvi, 7). The psalm in Chronicles also contains substantially the 96th Psalm. The last part of the 105th was omitted on the occasion as not being suitable to the purpose, and another substituted in its place. Also Psalm cvi recapitulates the Mosaic history in such a way, with so many particulars, as to show an acquaintance with the Pentateuch. It belongs, most probably, to the age of David.

In the references to sacrifices and offerings in the Davidic Psalms, the terms employed, and the kinds of sacrifices and offerings, are the same as those of the Pentateuch. For example: "*Sacrifice* (זֶבֶחַ) and *offering* (קִנְיָה) thou didst not desire . . . *burnt offering* (עֹלָה) and *sin offering* (חַטָּאת)"¹

References to sacrifices and offerings same as in the Pentateuch.

hast thou not required" (Psa. xl, 6); and, "I will not reprove thee for thy *sacrifices* nor thy *burnt offerings*" (Psa. l, 8). We have already referred to the Mosaic institutions mentioned in the Psalms. In the Davidic Psalms we have, *law* (תּוֹרָה, *torah*), *statute* (קֶחַ, a *prescribed statute*), *judgment* (דִּשְׁפָט), and *commandment* (מִצְוָה), the identical terms of the Pentateuch. In view of all these facts, how absurd is the remark of Dr. Davidson² that *the law, the statutes, judgments, testimonies*

¹ The form in the Pentateuch is חַטָּאת.

² Introduction, pp. 120, 121.

of the Lord, found in the Psalms, are general language, "referring not so much to the injunctions peculiar to the Mosaic religion as to the moral requirements which conscience, aided by the Spirit of God, is able to apprehend."

But besides the references to the statutes and institutions of the Pentateuch, we find the following in Psa. xl, 7: "Lo, I come with the *volume of the book* prescribed unto me." Gesenius understands this volume to be the book of the law; and it is difficult to refer it to any thing else and make good sense. This psalm is ascribed to David, and the inscription to the chief musician shows that it was written before the exile.

The examination of the Davidic Psalms establishes the fact that the Pentateuch existed and was recognised in the age of David as containing the law of Moses and the authentic history of the patriarchs and of the Mosaic times.

Recognition of
the Pentateuch
in David's time.

CHAPTER XXI.

TESTIMONIES FURNISHED BY THE HISTORY OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS TO THE EXISTENCE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

BEFORE giving the passages that refer to the institutions in the Pentateuch, we wish to direct attention to those which speak of the book of the law, or to the written law of Moses. In the charge which David, when about to die (about B. C. 1015), gives his son Solomon, he refers to the Pentateuch in these words:

"And keep the charge of the Lord thy God to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, *as it is written in the law of Moses,*" etc. (1 Kings ii, 3). In 2 Kings xvii, 34-37, we have the following reference to the Pentateuch:

"The law and the commandment which the Lord commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel; with whom the Lord had made a covenant. . . . And the statutes, and the ordinances, and the law, and the commandment which he *wrote* for you," etc. But the most important testimony to the Pentateuch

is to be found in the discovery of the *book of the law*, in the temple in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (about B. C. 624). It is stated in 2 Kings xxii that when the Jewish temple was repaired by the pious Josiah, Hilkiah the high priest found in it a *book of the law*, and gave it to Shaphan

David's references to the Pentateuch.

The "Book of the Law."

the scribe, who read it himself, and then read it to the king. The Jewish monarch was so astonished at its contents that he rent his clothes, and sent Hilkiah and others to inquire of the Lord for him, "and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us." When the king's messengers came to Huldah the prophetess she sent back word to the king: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me, . . . I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read." This book is called by the historian in the next chapter (xxiii, 25) "*the law of Moses*." It is evident that Huldah the prophetess was already acquainted with the book, and the king's language shows that his ancestors must have been acquainted with at least its purport, for he supposes them guilty for not obeying it. He is not surprised at the existence of such a book, but at its threatening contents.

This book of the law seems to have been the temple copy; nor is there anything strange respecting its former concealment or its discovery. For fifty-seven years preceding Josiah's reign a fearful apostasy existed in Judah. Manasseh, in whose steps Amon trod, had reigned for fifty-five years. "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel. For he built up again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove [Astarte, or Venus], as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord" (2 Kings xxi, 2-5).

It is not strange, under such circumstances, that the book of the law had been neglected, and its threats quite forgotten. Views of Bleek, Davidson, and Schrader. Both Bleek and Davidson concede that this copy of the Mosaic law contained the Book of Deuteronomy. Schrader, in his edition of De Wette's Introduction, thinks that the book of the law found in the temple refers *exclusively* to Deuteronomy. This is not in the least probable, since the other books of the Pentateuch, as he admits, were in existence at that time. The threatenings of the book of the law referred to in 2 Kings xxii seem to refer especially to Deut. xxviii, xxix.

After the book of the law was read to the king, he gathered all

the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the prophets and priests, and read the book to them also. He commenced a reformation in both Judah and Samaria, and in the same year held a passover, such as had not before been held either in the days of the judges or the kings (2 Kings xxiii, 22).

In 2 Kings xxi, 7, 8, the writer states that in the declarations the LORD made to David and Solomon he said, "If they will observe to do according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them."

We have already seen that in the times of David, and in the subsequent ages, *the book of the law of Moses* is mentioned as an existing authoritative document. We have traced it from the times of the Maccabees up to the time of David. We see no reason to doubt that during all these ages it was the identical Pentateuch that we now have. All the quotations from it and references to it show this fact.

The next inquiry is, Does the history of the times from King Josiah (when it is granted that a large part of the Pentateuch already existed) back to David and Samuel indicate the existence and authority of the Pentateuch? This must be answered in the affirmative, as the existing institutions and the references to the Pentateuch show. We may begin with the two books of Kings. In 1 Kings i, 39, it is stated that "Zadok the priest took a horn of oil out of the tabernacle and anointed Solomon." This holy oil of the tabernacle and its uses are described in Exodus xxx, 23-30. In the command given to slay Joab, who had been guilty of murder, it is said: "That thou mayest take away the innocent blood" (chap. ii, 31), evidently in accordance with Numbers xxxv, 33, "The land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." In chap. iii, 15, mention is made of "the ark of the covenant of the Lord," before which Solomon stood "and offered up burnt offerings, and offered peace offerings." The sacrifices here named are those of the Mosiac law; and the "ark of the covenant of the Lord" is the exact language of Deut. x, 8, and xxxi, 9, 25. In chapter iv, 13 are mentioned "the towns of Jair the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead to him also pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, threescore great cities with walls and brazen bars," which is manifestly taken from Numbers xxxii, 41, and Deut. iii, 4, 5. In chap. vi, 12, God says to Solomon, "If thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my *commandments* to walk in them," etc. Here the precepts of the Lord are expressed in the *very words* of the Pentateuch. Compare ver. 13, "And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel," with Exod. xxv, 8, "That I may dwell among them;" and Deut. xxxi, 6, "He [Jehovah] will not fail thee, nor forsake thee."

In the temple which Solomon built to Jehovah we find the arrangement of the sanctuary described in Exodus carried out so far as it was applicable. We have within, a "most holy place." The same is found in Exod. xxvi, 33, and Lev. xvi, 2. Compare "The whole altar that was by the oracle he overlaid with gold" with Exod. xxx, 3. "Thou shalt overlay it [the altar] with pure gold." Also compare "And within the oracle he made two cherubim" (chap. vi, 23), "And they stretched forth the wings of the cherubim, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another" (ver. 27); Exod. xxv, 20, and xxxvii, 9. Solomon also made a table of gold, upon which was placed the showbread (chap. vii, 48,) which was required by Exod. xxv, 30.

Parallel between Solomon's temple and the sanctuary in Exodus.

In chapter viii, 2, we find that "all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto King Solomon at the feast in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month." This was the feast of tabernacles, which Moses commanded the children of Israel to keep in the seventh month (Lev. xxiii, 34). "And the priests took up the ark" (ver. 3). This was in accordance with Deut. xxxi, 9. "And they brought up the ark of the Lord, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle, even these did the priests and the Levites bring up" (ver. 4). The phrase, "tabernacle of the congregation," is the one used in the Pentateuch. The priests also brought the ark of the covenant into the most holy place.

"And I have set there a place for the ark, wherein is the covenant of the Lord which he made with our fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt" (chap. viii, 21). This covenant of the Lord here referred to by Solomon is evidently *the book of the law of Moses*. It is "the book of the covenant" mentioned in Exod. xxiv, 7, which Moses wrote and delivered to the priests (Deut. xxxi, 9). In Deut. xxxi, 24-26, it is stated that when Moses had made an end of writing the book of the law he commanded the priests to put it *in the side* of the ark of the covenant; and thus there is no contradiction of the statement (1 Kings viii, 9): "There was nothing *in the ark* save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb," etc., in which we have a reference to the Mosaic origin of these tables as given in Exod. xxv, 16; xxxi, 18.

The language of Solomon in his prayer at the dedication of the temple contains several quotations from the Pentateuch: Who "keepest covenant and mercy" (1 Kings viii, 23), is the exact language of Deut. vii, 9. Compare "When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have

Parallels contained in Solomon's prayer.

sinned against thee, and shall turn again to thee" (ver. 33), with Lev. xxvi, 17, and Deut. xxviii, 25. "When heaven is shut up and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee," etc. (ver. 35), is of similar import to Lev. xxvi, 19, and Deut. xxviii, 23. Compare "If there be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there be caterpillar" (ver. 37), with Deut. xxviii, 21, 22, 38. "For thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance, as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt" (ver. 53). Here it is impossible to escape the similarity to Exod. xix, 5, "Then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people;" and to Deut. xiv, 2, "The Lord had chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself;" and to Deut. ix, 29, "Yet they are thy people and thine inheritance." And when Solomon blessed the people, he said: "There hath not failed one word of all his good promise, which he promised by the hand of Moses his servant" (ver. 56). It is evident that Solomon refers to a *written* history of the Mosaic legislation. Compare "Israel shall be a proverb and a byword among all people" (chap. ix, 7), with "Thou shalt become . . . a proverb, and a byword, among all nations" (Deut. xxviii, 37). In "and they shall say, Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house? and they shall answer, Because they forsook the Lord their God, who brought forth their fathers out of the land of Egypt," etc. (chap. ix, 8, 9), we have almost the identical words of Deut. xxix, 24-26. "Three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the Lord" (chap. ix, ver. 25): this seems to mean at the *three* great festivals established in the Pentateuch. The passage xi, 2, refers to Exod. xxxiv, 16, and to Deut. vii, 3, 4, in forbidding matrimonial alliances between the Israelites and the heathen. This reference, however, is made by the historian himself.

When the ten tribes revolted from under Rehoboam, and made Jeroboam king (B. C. 975), the latter built Shechem, and endeavoured to establish himself in his kingdom. But the greatest obstacle to the separate existence of the *ten* tribes was the religious bond existing between all the tribes, especially the unity of the sanctuary. "And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah" (1 Kings xii, 26, 27). It is evident from this that Jeroboam regarded his people as feeling bound to attend the great festivals at Jerusalem. Such a feeling of obliga-

injunctions of the Pentateuch held the Jews at time of revolt from Rehoboam.

tion on the part of the rebellious tribes could spring only from an injunction in the Pentateuch, such as we find in Deut. xii, 5, 6, "But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come: and thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings." "Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan" (1 Kings xii, 28, 29). This was a renewal of the worship of the calf (or Apis) by Aaron and other Israelites, borrowed from Egypt. The ancient Egyptians worshipped Osiris, their great god, at Memphis, under the form of the sacred bull Apis; and at Heliopolis, under that of the ox, Mnevis. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the worship of Apis arose in the idea that the soul of Osiris migrated into this animal, and that through him Osiris continued to manifest himself to man through successive ages. The Egyptians had also *figures* of their gods, which "were only vicarious forms, not intended to be looked upon as real personages" (Wilkinson).

The calves at Dan and Bethel imitations of the Egyptian Apis and Mnevis.

When Aaron instituted this worship in the desert, the intention was to worship the golden calf as a symbol of Jehovah, as is apparent from Aaron's declaration, "To-morrow is a feast of Jehovah." Jeroboam had become well acquainted with the calf worship of Egypt during his residence there (1 Kings xi, 40), and the *two calves*, in imitation of Apis and Mnevis among the Egyptians, were intended to symbolize Jehovah. But there was a further object in view. The Pentateuch commanded all the males to appear three times a year at the great festivals before the Lord in *one* place, which must have been inconvenient to many. Hence his language; 'It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem.' To remedy this inconvenience he set up *two* calves—one in Bethel, and the other in Dan—to accommodate the people in Middle and in Northern Palestine. In the institution of this worship he used the very language of Aaron. It was not necessary for Jeroboam to have but one place of worship, for he had not the sacred ark of the covenant.

The author of 2 Chron. states: "The priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him [Rehoboam] out of all their coasts. For the Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the Lord" (chap. xi, 13, 14). Jeroboam "made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi" (1 Kings xii, 31). The ground of his rejection of

the sons of Levi evidently was, because they could not be brought to disobey the plain injunctions of the Pentateuch, the commands of Jehovah, and to assist Jeroboam in his idolatrous worship. Rather than serve him they preferred to sacrifice all their possessions. According to 2 Chron. xi, 16, the pious Israelites from the ten tribes still continued to come to Jerusalem to sacrifice to Jehovah. All this presupposes the existence and authority of the Pentateuch.

"Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah." He offered sacrifice on the altar in Bethel on this day of the eighth month, "which he had devised of his own heart" (1 Kings xii, 32, 33). According to Leviticus xxiii, 34, the festival was to be kept on the fifteenth day of the *seventh* month, so that Jeroboam changed only the *month*.

In 1 Kings xviii, 31, "Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be thy name," we have a reference to Gen. xxxii, 28. In the sacrifice offered by Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii, 33), it is stated that "he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces." Here we find a compliance with Lev. i, 5-8: "He shall kill the bullock . . . and he shall flay the burnt offering, and cut it into his pieces . . . and lay the wood in order upon the fire." "And he [Elijah] went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the Mount of God" (chap. xix, 8). In Exodus this mountain is so called, and there is a parallelism in the passage to the fast of "forty days and forty nights" of Moses (Exod. xxxiv, 28). "And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee" (chap. xxi, 3). This is in reference to Lev. xxv, 23: "The land shall not be sold forever;" and to Num. xxxvi, 7: "So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe." On this ground Naboth refused to sell his vineyard to Ahab.

In the contrivance of Jezebel to effect the death of Naboth we recognize the law of the Pentateuch:¹ "And set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king. And then carry him out, and stone him, that he may die" (chap. xxi, 10). Compare with this, "Thou shalt not revile God, nor curse the ruler of thy people" (Exodus xxii, 28); and, "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him" (Lev. xxiv, 16). The law of Moses required at least two witnesses to put any one to death (Numbers xxxv, 30; Deuteronomy xvii, 6). "And it came to pass in the morning, when the

¹ Here we have proofs that the law of Moses had force among the ten tribes.

meat offering was offered" (2 Kings iii, 20). Here we have an allusion to the usual time of the morning sacrifice as prescribed in Exod. xxix, 39, 40. "The creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen" (chap. iv, 1). The law of Moses (Lev. xxv, 39, 40) allowed debtors to be sold for their debts for a term of years. In the case referred to the sons of the widow were demanded. "About this season, *according to the time of life*, thou shalt embrace a son" (chap. iv, 16). This language, addressed by Elisha to the Shunammite woman, is based on Gen. xviii, 10: "I will certainly return unto thee *according to the time of life*; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son." "And there were four leprous men at the entering in of the gate" (chap. vii, 3). The Mosaic law required lepers to be excluded from the camp (Lev. xiii, 46). In accordance with this law we find that these lepers did not go into the city to announce to the king the flight of the Syrians, but called the porter.

In 2 Kings xii, 4, mention is made of "the money of every one that passeth the account," that is, numbered, as prescribed in Exod. xxx, 13, where every one that is numbered is required to pay half a shekel for the service of the tabernacle. "The trespass money and sin money was not brought into the house of the Lord: it was the priests'" (chap. xii, 16). In the Mosaic laws respecting sin offering and trespass offering the money paid was the property of the priests (Lev. v, 15, 18; vii, 7; Num. xviii, 9). When Amaziah was confirmed in the kingdom of Judah (about B. C. 839), it is stated (chap. xiv, 5, 6) that he put to death the servants who had slain "his father. But the children of the murderers he slew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, wherein the Lord commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin." This is the language of Deut. xxiv, 16, and it is found nowhere else in the Pentateuch. "And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree" (chap. xvi, 4). This is borrowed from Deut. xii, 2. In chap. xvi, 15, Ahaz commands the priest to offer upon the great altar "the morning burnt offering, and the evening meat offering." These offerings were required by Exod. xxix, 39-41.

In chap. xviii, 4, we have a reference to the history of the Pentateuch: "He [Hezekiah] brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it." Its institution by Moses for the healing of the Israelites is mentioned in Num. xxi, 9. In chap. xxi, 6, it is said that Manasseh "observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with

familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger." The law of Moses absolutely forbade these things: "Neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times. Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them" (Lev. xix, 26, 31). Very similar is Deut. xviii, 10-12.

In the Second Book of Samuel we find several references to the Pentateuch. It is said in chap. vi, 6, 7, that when the ark of God was shaken, while it was conveyed, Uzzah put forth his hand to steady it, and that God smote him and he died. This is in accordance with the regulation of Moses, by which no one except Aaron and his sons was allowed to touch the ark, upon the penalty of death (Num. iv, 15). When David brought the ark of Jehovah to Jerusalem, he placed it in the tabernacle, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord (chap. vi, 17). These offerings were made in accordance with the Pentateuch. In chap. vii, 6, God says: "I have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a *tent* and in a *tabernacle*." Tent and tabernacle are the words of the Pentateuch expressing the sanctuary set up in the desert. The tent was the covering placed over the tabernacle.

When David had been made king over Israel, in expressing his gratitude to God he exclaimed: "Thou art great, O Lord God: for there is none like thee, neither is there any God besides thee, according to all that we have heard with our ears. And what one nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God went to redeem for a people to himself, and to make him a name, and to do for you great things and terrible, for thy land, before thy people, which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods?" (2 Sam. vii, 22, 23). This language is based on Deut. iv, 7, 32-35. In chap. viii, 3, it is said that David smote the king of Zobah *as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates*. Here we have a reference to Gen. xv, 18, where God promises to the seed of Abraham the land extending from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates, and which Israel had not yet possessed. In Nathan's parable to David of the rich man who took the poor man's lamb, the Jewish monarch declared that he should restore the lamb fourfold (chap. xii, 6). The Mosaic law (Exod. xxii, 1) required that four sheep should be given for one that was stolen. The treatment that the king's wives should receive for his crime (chap. xii, 11) seems to refer to Deut. xxviii, 30. In chap. xv, 24, Zadok, and all the Levites with him, are represented as bearing the ark of the covenant of God. This was in accordance

Enchantments
—conveying of
the ark of God.

Language of
David found in
Deuteronomy.

with Num. iv, 15. Respecting the numbers of Israel, it is said: "As the sand is by the sea for multitude" (chap. xvii, 11). This is based on Gen. xxii, 17. In chap. xxii, 23, David says: "For all his judgments were before me: and as for his statutes, I did not depart from them." These laws are evidently the code of the Pentateuch.

Allusions in
1 Samuel to the
Pentateuch.

We find also in *First Samuel* a considerable number of references to either the language or institutions of the Pentateuch. The very first part of the history in this book exhibits to us at Shiloh *the tabernacle of the congregation*, in which was *the ark of the covenant*, whither the people assembled to sacrifice to Jehovah (about 1170 B. C). It is said (chap. i, 3) that Elkanah "went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice to the Lord of hosts in Shiloh." "Elkanah and all his house went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice and his vow" (chap. i, 21). This was evidently the yearly passover, the chief of the three festivals of the Israelites, which *the males only* were required to attend. Nor does the language exclude the attendance of Elkanah himself at the other two festivals.

In Hannah's prayer we find a reference to Deut. xxxii, 39, "The Lord killeth and maketh alive" (chap. ii, 6). And in chap. ii, 2, there is a probable allusion to Deut. iii, 24, and to xxvii, 4. In chap. ii, 18, we find Samuel ministering to the Lord. Samuel belonged to the tribe of Levi (1 Chron. vi, 28, 34-38). And in chap. ii, 22, it is stated that the women were assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. This was the arrangement existing in the time of Moses (Exod. xxxviii, 8). In 1 Sam. ii, 27, 28, it is said, "And there came a man of God unto Eli, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house? and did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me? and did I give unto the house of thy father all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel?" Here the reference to the institutions of the Pentateuch is too plain to be mistaken. Compare Exod. xxviii, 1, 4; Num. xvi, 5; xviii, 1, 7; Lev. ii, 3, 10, etc., where all these things are mentioned. Compare "I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever" (chap. ii, 30), with Exod. xxix, 9: "And the priest's office shall be theirs [Aaron and his sons'] for a perpetual statute."

When the ark of God, carried away by the Philistines, brought upon them disaster, and they became anxious about its return, they concluded to restore it with a trespass offering, thus showing their

knowledge of such an offering among the Israelites as is prescribed in the Pentateuch. Compare chap. vi, 3, with Lev. v, 15

The language of the Philistines upon the occasion shows a knowledge of the facts of the Pentateuch: "Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? when he had wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let the people go, and they departed?" (1 Sam. vi, 6). Compare chap. xiv, 32, 33, "And the people did eat them with the blood. Then they told Saul, saying, Behold, the people sin against the Lord, in that they eat with the blood," with Leviticus xvii, 10, "And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people."

"I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the way, when he came up from Egypt" (chap. xv, 2). Here the allusion is especially to Deut. xxv, 17. Before Saul slaughtered the Amalekites he requested the Kenites to depart from among them: "For ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt" (chap. xv, 6). In Judges i, 16, it is stated that the children of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law went up with the children of Judah into the desert of Judah. From this it appears that the Kenites were relatives of Moses, and are to be identified with Jethro and Hobab, who paid him friendly visits in the desert (Exod. xviii, 5-27; Num. x, 29-32).

"The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent" (chap. xv, 29). This seems to repeat Num. xxiii, 19: "God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent." "Sanctify yourselves, and come with me to the sacrifice" (chapter xvi, 5). According to Exodus xix, 10, for a meeting of a very sacred and solemn character the children of Israel were required to sanctify themselves. "Behold, to-morrow is the new moon, and I should not fail to sit with the king at meat" (chap. xx, 5). The new moon was a festive day according to Numbers x, 10. In chap. xxi mention is made of the showbread before the Lord. This was an arrangement prescribed in Exod. xxv, 30. "And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land" (chap. xxviii, 3). This was carrying out Exodus xxii, 18: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." "And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets" (chap. xxviii, 6). Here we have an allusion to the Mosaic appointment (Num. xxvii, 21), where it is commanded respecting Joshua: "He

shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of URIM before the Lord." In chap. xxx, 24, 25, it is stated that David made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel unto this day, that spoils should be equally divided between those who fought and those who remained with the stuff. In this regulation David seems to have had before his eyes the example mentioned in Num. xxxi, 27, where no general precept was enjoined.

CHAPTER XXII.

TRACES OF THE PENTATEUCH IN THE BOOKS OF RUTH AND JUDGES.

THE Book of Ruth. As the Book of Ruth contains but four chapters, we are not to expect many references in it to the Mosaic history and laws.

After Naomi and her daughter-in-law, Ruth, came to Bethlehem, we find Ruth addressing Naomi in the following language: "Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in whose sight I shall find grace" (chap. ii, 2). This she did upon gaining her mother-in-law's consent, and the act was in accordance with the Mosaic law: "And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. . . . thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger" (Lev. xix, 9, 10). We find the same precept in Deut. xxiv, 19.

The redemption of land is referred to in chapter iv, 4: "If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it: but if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me, that I may know: for there is none to redeem it besides thee: and I am after thee. And he said, I will redeem it;" but subsequently he declined. And when Ruth's near kinsman refused to redeem the inheritance of Naomi's husband, Boaz, the next of kin, purchased it, and remarked: "Moreover Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren," etc. (chap. iv, 10). Here we have a reference to Deut. xxv, 5-10, in which are prescribed the regulations respecting the marriage of a brother to his brother's childless widow, that the name of the deceased brother "be not put out of Israel."

In chap. iv, 11, 12, mention is made of Leah and Rachel, and of Pharez and Tamar, from the Book of Genesis.

Book of Judges. The Book of Judges contains many allusions to the Books of Moses. "And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses said" (chap. i, 20). This is in accordance with Num. xiv, 24, where God declares in respect to Caleb, one of the spies who went to Hebron, "him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it." The same declaration is also made in Deut. i, 36. "I made you to go up out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I swore unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you; and ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down their altars: but ye have not obeyed my voice" (chap. ii, 1, 2). In this passage we have a reference to Gen. xvii, 7, in which God declares to Abraham that his covenant with him shall be "for an everlasting covenant;" to Deut. vii, 2, "Thou shalt make no league [בְּרִית, *covenant*] with them;" and to Deut. xii, 3: "Ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars." In chap. vi, 21, mention is made of *unleavened cakes*, bread that was appointed in various parts of the Pentateuch. Compare chap. vii, 3, where Gideon says to his host, "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early from Mount Gilead," with Deut. xx, 8, where the following direction is given to the officers, to be observed on the eve of a battle: "They shall say, What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? let him go and return unto his house."

When Jephthah was about to fight the children of Ammon, he sends messengers to their king, to give him a summary of the most important circumstances connected with the affairs of the children of Israel and the children of Ammon (chap. xi, 14-26). This narrative is evidently taken from the Pentateuch, for the points of coincidence are too numerous to be accidental. We have mention of the Israelites coming to the Red Sea, just as we find in Numbers xxxiii, 10; the arrival in Kadesh (Num. xiii, 26); the message sent by the Israelites from that place to the king of Edom, "Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country" (Num. xx, 17), and the refusal of the king of Edom; the compassing of the land of Edom, and the land of Moab, and the coming by the east side of the land of Moab (as we find Num. xxi, 4, 11); the pitching on the other side of the Arnon, without entering Moab, which is stated to have been on the border of the Arnon, just as we read in Num. xxi, 13; the sending of a message to Sihon, king of the Amorites, substantially as we find it in Num. xxi, 21, 22, and his refusal to let Israel pass through; his defeat, and the occupation of his country by the Israelites, just as we find related in Numbers

Quotations in
Judges taken
from the Pen-
tateuch.

xxi, 21-25. Reference is also made to Balaam, the son of Zippor (chap. xi, 25).

When the birth of Samson was predicted, Manoah's wife was charged to "drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing: for, lo, thou shalt conceive and bear a son; and no razor shall come on his head: for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb" (chap. xiii, 4, 5). Here we have an allusion to the law of the Nazarite in Num. vi, 2-5, in which it is enjoined that he shall drink no wine nor strong drink; and that no razor shall come upon his head. Then said Micah, "Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest" (chap. xvii, 13). This language clearly shows that the priesthood properly belonged to the family of Levi, according to the Mosaic constitution. The author of Judges not acquainted with the whole Levitical law.

"And the children of Israel arose, and went up to Bethel, and asked counsel of God," etc. (chap. xx, 18); with this compare Numbers xxvii, 21: "He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord." In chap. xx, 26, we find the Israelites offering to Jehovah *burnt* offerings and *peace* offerings, which were enjoined by the Mosaic law. Mention is also made of the ark of the covenant of God (chap. xx, 27), before which was standing Phinehas the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron (ver. 28). In chap. xxi, 19, reference is made to "a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly." This was, doubtless, the pass-over. "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (chap. xxi, 25). The last part of this verse seems to have been taken from Deut. xii, 8.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROOF OF THE EXISTENCE AND AUTHORITY OF THE PENTATEUCH IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

SOME of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch assume that the Book of Joshua belongs thereto, thus seeking to get rid of the testimony furnished by it to the authority of the Mosaic writings. But the archaisms of the Pentateuch disappear in Joshua, showing that the latter was not written by the same author.

In the very first chapter we have a reference to the book of the law of Moses: "That thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee. . . . This book of the law shall not be part out of thy mouth" (verses 7, 8). "The Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath" (chap. ii, 11). This is the same as Deut. iv, 39. In chap. iii the priests are represented as bearing the ark of the covenant of God. This is in accordance with the arrangement in Deut. xxxi, 9, 25. In chap v, 4-6 we have a statement that all the men of war who came up out of Egypt perished in the wilderness, in which Israel wandered forty years on account of their disobedience, "unto whom the Lord swore that he would not show them the land which the Lord swore unto their fathers." Here there is the clearest reference to the history in the Pentateuch, especially to Num. xiv, 23, 33.

In reference to the king of Ai it is said, "And as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcass down from the tree" (chap. viii, 29). So in reference to the five kings (chap. x, 27), "And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees." In both of these passages there is a reference to the command in Deut. xxi, 22, 23, where it is enjoined that if a man is hung for a crime, "his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day."

In chap. viii, 30-35 we find that Joshua built an altar to Jehovah on Mount Ebal: "As Moses the servant of the Lord commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lifted up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the Lord, and sacrificed

peace offerings. And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of *the law of Moses*, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel. . . . And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law. There was not a word of all that *Moses commanded* which Joshua *read* not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them." The setting up of stones and writing upon them, the words of the law, the building of an altar and the offering of sacrifice on it, are prescribed in Deut. xxvii, 1-8. The reading of the law before all the people is enjoined in Deut. xxxi, 10-12.

Nothing can be clearer than the reference in the acts of Joshua to the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy. In chap. xi, 12, 15, 20, 23, respecting the extermination of the Canaanites and the distribution of their lands among the tribes of Israel, it is added, "as the Lord commanded Moses," a reference to Num. xxxiii, 52-54, Exod. xxxiv, 11, Deut. vii, 2, etc. "Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; the sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them" (chap. xiii, 14). Here we have a reference to the support of the Levites according to Num. xviii. 19-24.

The historical facts in chaps. xiii and xiv, in relation to the Mo-
saic times, are the same as those contained in the Penta-
teuch. In chap. xiv, 9, it is said: "And Moses sware on
that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy feet have
trodden shall be thine inheritance and thy children's for ever; be-
cause thou hast wholly followed the Lord." With this compare
Deut. i, 36, in reference to this same Caleb: "To him will I give
the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he
hath wholly followed the Lord."

Historical facts
same in Joshua
as in the Penta-
teuch.

The account of the daughters of Zelophehad (chap. xvii, 3, 4) corresponds with Num. xxvii, 1-7. In chap. xx we have an account of the appointment of the six cities of refuge, as directed by Moses, to whom reference is made. Compare this chapter with Num. xxxv, 6, 11, 14. In chapter xxi the Levites are assigned forty-eight cities with their suburbs, as directed in Num. xxxv, 7. When the children of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh had assisted their brethren in subduing the land west of the Jordan, they returned to their tents at the request of Joshua. Afterwards they returned to the Jordan, and built on its west side, where the children of Israel had crossed, a great altar. The building of this altar gave much offence to the children of Israel west of the Jordan, and they gathered them-

selves together at Shiloh to fight against the two tribes and a half that were regarded as rebels on account of this act. "Thus saith the whole congregation of the Lord, What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from following the Lord, in that ye have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day against the Lord. . . . And it will be, seeing ye rebel to-day against the Lord, that to-morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel. Notwithstanding, if the land of your possession be unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of the Lord, wherein the Lord's tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among us: but rebel not against the Lord, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar besides the altar of the Lord our God."

The two tribes and a half immediately disclaimed any intention of offering sacrifices upon this altar, as they had built it simply as a witness between themselves and the other tribes of their right to participate in the sacrifices and offerings, and as a pattern of the altar in Shiloh. They said, "God forbid that we should rebel against the Lord, and turn this day from following the Lord, to build an altar for burnt offerings, for meat offerings, or for sacrifices, besides the altar of the Lord our God that is before his tabernacle" (chap. xxii). This satisfied the tribes west of the Jordan.

This history clearly shows that it was regarded as *rebellion against God to offer sacrifice anywhere except upon the altar before the tabernacle of the congregation*. Accordingly, the precept in Lev. xvii, 3-5, 8, 9—which prohibits the offering of sacrifice anywhere except at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation—had full force.

In the following passage there is a clear reference to the Pentateuch: "Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses" (chap. xxiii, 6). The threats in the last part of chap. xxiii are evidently taken from the Pentateuch. The sketch of the history of the children of Israel and of the patriarchs, in the first part of chap. xxiv, is the same as that of the Pentateuch, and was evidently based on it. "And Joshua wrote these words in *the book of the law of God*" (chap. xxiv, 26). This book of the law is evidently our Pentateuch, for all the passages in Joshua touching upon the Israelitish history are taken from it, or, at least, accord with it, and in some instances actually refer to it.

The Book of Joshua, which contains so many references to the Pentateuch, must have been written before the time of David, for it is said in chap. xv, 63, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah

The Levitical precepts in full force in time of the Judges.

Final proof of the antiquity of Joshua.

could not drive them out : but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day." But David drove them out (2 Sam. v, 6, 7). When Joshua was written the Canaanites were still living in Gezer (chap. xvi, 10); but Solomon captured Gezer, burned it with fire, and slew the Canaanites in it (1 Kings ix, 16).

In this book Zidon is the conspicuous Phœnician city, for it is called *great* Zidon (chap. xi, 8; xix, 28); while Tyre is only once mentioned—the city, the fortress of Tyre (chap. xix, 29). But in the ages subsequent to David and Solomon Tyre held the first and Zidon a secondary position. This is certainly a proof of the great antiquity of the book.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REFERENCES TO THE PENTATEUCH IN THE WRITINGS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE POST- MOAIC AGE.

THERE is no way of avoiding the force of the evidence in favour of the Pentateuch furnished in the post-Mosaic history of the Israelites, except that of denying the credibility of this history. But even in such case, the evidence afforded by the prophets and some of the Psalms of David and Asaph remains untouched.

But the history of the Israelites in the Old Testament bears every mark of truth, and it has been confirmed in many instances by the monuments of Assyria. There is an impartiality shown in the Old Testament narrative such as is found nowhere else. The faults, vices, and even crimes, of the greatest of the Hebrews are recorded by the impartial pen of the historian, by whom their actions are weighed, and approved or condemned as they accord with or depart from the great principles of the moral law, especially the Mosaic theological and ethical system.

Bleek treats the evidence furnished by the historical writers of the Old Testament to the Pentateuch in a very slighting manner. "As far as the historical books of the Old Testament are concerned," says he, "it is very difficult to determine definitely what belongs to the authors themselves of the books, and what belongs to the times and persons whose history they relate. Especially in the discourses which the actors deliver, it can seldom be maintained that the *very* words which they used are given us, and it can easily be, that the writer has attributed to persons of former times single expressions which have

Impartiality of
Old Testament
historians.

Existence of
Pentateuch in
time of Judges
acknowledged
by Bleek.

been taken from the relations and representations of his own age."¹ This, he thinks, is true of the Book of Joshua, of Chronicles especially, and partly also of the Books of Kings. "In respect to the Books of Judges and Samuel," he observes, "it has already been remarked, that the manner in which they speak of different altars that were erected to Jehovah in different places without any indication on the part of the writer that it was contrary to the law, and displeasing to Jehovah, would be incomprehensible if, at the time of the original authors of these books, the legislation in Deuteronomy had existed and had been acknowledged."² This is a tacit acknowledgment that the other books of the Pentateuch were existing in the age of the Judges.

Respecting the Psalms Bleek thinks that they do not furnish much evidence for the Pentateuch, as it is for the most part uncertain to what age they belong; at least, they furnish nothing that refers to Deuteronomy. But there are Psalms which undoubtedly belong to the age of David, and the remarks of Bleek are not to the point.

In the prophets he finds general allusion to the Mosaic laws and history, but no certain or probable reference to Deuteronomy. We beg that these views of Bleek be compared with the instances we have furnished of allusions to the Pentateuch, and quotations from it, found almost everywhere in the other books of the Old Testament.

In regard to Deuteronomy, we have pointed out many references to this book in the post-Mosaic history—some of them of such a character as are not to be evaded. For instance, when the historian states (2 Kings xiv, 5, 6) that Amaziah (about B. C. 830) did not slay the children of his father's murderers, on the ground that such a proceeding was contrary to what was written in the book of the law of Moses (in reference to Deut. xxiv, 16), and uses the very words of the law (found only in Deuteronomy), "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers:" if the account of Amaziah is real history, this king must have had the Pentateuch before him, of which Deuteronomy formed a part. And when we find that the priests "taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them" (about B. C. 912), it is real history or it is nothing.

It often happens that in relating the actions of men, their conduct is based upon the Mosaic law in such a way that if the passages referring to that law be unhistorical, the history of which they form an integral part must be rejected along with them.

In the allusions to the Pentateuch in Solomon's prayer at the

¹ *Einleitung*, p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339.

dedication of the temple, we have no reason to suppose that they were not the real words of Solomon, but merely part of a prayer made up by the historian—after the manner of the speeches in Thucydides and Sallust—attributed to him. In an age when writing was common, and many of the Psalms were written, it is very probable that such a prayer on so important an occasion was written down at the time.

Solomon's dedicatory prayer, as given to us: his exact words.

The custom of making up speeches for historical characters was foreign to the Hebrews. Even if the references in the post-Mosaic writers to the Pentateuch were nothing more than the expressions of the writers themselves, they would be of great value as showing that, in their judgment, there was no period since Moses in which the Pentateuch did not exist.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ALLEGED NON-OBSERVANCE OF PORTIONS OF THE MOSAIC LAW FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES AFTER MOSES, CONSIDERED IN ITS BEARING UPON THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

IF we find certain Mosaic institutions in the Pentateuch neglected by the Hebrews, it would be rash to infer from such neglect the non-existence of such institutions. That wicked Hebrews would violate the Mosaic code was to be expected. But even if we find pious Israelites disregarding some of the Mosaic enactments, it affords no certain ground for the conclusion that these enactments had no existence. Who doubts the piety of the Quakers? Yet with all their Christian meekness and morality they reject baptism, which is clearly enjoined in the New Testament. The Church of Rome forbids the sacramental cup to the laity, contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. The adoration of images, practiced to a great extent in that Church, is also contrary to the precepts of Scripture. In regard to the practice of Christian States, how widely do some of their laws differ from the doctrines of Christ especially the laws of divorce! The Mosaic regulations requiring sacrifices to be offered at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation only (Lev. xvii, 3-9), and sacrifices and other kinds of offerings to be brought to the place which Jehovah should choose out of all the tribes, when the Israelites should have settled in Canaan (Deut. xii, 5, 11, 14, 18), seem to have been vio-

Violation of law not proof that there is no law.

lated in various instances in the period intervening between Moses and the building of the temple by Solomon. The apparent violation of these laws of the Pentateuch has led some to reject their Mosaic origin. This has been especially the case with the precept requiring the offerings to be brought to one place which Jehovah should choose. But it must be observed that the precepts of the Pen-

General compliance with the precepts as to the place of sacrifice. tateuch respecting the place of sacrifice were generally obeyed, even in the unsettled condition of Israel in the days of the judges. From the days of Joshua to Samuel the tabernacle of the congregation was pitched in

Shiloh, where ministering priests were found, and whither the Israelites resorted to keep the great annual festival. Of this we have already given ample proof. In the time of Joshua it was regarded as treason to offer sacrifice anywhere except upon the altar before the tabernacle of the congregation in Shiloh (Josh. xxii), and in no instance was sacrifice offered in any other place. *The holy place* (English version, *sanctuary*) mentioned in Joshua xxiv, 26, in which stood an oak, was probably a spot that had become sacred, either in the history of the patriarchs or during the conquest of Canaan, when Joshua came to Gerizim and Ebal.

In the history of the times of the Judges, we find in several instances sacrifices offered to Jehovah in other places than Shiloh. But the obvious reason for the offering of these irregular sacrifices was the appearance of Jehovah in each place. It was in the tabernacle that Jehovah usually manifested himself to his people, and by virtue of this the sacrifices were to be made, and the pious Israelite might easily infer that such extraordinary appearances of God away from the tabernacle justified, or even required, a sacrifice to be offered upon the spot. Instances of this we find in the sacrifice at Bochim (Judg. ii, 5), and in that offered by Manoah (xiii, 19). Still further, we find a command of God to Gideon to throw down the altar of Baal, and to build an altar to Jehovah, and to offer burnt sacrifice (Judg. vi, 25, 26).

In Judges xx, 26, it is said that all the children of Israel, and all the people, offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before Jehovah at Bethel. But it is added in the very next verse, that "the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days, and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in those days." It was the ark of God that was all important, and without this the tabernacle was of little consequence. The children of Israel, it would appear, brought the ark of God to Bethel, when they came up to fight the Benjamites at Gibeah. It was placed at Bethel because that was not only a spot sacred in their history, but also con-

venient to their encampment. Mention is also made (Judg. xxi, 4) in connexion with the war against the children of Benjamin of another offering at Bethel.

Shiloh was the seat of the tabernacle from the days of Joshua until at least the death of Eli, when the ark of God was captured by the Philistines. It is evident that Shiloh was the place chosen of Jehovah for his worship. Hence the language of Psalm lxxviii, 60: "So that he forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh the tent which he placed among men;" and of Jeremiah vii, 12: "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel." In 2 Sam. vii, 6, God declares that from the time that he brought the children of Israel up out of Egypt unto that day, he had walked in a tent and in a tabernacle. About a hundred years after the ark had been captured by the Philistines—who kept it but seven months, and sent it back to the Israelites—it was brought from the house of Abinadab to Jerusalem by David, and put in a tent he had prepared for it.

In the beginning of Solomon's reign we find the tabernacle in Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi, 39; 2 Chron. i, 3). It is impossible to say how long it had been there. During the one hundred years from the death of Eli to the building of the temple by Solomon there was no fixed place for divine worship—the ark was in one place and the tabernacle in another. Shiloh had been rejected, but Jerusalem was not yet selected and fully prepared for the tabernacle and the ark. In this confused state it is said: "Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord until those days" (1 Kings iii, 2).

In the time of Samuel, after the capture of the ark by the Philistines, we find that sacrifice was offered at Gilgal (1 Sam. xi, 15). Most probably the tabernacle of the congregation was then there.

Here the question arises how far were these practices contrary to the commands of the Pentateuch? Two Mosaic precepts bear upon this point, the one in Lev. xvii, 3-9, requiring sacrifices to be offered only at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; the other in Deut. xii, enjoining them to be offered in the place which Jehovah should choose out of all the tribes. There seems to have been a general compliance with the first of these precepts, and also with the second while the ark and tabernacle remained at Shiloh. The principal reason for the command to offer sacrifice at the door of the tabernacle seems to have been to prevent idolatry; for every offering made there was presented to Jehovah, whose presence was manifested in the

Shiloh a sacred place.

Pause in fixed place for worship of Jehovah.

No real violation of the precept enjoining place of sacrifice.

tabernacle. Hence it is added: "That they may bring them unto the Lord." That idolatry is the principal offence against which provision is made, appears also from the language following the precept, "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring." Accordingly under these circumstances sacrifices would naturally enough be offered to Jehovah wherever he appeared to the Israelites.

In respect to the place chosen out of all the tribes to which alone sacrifices should be brought, it is added, "When he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about" (Deut. xii, 10). And this seems to be a necessary condition: for it might be inconvenient, and even impossible, to go up *three times a year* to some *fixed locality*, which might be held by the enemies of Israel; or the people might be obstructed in their attempts to leave home, or their presence might be absolutely required there. In the age of Samuel the Israelites were frequently engaged in war with the Philistines, and a portion of the time, at least, they were completely in their power; for it is said (1 Sam. xiii, 19, 20), "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears. But all the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock." Is it a matter of wonder, under these circumstances, that there was irregularity in the observance of the precepts concerning sacrifice? What an overwhelming proof of the non-existence of the Pentateuch among the Jews—if we did not absolutely know differently—would the present violation on their part of some of the fundamental laws of the Mosaic polity afford? The modern Jews do not slay the paschal lamb; they offer no sacrifices to God; their males do not go up *three times a year to Jerusalem*; the Rabbies, their teachers, are not exclusively of the tribe of Levi. to say nothing of other violations of the law.

The various parts of the Pentateuch are consistent respecting the place of worship. After the ten commandments were given, it was enjoined that the children of Israel should build an altar to the Lord and offer sacrifices thereon, with the promise: "In every place where I shall record my name [that is, shall appoint for divine worship] I will come unto thee," etc. (Exod. xx, 24). Here the place is left indefinite. But when the tabernacle had been built, it was enjoined upon the Israelites to bring their offerings only to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (Lev. xvii, 3-9). And when the Israelites were about to enter Canaan, they were directed to bring their offerings in that land to the place which Jehovah should choose (Deut. xii, 5, 11, 14). This indicates that the tab-

ernacle is no longer to be migrating, but to stand in a fixed locality. The very existence of the ark of the covenant, which is acknowledged to date from Moses, would seem to require one sole place of worship and offerings. In Exod. xxiii, 14, 17, 19, a part of the legislation acknowledged to be the oldest, the males are required to appear three times a year before the Lord, and the Israelites to bring the first of their firstfruits into the house of their God. This, too, seems to look to one sanctuary. There is not the slightest hint anywhere in the Pentateuchal legislation that the Israelites were at liberty to sacrifice to God where they pleased. *Unity* of God, *unity* of sanctuary, and *unity* of the people, are fundamental ideas in the Pentateuch. There could be no surer method of leading the people to idolatry than by allowing them to sacrifice on high places where other divinities than Jehovah might be worshipped. But when the sacrifices were offered at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in which was the sacred ark, where Jehovah manifested himself, idolatry was impossible.

It is incredible that after the temple had been built, and the command to sacrifice only in the place which Jehovah should choose was a standing precept in Deut. xii, 5, etc., the injunction in Lev. xvii, 3-9, should have been invented and attributed to Moses, especially as it is enjoined: "This shall be a statute to them forever throughout their generations (verse 7)."

The Hebrew prophets recognize the temple in Jerusalem as the sole place for the worship of Jehovah. Thus Joel (about B. C. 870), "Jehovah dwells in Zion" (iii, 17). The temple is the place for religious worship (ii, 15-17). "Jehovah shall utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Amos i, 2). "The Lord from his holy temple" (Micah i, 2). "The Lord of hosts dwelleth in mount Zion" (Isa. viii, 18). "Shall worship Jehovah in the holy mount at Jerusalem" (xxvii, 13). "For out of Zion shall go forth the law" (ii, 3). Similar is Micah iv, 2. The calf worship, and the idolatry in general, are condemned by the prophets (Hosea ii, 5-13; iv, 13; x, 8, 15; xiii, 2; Amos iii, 14; Micah i, 7).

The throwing down the altars of Jehovah among the ten tribes, to which Elijah refers (1 Kings xix, 14), indicates the hostility of the worshipers of Baal to Jehovah, and has nothing to do with the question of the legality of those altars.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY IN THE PENTATEUCH,
AND ITS BEARING ON THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP OF THE
WORK.

IF the Pentateuch was really written by Moses, we have in that fact a strong proof of the truth of the history in which he was the principal actor, and which embraces about three fourths of the whole. But we may reverse the argument, and affirm, that if we find numerous internal marks of truth, a thorough knowledge of Egypt and of the topography of those regions through which the Israelites journeyed, and if the history in important particulars is confirmed by external evidence—ancient monuments, for example—then we have strong proof that the historian was contemporary with most of the events which he relates, and was, in all probability, Moses.

The Pentateuch begins with the history of creation, and gives us a cosmogony distinguished by a sublime simplicity differing widely from all the cosmogonies of the ancient world. In the old cosmogony of India, Vishnu, as Brahma, creates the world in the following order: 1. The creation of intellect, or Mahat, which is also called the creation of Brahma; 2. That of the rudimental principles; 3. The creation of the senses; 4. Inanimate bodies; 5. That of animals; 6. That of divinities; 7. That of man; 8. A creation that possesses both the qualities of goodness and darkness. Five creations are secondary and three are primary. But there is a ninth that is both primary and secondary.¹

The demons were born from the thigh of Brahma. From his mouth proceeded the gods. He formed birds from his vital vigour; sheep from his breast; goats from his mouth; kine from his belly and sides; horses, elephants, deer, camels, mules, etc., from his feet. From the hairs of his body sprang herbs, roots, and fruits.²

There sprang from the mouth of Brahma beings especially endowed with goodness; others from his breast, pervaded with the quality of foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality

¹ Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 36-38.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.

of darkness predominated. These were the four castes, Brahmans, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras.¹

How far the views of Plato fell below the grandeur of the Mosaic cosmogony appears from a passage in his *Timæus*. In his system man is the primal creation, from which were derived the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the field. "Birds," says he, "were derived from men who were guileless, indeed, but frivolous and devoted to the study of meteorology, believing in their simplicity that the proofs respecting these things were the most certain, on account of their being objects of sight. On the other hand, land animals and wild beasts sprang from men who made no use of philosophy, and who did not at all study the nature of the heavens on account of their no longer using the cycles in their heads, but following the lower passions as their guides. From these pursuits their arms and heads were drawn down toward the earth through a natural affinity," etc.²

In the history of creation we are not to expect anything more than an epitome. As the Book of Genesis is an introduction to the Mosaic dispensation, almost every occurrence is treated with brevity. As it is not the object of Revelation to teach *physical* science but *theological* and *moral* truth, we should expect the account of creation to be adapted to this purpose, and to be set forth in such language as would be intelligible to the ancient Hebrews. That the history of creation would be adapted to the conceptions and limited faculties of the people might be inferred from God's general method of teaching, in which language *anthropopathic* and *anthropomorphic* is used in describing divine actions.

In fundamental principles there is no compromise in the Bible, but in matters of secondary importance there is an accommodation in the Mosaic law to the condition of the Israelites. Respecting their law of divorce our Saviour said, "Moses because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives." If the law could be modified to suit their condition, so might the *form* of the history of creation.

The fundamental idea in the Mosaic account of creation is, that *Jehovah God is the creator of all things in heaven, earth, and under the earth*. Here there is no room left for the operations of any other god, and nature herself is shown to be a dependent creature of Jehovah, consequently there is no place for idolatry. Subordinate to this idea is the division of the work of creation into six periods of one day each, on which was founded the Jewish Sabbath.

¹ Wilson, Vishnu Purana, p. 44.

² *Timæus*, 91. I make no reference to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, for in his time the writings of Moses were known to the Greeks and Romans.

The *order* of creation contained in the first chapter of Genesis agrees in its general outline with the present state of geological science. After the creation of the heavens and of the earth the Almighty created light. That light existed at the earliest period of animal life is inferred from the fact that the trilobites, belonging to the lower Silurian formation, had perfect eyes.

The Mosaic order of creation in harmony with modern science.

The separation of the waters above the firmament from those below the firmament was the work of the second day. Whatever view be taken of the expression "waters above the firmament," it is evident that Moses knew the real source of rain. For it is said, "There went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground" (Gen. ii, 6). The separation of land and water, the formation of continents, followed by the creation of grass, herbs, and fruit trees, the work of the third day, are parts of geological history. "The facts to be presented under the Silurian age," says Dana, "teach that the great, yet unmade, continents, although so small in the amount of dry land, were not covered by the *deep* ocean, but only by *shallow* oceanic waters. They lay just beneath the waves, already outlined, prepared to commence that series of formations—the Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, and others—which was required to finish the crust for its ultimate continental purposes." "The Azoic age in geology witnessed, with little doubt, the appearance of the first continents, and, probably, of the first plants."¹

The creation of the sun, moon, and stars, on the fourth day, has but little connexion with geology, and belongs rather to astronomy. It seems strange that the sun, to us the great source of light and heat, should not be created till the fourth day, while light itself was created on the first day. Now no man of the Mosaic age, following his own unaided reason or imagination only, would ever have hit upon such an arrangement as we have in Genesis; and in the present state of physical science it is not so improbable as it seems at first sight; and in the future progress of science it may be rendered in the highest degree probable on scientific grounds.² According to modern science, the sun is a dark body surrounded by a luminous, gaseous envelope. Thus while light (אור) as a principle was cre-

¹ Text Book of Geology, p. 77.

² What appears in one age an absurdity, may in another age become the strongest proof of a statement or doctrine. Thus Herodotus (liber iv, 42), in relating the circumnavigation of Africa from the Red Sea and returning through the Pillars of Hercules to Egypt by order of Necho, says, "They told me what is not credible, that while sailing around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." But this circumstance is to us a strong proof that the voyage was made.

ated on the *first* day, it was not till the *fourth* that the sun, the *light-holder* (אֱלֹהֵי הַיּוֹם) was created or arranged in its present form. Before the creation of the sun the earth seems to have derived no heat from any external source, but its surface was in all probability warmed from the internal heat. And this is supported by geology, which shows us that in the earlier period of the earth's history *no climatic differences existed*. Previous to the existence of the sun, it cannot be said with certainty in what way the periods of day and night were divided. We would, however, regard the light as located in *one* part of the universe, and the same part of the surface of the earth by its rotation brought alternately into light and darkness.

The work of the fifth day was the creation of the fishes of the sea and the fowls of heaven, followed, on the sixth day, by the creation of beasts, cattle and creeping things, ending in the formation of man in the image of God. Now, in the geological series, the creation of fish preceded that of reptiles and mammalia, and man is the last of the series. Here the Mosaic and the geological records agree.

It seems best to take the word "day" in Genesis i, ii, for an indefinite period of time. In Job xv, 32, and xxx, 25, *day* (יּוֹם) is used for the whole *period of life*. In the same way the Greeks use *ἡμέρα*, *day*, and we employ it in the phrase "his day."

"The Etruscans relate that God created the world in six thousand years. In the first thousand he created the heaven and the earth; in the second, the firmament; in the third, the sea and the other waters of the earth; in the fourth, sun, moon, and stars; in the fifth, the animals belonging to air, water, and land; in the sixth, man alone. The Persian tradition also recognizes the six periods of creation."¹ "The principal Babylonian story of the creation," says Smith, "substantially agrees, as far as it is preserved, with the biblical account. According to it there was a chaos of watery matter before the creation, and from this all things were generated." Other "fragments refer to the creation of mankind, called Adam, as in the Bible. Another "fragment was supposed by Mr. Smith to relate to the fall of man, and to contain the speech of the deity to the newly-created pair. This, however, is extremely doubtful. The fragment is in so broken a condition that almost any thing can be made out of it."²

But it is too early yet to attempt an elaborate reconciliation of the Mosaic cosmogony with geology—a science which is not much more than half a century old, and is very imperfectly developed by reason of the vast regions over which it extends. It has not yet

¹ Dr. M'Caul, Mosaic Record of Creation.

² George Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis, by A. H. Sayce, p. 72.

been surely determined relatively or absolutely when the various orders of creation upon our planet first appeared. On the other hand, it is not easy to determine how far the Mosaic account of the creation was adapted to the conceptions of the Jews.

The recent origin of man is clearly shown from the biblical history; and geology confirms it in a most striking manner by showing the absence of human remains, and of any indication of human existence, except in the latest geological formations. Even those implements found in certain parts of Europe cannot prove any great antiquity for man, since we know not what length of time has intervened between the deposition of the strata in which they are found and the present age. Nor do we know what time has elapsed since those animals disappeared with whose bones human remains are found, even if we grant that these animals and men were contemporary.

A very high antiquity for the human race is inconsistent with the general ascertained facts of geology. It was impossible that man should be confined to one small territory for a long time, whether in a savage or civilized condition; for he roams over the earth, and every-where leaves traces of his existence. It is not possible that man should have existed in Europe thousands of years before he made his way into Asia. But the human race, without doubt, had its origin in Asia, and must soon have settled Egypt. Why then have we not traces of man's existence in Asia and in Egypt of as early a day as is alleged in behalf of the stone implements in certain parts of Europe?

According to Genesis, the primitive seat of mankind was in Western Asia, somewhere near the Tigris and the Euphrates, and from this same region the sons of Noah after the deluge spread themselves over the earth. And this is confirmed by the fact that the Indo-Germanic languages (Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, etc.) have their origin in the region of Persia.¹

The unity of the human race is undoubtedly taught in Genesis, and anatomy and physiology furnish strong proofs of the truth of this doctrine.

That man originally lived in a state of innocency and happiness from which he fell, as taught in Genesis, is a widespread tradition. We find it described in the beautiful poetry of Ovid,² who speaks of it as the "Golden Age," in which the earth yielded spontaneously her fruits for the human race, and men observed justice

The Mosaic account of the primitive condition of man agrees with universal tradition.

¹ Sargon calls Elam the country of "the four rivers." A. H. Sayce, p. 84.

² See Max Müller's *Science of Language*, 234, *et seq.*, and Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. i, p. 15.

³ *Metamorphoses*, liber i, 89-112.

and rectitude of their own accord, and were free from fear, as there was no judge to inflict penalties. This age, according to the poet, was followed by those of silver, brass, and iron. The ancient Greek poet, Hesiod,¹ refers to the primeval condition of man, characterizing it as a "Golden Age," when men lived like gods, free from care, and died as if overcome by sleep, and the earth yielded of her own accord abundant fruits. "In the Zend Avesta, Yima, the first Iranic king, lives in a secluded spot, where he and his people enjoy uninterrupted happiness. Neither sin, nor folly, nor violence, nor poverty, nor deformity has entrance into the region; nor does the evil spirit for awhile set foot there." "In the Chinese books we read, that 'During the period of the first heaven, the whole creation enjoyed a state of happiness: every thing was beautiful; every thing was good; all beings were perfect in their kind; . . . all things grew without labour, and universal fertility prevailed.' The literature of the Hindus tells of a 'first age of the world, when justice, in the form of a bull, kept herself firm on her four feet; virtue reigned; no good which mortals possessed was mixed with baseness; and man, free from diseases, saw all his wishes accomplished, and attained an age of four hundred years.' In the earliest of the Persian books the Fall would seem to be gradual; but in the later writings, which are of an uncertain date, a narrative appears which is most strikingly in accordance with that of Genesis."²

The longevity of the antediluvians has been regarded by some as incredible. But the numbers bear no indications of myth. The age of the antediluvians is given, the time The longevity of the antediluvians. when the eldest sons were born, and when they died; and these years are not put in round numbers as we would expect in a myth. It is impossible for physiologists to disprove the possibility of the antediluvians having reached the ages attributed to them. There is no way of judging, *à priori*, how long any animal may live; and in the early period of man's existence various causes, as climate and food, may have favoured longevity. But why may not the Almighty have granted to man a great age at first for the rapid increase of the race, and have shortened it afterward? That men do not reach an age of nine hundred years now is no proof that they never did. Geology clearly shows the vast changes that the physical and the animal world have passed through in their history. "The great Haller, when led to speak on the subject, declared the problem one which could not be solved, on account of the absence of sufficient data; while Buffon accepted the scriptural ac-

¹ Works and Days, lines 109-119.

² Hist. Illus. of the Old Testament, by Rawlinson and Hackett, pp. 9-11.

count, and thought he could see physical reasons why life should in the early ages have been so greatly extended."¹ Lord Bolingbroke, in the last century, although he treated Moses and his history with great contempt, yet allowed "that the lives of men in the first ages of the world were probably much longer than ours."² Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, in speaking of the great length of the lives of the antediluvians, remarks: "All those who have written works on antiquities, both the Greeks and the Barbarians, bear witness to my statements. For Manetho, who wrote an account of the Egyptians and Berosus, who gave an account of the Chaldean affairs, and Mochus, and Hestæus, and the Egyptian Hieronymus, who wrote an account of the Phœnicians, agree with my statements. Hesiod, and Hecataeus, and Hellanicus, and Acousilaus, and Ephorus, and Nicolaus, relate that the ancients lived a *thousand years*."³ In the Hindu accounts of the early ages, men in the first period were free from disease, and reached four hundred years.

What is most remarkable in the history of the antediluvian world is its freedom from the mythical history of gods and demi-gods that pervades the early records of other nations. In the Egyptian history, the reign of the gods and demi-gods extends over a period of more than seventeen thousand years.⁴

According to Genesis vii, viii, there was a universal deluge, which swept off all men and every living creature upon the face of the earth and in the heavens except Noah and his family, and the living creatures that were with him in the ark. If this account were nothing more than a tradition, it must be of great value. Its simplicity stamps it with the seal of truth. It was to be expected that an event of this kind would not be forgotten by the descendants of Noah. And we accordingly find among nearly all the nations of the earth a tradition of a great deluge.

After giving the traditions of various nations respecting a deluge, Professor Rawlinson remarks: "To conclude, therefore, that the deluge, in respect of mankind, was partial, because some of the great divisions of the human family had no tradition on the subject, is to draw a conclusion directly in the teeth of the evidence. The evidence shows a consentient belief—a belief that has all the appearance of being original and not derived—among members of ALL the great races into which ethnologists have divided mankind."⁵ François Lenormant concludes his investigations on the deluge with

¹ Aids to Faith, Essay vi, sec. v.

² Works, vol. iii, p. 244. in Leland's View of Deist. Writers, ii, 365. ³ Lib. i, 3, 9

⁴ Osburn's Mon. Hist. Egypt, p. 199.

⁵ Illust. of Old Test., p. 21, 22.

the remark that he is in "a position to affirm that the account of the deluge is a universal tradition in all branches of the human family, with the sole exception of the black race. No religious or cosmogonic myth possesses this character of universality. It must necessarily be the reminiscence of an actual and terrible event which made so powerful an impression upon the imaginations of the first parents of our species that their descendants could never forget it."¹

A very ancient and remarkable account of a deluge has been found on tablets in the ruins of Nineveh, belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, B. C. 670. The inscriptions on these tablets are supposed to be copies of very ancient records. In this description Surippakite is directed by the Assyrian divinity to build a ship for himself, as he intends to destroy the sinner and life, and to preserve in it "the seed of life, all of it, in the midst of the ship." He is also instructed of what dimensions to build it. It was covered without and within with bitumen. Surippakite is ordered to put into this ship his grain, furniture, goods, wealth, woman servants, female slaves, and young men. At the same time it is declared that the beasts of the field shall be sent to him to be put into the ship. The rain pours down from heaven for seven days. On the very first day the ship is carried to Mount Nizir, where it rests seven days. First a dove is sent forth from the ship, and, not finding any resting-place, returns. Next, a swallow is sent, which also returns. Afterwards there was sent forth a raven, which did not return. After the deluge ceased Surippakite built an altar on the peak of the mountain, and offered sacrifice to the gods.*

"The inscription," says Mr. Smith, "gives seven^o days for the flood, and seven days for the resting of the ark on the mountain; while the Bible gives the commencement of the flood on the seventeenth day of the second month, and its termination on the twenty-seventh day of the second month in the following year, making a total duration of one year and ten days. . . . There is, again, a difference as to the mountain on which the ark rested; Nizir, the place mentioned in the cuneiform text, being east of Assyria, probably between latitudes 35° and 36°, while Ararat, the mountain mentioned in the Bible, was north of Assyria, near Lake Van.

"In the account of sending forth the birds, there is a difference in detail between the Bible and the inscriptions which cannot be explained away; this and other similar differences will serve to show that neither of the two documents is copied directly from the

¹ The Beginnings of History, pp. 486, 487.

* We have abridged this statement from *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., 1876.

other."¹ The simplicity of the biblical account, and the dates that are given, stamp it as the original.

Osburn thinks he sees in the Egyptian *nom* or *nḥ*, which signifies "the primordial water," "the abyss," a reference to Noah, the name of the divine impersonation of the annual overflow in the Egyptian mythology being *Nḥ* or *Nuh*, the Hebrew נח or נֹח Noah.²

After the description of the flood, we have an account of the peopling of the earth by the sons of Noah (Genesis x). This genealogical table bears the stamp of truth, and has been remarkably confirmed by modern researches. "Setting aside the cases where the ethnic names employed are of doubtful application, it cannot reasonably be questioned that the author has, in his account of the sons of Japhet, classified together the Cymry or Celts (Gomer), the Medes (Madai), and the Ionians or Greeks (Javan), thereby anticipating what has become known in modern times as 'the Indo-European theory,' or the essential unity of the Aryan (Asiatic) race with the principal races of Europe, indicated by the Celts and the Ionians. Nor can it be doubted that he has thrown together under the one head of 'children of Shem,' the Assyrians (Asshur), the Syrians (Aram), the Hebrews (Eber), and the Joktanian Arabs (Joktan), four of the principal races which modern ethnology recognises under the heading of 'Semitic.' Again, under the heading of 'sons of Ham,' the author has arranged 'Cush,' i. e., the Ethiopians; Mizraim, the people of Egypt; Sheba and Dedan, or certain of the Southern Arabs; and 'Nimrod,' or the ancient people of Babylon—four races between which the latest linguistic researches have established a close affinity. Beyond a question, the tendency of modern ethnological inquiry has been to establish the accuracy of the document called in Genesis the Toldoth Beni Noah, or genealogy of the sons of Noah (chap. x), and to create a feeling among scientific ethnologists that it is a record of the very highest value; one which, if it can be rightly interpreted, may be thoroughly trusted, and which is, as one of them has said, 'the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of nations.'"³

In Genesis x, 9, 10, mention is made of Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord; and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. "The four cities," says Bonomi, "which are recorded in Scripture to have been founded by Nimrod, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, were all in the land of Shinar, the

The story of Nimrod illustrated on ancient monuments.

¹ Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis, pp. 288, 289.

² Monumental History of Egypt, p. 240.

³ Rawlinson and Hackett. Hist. III. of Old Testament. pp. 25, 26.

southern part of Mesopotamia."¹ Bonomi gives a cut of a gigantic figure of a man strangling a young lion, taken from the ruins of ancient Nineveh. He believes this to be a representation of the mighty hunter Nimrod. According to Gen. x, 8 Nimrod was the son of Cush. "Recent researches in Mesopotamia," says Rawlinson, "have revealed to us as the earliest seat of power and civilization in Western Asia, a Cushite kingdom, the site of which is Lower Babylonia; a main characteristic of which is its possession of large cities, and which even seems in an especial way to affect, in its political arrangements, the number *four*. Babel, Accad, and Erech (or Huruk), are names which occur in the early geographic nomenclature of this monarchy. Nimrod is a personage in its mythology. The records discovered do not, probably, mount up within some centuries of the foundation of the kingdom; but they present us with a picture in perfect harmony with the scriptural narrative—a picture of a state such as that set up by Nimrod would be likely to have become two or three centuries after its foundation."²

In Gen. x, 11, it is said that "out of that land [Nimrod's kingdom] went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh," etc.³ "The recovered monuments show that the Mosaital account is, in all respects, true. The *early* Babylonians are proved to have been of an entirely distinct race from the Assyrians, whose language is Semitic, while that of their southern neighbours is Cushite. A Babylonian kingdom is found to have flourished before there was any independent Assyria, or any such city as Nineveh."⁴

In the first part of the eleventh chapter of Genesis we have an account of the confusion of tongues at Babel or Babylon. There is in Abydenus, who wrote concerning Assyrian affairs, a passage that refers to the building of the tower of Babel and the confusion of the language of the builders: "There are some who say that the first men, having sprung from the earth, and being puffed up on account of their strength and size, and presuming to be superior to the gods, raised a lofty tower where Babylon now stands; and when it was approaching heaven the winds came to the assistance of the gods, and threw down the tower about the builders. The ruins of this tower are called Babylon. Men who had hitherto been of one tongue received from the gods many languages."⁵

¹ *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 45.

² *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament*, pp. 30, 31.

³ This is preferable to "he went forth to Assyria," as ה local is not added to אשור and this is confirmed by the LXX, which has Ασσυρία, the Targum of Onkelos, and the Peshito-Syriac, which have the "Assyrian."

⁴ *Ilix. Illus.*, p. 33.

⁵ In Eusebius' *Præpar. Evan.*, ix, 14.

The story of the war of the giants against heaven, found in the Greek and Roman mythology, probably grew out of the building of the tower of Babel. A probable proof of the confusion of tongues is furnished "in the character of the language which appears on the earliest monuments of the country—monuments which reach back to a time probably as remote as B. C. 2300, and almost certainly anterior to the date of Abraham. This monumental language is especially remarkable for its *mixed* character. It is Turanian in its structure, Cushite or Ethiopian in the bulk of its vocabulary, while, at the same time, it appears to contain both Semitic and Aryan elements."¹

When Abraham visited Egypt (Gen. xii, 10–20) he found there a king² (Pharaoh) and princes. He was presented with sheep, oxen, asses, and camels, in addition to servants. In this list we miss horses, which seem to have been introduced into Egypt a short time before the Mosaic age (according to Wilkinson, vol. i, 386). But in the age of Solomon horses were abundant in Egypt. How natural it would have been for a writer subsequent to Moses to put *horses* among the gifts made to Abraham in Egypt. The ass is the most common animal in Egypt at the present day, and no doubt was known there from the most ancient times; and the same is true of oxen. Sheep are represented in a tomb below the pyramids, dating upward of four thousand years ago.³ The camel also appears among the gifts to Abraham. "It is remarkable," says Wilkinson, "that the camel, though known in Egypt as early at least as the time of Abraham, has never been met with, even in the latest paintings or hieroglyphics. Yet this does not prove it was even rare in the country; since the same would apply to fowls and pigeons, of which no instance occurs on the monuments among the stock of the farm-yard."⁴ Camels are at present⁵ employed in Egypt, and it is highly probable that they were used from the earliest times as the great means of commerce between Egypt and other countries separated from it by deserts.

¹Hist. Old Testament Illus., p. 28.

²Phouro (Coptic), the king, the name given to the Egyptian monarchs from the earliest times.

³See Wilkinson, vol. i, 166.

⁴Manners and Customs, etc., vol. i, 234.

⁵When in Egypt, in December, 1869, the author saw, a short distance north of Cairo, a considerable number of camels coming from that city, and bound apparently for Suez.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FARTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY CONTAINED IN THE PENTATEUCH.

THE history of the patriarchs, as related in the Book of Genesis, is marked by simplicity, and by no means shows the conditions and relations of a subsequent age extended to the past. In the case of Abraham we have a striking instance of a custom different from the Mosaic enactment; for Sarah, his wife, was his half-sister (Gen. xx, 12), but such a union is forbidden by the law of Moses (Lev. xviii, 9). No one of the Hebrews, in the Mosaic age or subsequently, in making up a story, would have represented their great progenitor as living in a relation condemned by Moses. Jacob had two sisters for wives at the same time, which is forbidden in Lev. xviii, 18.

In connexion with the patriarchal history, the question arises, Does the biblical chronology allow a sufficient interval of time to elapse between the deluge and the building of the great pyramid for the settlement, the civilization, and the attainment of a high state of art at the latter period? The time between the deluge and the building of the great pyramid. The interval between the deluge and the birth of Abraham varies with the text from which the chronology is calculated. If taken from the Jewish Pentateuch, it is 292 years; if from the Samaritan, it is 942 years; but if from the Septuagint, it is 1,172 years. Now, it must be confessed that the numbers taken from the Jewish Pentateuch are too small. The great pyramid was built about 2,450 years before Christ, about 100 years before the deluge, according to the chronology of Usher. But if we suppose the sojourn in Egypt to have been 430 years instead of 215, then the great pyramid must have been built only a hundred years after the deluge, which is exceedingly improbable. Now, if we take the Samaritan Pentateuch as authority, and allow but 215 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, we shall have the deluge B. C. 2936; or if the sojourn in Egypt was 430 years,¹ then the deluge was B. C. 3151. The Septuagint gives us still more time, making the deluge either B. C. 3168, or B. C. 3383.²

¹ We decidedly prefer 430 years as the period of the sojourn in Egypt.

² Both the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint say the sojourn in Egypt and in the land of Canaan was 430 years (Exod. xii, 40), contrary to the Jewish Pentateuch.

We confess we have but little confidence in any system of chronology so ancient as the age of Abraham. For, in the first place, several generations may have been omitted: *e. g.*, we find the name of Cainan between Arphaxad and Salah in the Septuagint, which is wanting in the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuch, but is found in Luke's genealogy of Christ. There are some striking instances of the omission of generations in the Books of Chronicles. Matthew, in the genealogy of our Lord, has done the same. In the next place, there is great liability to corruption in the transmission of numbers. Menes was the first king of Egypt; but his age is very uncertain. According to Josephus he reigned 1,300 years before Solomon. Wilkinson is disposed to place Menes about 2700 B. C. Gliddon and others adopt about the same date. But *twenty-six*¹ different dates have been assigned to the age of Menes, ranging from B. C. 6467 to B. C. 2182. We may assume B. C. 2700 as his most probable age; and this date is not inconsistent with the chronology of either the Samaritan or the Septuagint text.

In Genesis xiv there is an account of the rebellion of the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela, against Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his three vassal kings, in which the former were completely defeated, and Lot was led away among the captives, but was rescued by Abraham, who, with his confederate Amorites, completely routed the victorious kings. Here the question arises, Do the recently discovered and deciphered monuments of Babylon give any confirmation to this history? The answer must be in the affirmative. For while profane history contains no account of the events here related, yet there are certain facts that confirm the history, though indirectly. "The change in the position of Babylon, the rise of the Elamites to power and pre-eminence, and the occurrence about this time of Elamitic expeditions into Palestine or the adjacent districts, are witnessed to by documents recently disinterred from the mounds of Mesopotamia. The name, too, of the Elamite king, though not yet actually found on any monument, is composed of elements both of which occur in Elamite documents separately, and is of a type exactly similar to other Elamitic names of the period. To give the evidence more fully, it is stated in an inscription of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, that 1,635 years before his own capture of Susa, or about B. C. 2286, Kudur-Nakhunta, then king of Elam, led an expedition into Babylon, took the towns, plundered the temples, and carried off the images of the gods to his own capital, where they remained to the time of the Assyrian

Some confirmations of the rebellion of the kings in Babylonian monuments.

¹ Wutke, p. 488.

conquest. From Babylonian documents of a date not much later (B. C. 2200-2100), it appears that an Elamitic dynasty had by that time been established in Babylonia itself, and that a king called Kudur-Mabuk, an Elamite prince, who held his court at Ur, in Lower Chaldea, carried his arms so far to the westward that he took the title of 'Ravager of the West,' or 'Ravager of Syria,' a title which is found inscribed upon his bricks. The element *Kudur*, which commences the name of this prince, and also that of Kudur-Nakhunta, is identical with the Hebrew *Chedor*; while *Lagamer* is elsewhere found as an Elamitic god, which is the case also with *Mabuk* and *Nakhunta*. Thus Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamer) is a name of exactly the same type with Kudur-Nakhunta and Kudur-Mabuk. Its character is thoroughly Elamitic, and it is appropriate to the time at which the writer of Genesis places the monarch bearing it." ¹ What a strong proof we here have of the reality of the history in which Abraham occupies so conspicuous a place! Such a history as this must have been written down either in the patriarchal age originally, or by some one in the position of Moses.

The cities of the plain, Sodom, Gomorrah, etc., must have stood at the upper end of the Dead Sea; and Dr. Tristram ² has recently discovered the site of the ancient Zoar, in the ruins called Zi'ara, eight miles east of the north-east end of the Dead Sea, on the mountain side.

In the supplication which Abraham makes to God in behalf of Sodom, Professor Blunt ³ finds a remarkable undesigned coincidence in the fact that Lot, who was the nephew of Abraham, dwelt in Sodom, while he makes no petition for the other cities of the plain, in which he did not feel the same deep interest.

In the blessing pronounced upon Esau it is said: "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above" (Gen. xxvii, 39). Professor Palmer, who has recently explored Edom, remarks on it: "The country is extremely fertile, and presents a favourable contrast to the sterile region on the opposite side of the 'Arabah. Goodly streams flow through the valleys, which are filled with trees and flowers; while on the uplands to the east rich pasture-lands and corn-fields may every-where be seen.'" ⁴

The history of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. xxxix-l) displays a most accurate knowledge ⁵ of Egyptian affairs, and must have been written by Moses, or by some one in Egypt before the time of Moses

¹ Rawlinson, *Hist. Illus. Old Testament*, pp. 39, 40.

² *Land of Moab*, pp. 341, 343.

³ *Scriptural Coincidences*, p. 31.

⁴ *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 362.

⁵ Bleek acknowledges the intimate acquaintance with Egyptian affairs here shown *Einleitung*, p. 265.

It is stated (Genesis xxxix, 1) that Potiphar, captain of Pharaoh's guard, bought Joseph from the Ishmaelites. In the time of Joseph it is well known that the king of Egypt had soldiers and officers. Slavery existed in that country at a very early period. "The traffic in slaves," says Wilkinson, "was tolerated by the Egyptians." Potiphar, the name of Pharaoh's officer, is a Coptic word, meaning *belonging to the sun*.

The narrative of the attempt made by Potiphar's wife on the chastity of Joseph shows that women were not excluded from the society of men, as was the custom in some ancient countries. And this is confirmed by independent testimony. "Men and women either sat together, or separately, in a different part of the room."¹

Mention is made of the king's butler (cup-bearer), of the vine, and of the pressing of grapes into Pharaoh's cup (chap. xl, 1, 9-11). "Some have pretended to doubt," says Wilkinson, "that the vine was commonly cultivated, or even grown, in Egypt; but the frequent notice of it and of Egyptian wine in the sculptures, and the authority of ancient writers, sufficiently answer those objections."²

"And the birds did eat them (meats) out of the basket upon my head" (chap. xl, 17). Here we have a reference to the Egyptian custom of carrying baskets on the head. With this compare Herodotus' remark respecting the Egyptians: "Men carry loads on their heads, women on their shoulders." Wilkinson³ gives a cut representing this usage of carrying bread in a vessel on the head.

In Pharaoh's dream seven fat cows come up from the Nile and feed in a meadow; after which seven other cows that are lean come up also from the Nile, and devour the fat ones (chap. xli, 1-4). In the Egyptian mythology the cow was the symbol of the land of Egypt. Isis "was the goddess of the earth, which the Egyptians called their mother." According to Herodotus, ii, 41, "the image of Isis was the form of a woman with the horns of a cow." The cows, in the dream of Pharaoh, come up from the Nile, the source of the fertility of Egypt. The figure is purely Egyptian. The cows fed in a meadow, or, rather, in *marsh-grass* ⲙⲁⲣⲥ, a Coptic word. The stalks mentioned in the second dream had *seven* ears. This⁴ was one of the varieties of wheat in ancient Egypt. To interpret his dream Pharaoh called in the sacred scribes and wise men, classes of priests; for the latter possessed all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

When Joseph was called from his dungeon by Pharaoh it is stated that he *shaved* himself before appearing before Pharaoh. This was the custom of the Egyptians. "Though foreigners who were brought

¹ Wilkinson, vol. i, 144.

² Ibid., vol. i, 45.

³ Lib. ii, 35.

⁴ Wilkinson, vol. i, 176.

⁵ Ibid., vol. ii, 39.

to Egypt as slaves had beards on their arrival in the country, we find that so soon as they were employed in the service of this civilized people they were obliged to conform to the cleanly habits of their masters; their beard and heads were shaved.¹ In the honours bestowed upon Joseph by Pharaoh mention is made of the *king's signet-ring, a chain of gold for the neck, and garments of fine linen* (or, rather, of cotton). The articles here enumerated are known to have been in use in Egypt long before the time of Joseph.²

The name of the daughter of Potipherah, whom Pharaoh gave to Joseph for wife, was *Asenath*, which means "*she is of Neith*, i. e., belongs to Neith, the Minerva of the Egyptians" (Gesenius). Pharaoh gave Joseph the name *Zophnath-paaneah*, which is Egyptian, meaning the *salvation* or *saviour of the age*, or the *supporter* or *deliverer of the age* (Gesenius.) How could a *Hebrew forger* of a later age make up all these Egyptian names?

The wife of Joseph was the daughter of the priest of On³ (or Heliopolis), the priests of which were the most learned of the Egyptians. The king thus bestowed upon Joseph the highest honour in this matrimonial alliance.

In Genesis xlvii, 34, it is said that "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." The ground of this feeling was the fact, that they had been in subjection to the shepherd kings. "This dominion of the shepherd kings lasted upwards of half a century. At length, about 1530 B. C., Amosis, the leader of the eighteenth dynasty, . . . drove the shepherds out of the country."⁴ Another reason, however, may have been that shepherds killed and ate cows, which were held sacred by the Egyptians. It has been thought very improbable that Egypt should have been afflicted with such a famine as is recorded in the history of Joseph. But as the fertility of Egypt depends on the overflowing of the Nile, which is caused by the tropical rains in the Abyssinian mountains, any large decrease in the quantity of water would produce a famine. Hengstenberg⁵ gives several instances of terrible famines in Egypt since the time of Mohamed, from several writers. Macrizi wrote a whole book on the famines of Egypt.

In Gen. xlvii, 22, it is said, "Only the land of the priests (הַכֹּהֲנִים, rightly rendered *priests*) bought he [Joseph] not [for Pharaoh]; for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their

¹Wilkinson, Manners, etc., vol. ii, p. 327.

²Ibid., etc.

³On, or Heliopolis, existed as early as B. C. 3000.

⁴Wilkinson, Manners, etc., vol. i, 307, 308.

⁵Die Bücher Moses und Egypten, 33-35.

lands." The priests of Egypt differed from those of the Hebrews in respect to possessions and privileges. "The priests," says Wilkinson,¹ "enjoyed great privileges. They were exempt from taxes; they consumed no part of their own income in any of their necessary expenses; and they had one of the three portions into which the land of Egypt was divided, free from all duties. They were provided for from the public stores, out of which they received a stated allowance of corn, and all the other necessaries of life." In chap. 1, 2, 3, mention is made of embalming Jacob, and in verse 26, of Joseph. This was a well-known custom of the Egyptians. It is one of the most certain facts of history that the Hebrews went down into Egypt, and, after a sojourn of many years there, left the country for Canaan. The history of Joseph gives the only explanation of an event that would be otherwise inexplicable—the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt. For the ancient Egyptians had an aversion to foreigners. "They prevented all strangers from penetrating into the interior." It was not till the sixth century before Christ that foreigners acquired much knowledge of Egyptian affairs.²

The exact knowledge of Egyptian affairs and of the language (Coptic) of the country possessed by the author of the Pentateuch cannot be explained by supposed commercial relations existing between Egypt and Palestine centuries after Moses. We have commercial relations with Europe and Asia, such as the Hebrew nation in the age of David, and even in that of Solomon, never had, and yet how ignorant we are of many of the customs of the Old World, notwithstanding the number of travellers and books of travels. A writer six or eight centuries after the time of Joseph, living in Palestine, would have been under the necessity of reproducing the condition of things in Egypt in the time of Joseph, and of learning the Coptic language. But there is nothing in the history of Joseph to indicate a made-up story, and the simplest explanation of the precise knowledge displayed is, that it was written by Moses, or originally by some one living in Egypt before his time.

In Exodus ii, 3, it is stated that the infant Moses was placed in an ark (or boat) of papyrus daubed with bitumen and pitch. The accuracy of the Pentateuch in its record of Egyptian usages. It was customary in Egypt to make boats of papyrus, and Wilkinson remarks: "Nor can there be any doubt that pitch was known in Egypt at that time [the time of Moses], since we find it on objects which have been preserved of the same early date."³ The Israelites during their bondage in

¹ See Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 319.

² Ibid., vol. ii, 231.

³ De Wette would thus explain it. *Einleitung*, p. 264.

⁴ Manners and Customs, vol. ii, 120.

Egypt are represented as making brick under hard taskmasters, who compelled them to furnish a fixed quantity of brick without giving them straw with which to make them (Exod. v, 6-9, etc).

Bricks were made in Egypt as early, at least, as three centuries before Moses, but most probably eight or ten centuries before him. They were made both with straw and without it, and were unburnt.¹ The manufacture of them was a monopoly of the government. "To meet with Hebrews in the sculptures," says Wilkinson, "cannot reasonably be expected, since the remains in that part of Egypt where they lived have not been preserved; but it is curious to discover other foreign captives occupied in the same manner, overlooked by similar 'taskmasters,' and performing the very same labours as the Israelites described in the Bible; and no one can look at the paintings of Thebes representing brickmakers without a feeling of the highest interest."²

We have already seen that the making of brick was a government monopoly, and this corresponds well with the statement in Exodus, that "Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick," etc. (chap. v, 6, 7).

In the description of the plagues of Egypt we find an accurate knowledge of the habits of that country. When the Nile was turned to blood, "the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river" (chap. vii, 24). At present, the inhabitants of Egypt use the water of the Nile, having filtered it. It is of an excellent quality. There is no doubt that it was used from the most ancient times, as there is no other source of supply.

In the plague of hail, "the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear and the flax was in flower. But the wheat and the rye (spelt) were not smitten, for they were late" (chap. ix, 31, 32). Wheat, barley, and flax were cultivated in Egypt from the earliest times; while Herodotus and Pliny speak of spelt as a product of the country. The Nile reaches the height of its inundation in the last of October. After this, wheat³ and barley are sown, the wheat requiring five months and the barley four for their growth and ripening, so that in the month of February, about which time

¹ Some Egyptian bricks containing *straw* we saw some years ago in Dr Abbott's collection.

² *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii, 195, 197.

³ When in Egypt, in December, 1869, the author observed in the first part of the month that the wheat had just appeared above the ground, while the barley was well advanced.

the plague of hail occurred, the barley was in the ear, but the wheat was late, or not grown up. The minute exactness of the statement shows that the writer was an eye-witness. For it would never have entered the mind of a writer centuries afterward to give such particulars—rather, it would have been impossible for him to do it.

In the description of the conflict between Moses, Aaron, and the magicians of Egypt, it is stated that when Aaron threw down his rod and it became a serpent, the magicians, having been sent for by Pharaoh, did in like manner with their enchantments, and cast down their rods, which became serpents, but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods (chap. vii, 11, 12). Likewise in the account of the first and the second plague it is added: "And the magicians did so with their enchantments." In the third plague, however, they failed to accomplish anything, and confessed in it the finger of God. It was not to be supposed that the priests of Egypt would yield to the superior power and authority of Moses, and lose their influence with the people, without a violent struggle. They possessed all the learning of Egypt, and it may well be supposed that both the "wise men" and "sorcerers" were priests; at least, that the sorcerers were in their employ. We are not to suppose that the magicians of Egypt possessed supernatural power, for it is said that they produced their effects through enchantments (or *secret, magical arts*), a species of legerdemain. If they had possessed supernatural power they might have produced lice as well as frogs.

Aaron and the Egyptian priests are represented as having rods. This was an Egyptian custom. "When walking from home, Egyptian gentlemen frequently carried sticks" (Wilkinson). Northwest of Egypt, in Cyrenaica, there lived in ancient times the Psylli, a people celebrated as serpent-charmers (Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. 7, 2, 2). Persons of similar skill have been found in modern Egypt.¹ Hasselquist states that the serpent-charmers of Egypt asserted that they *could turn a serpent into a stick, and compel it to lie as dead.*² This throws light on one of the feats of the magicians.

Before considering the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, it becomes proper to discuss the vexed question of their great increase in Egypt. The number of their males was about six hundred thousand (Exod. xii, 37). If this number was not repeated, and if we had not the number of each tribe,³ and the sum total afterwards given as six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty, we

The question of the great increase of the Israelites in Egypt considered.

¹ See Lane's Modern Egyptians.

² In Hengstenberg's Die Bücher Moses und Egyptianen.

³ See Num. i-iv.

might suppose that the text¹ had been corrupted. But with the facts before us, it is difficult to see how the numbers are to be rejected.

In considering the question, two points are first to be determined: the number of Israelites who went with Jacob down into Egypt, and the duration of the sojourn there. In Genesis xlii we have a list embracing those who came with Jacob into Egypt, bearing every indication of being the original family register from which the subsequent lists are in part taken. It is evident that this table was not made up in a post-Mosaic age to give the names of the heads of families that had become distinguished, since some persons in the list are never mentioned afterward, most probably because they left no families.

Objections have, indeed, been made to this genealogical record, and to the statements it gives respecting the descendants of Jacob who came with him into Egypt. It is said that "the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives" (ver. 5), into Egypt. "His sons and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed, brought he with him into Egypt" (ver. 7). An enumeration is given of these descendants, and it is added: "All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; and the sons of Joseph, which were born to him in Egypt, were two souls; all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten" (verses 26-27).

Objections to the list of Jacob's family.

There are several persons in this list who must have been born *after* Jacob entered Egypt, and there is nothing surprising in the statement that *they came thither with Jacob*, though not born till some years afterward, when we reflect that Joseph's two sons, though stated by the historian to *have been born there*, yet are said to *have come with Jacob into Egypt*. It is evident that Hezron and Hamul, sons of Pharez, were born there, and also that several sons of Benjamin were born after Jacob went down into Egypt. For Benjamin at that time was only about *twenty-two* or *twenty-three* years old, and *ten* sons are given him (ver. 21). It is utterly incredible that Benjamin at that time of life should have had so many sons, almost as many as his father had in his whole life by all his wives! Four sons are attributed to Reuben in the genealogy (ver. 9). It is probable

¹ Both the Samaritan text and the Septuagint agree with the number about 600,000 (Exodus xii, 37).

² Colenso, to make out his point, says that Benjamin was more than twenty-two years old at that time, according to the story. "It is, therefore, quite possible," says he, "that he may have had ten sons, perhaps by several wives."

that two of these were born in Egypt; for about a year before he came thither, or even less, he had but two, since he says after the first sending of the sons of Jacob into Egypt for corn: "Slay my two sons" (Gen. xlii, 37); if he had had more at that time he would have named them. It is stated (chap. xlii, 12) that Er and Onan, sons of Judah, died in the land of Canaan, and it would seem that Hezron and Hamul, his grandsons, are substituted for them in the genealogical list.

The statement of the historian that the sons of Jacob brought their *little ones* (נַפְלָוִת, *little children*, boys and girls, Gesenius) and wives into Egypt, shows that the grandchildren of Jacob were *little children*, and that the historian knew well the ages of the sons of Jacob, their family affairs, and that several in his account, though said to have come into Egypt with Jacob, were really born in Egypt. Quite similar is the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Levi paid tithes in Abraham to Melchizedek, for he was in the loins of Abraham when the patriarch met that distinguished priest. (Heb vii, 9, 10).

In like manner we could say of a family of French *descent* that *they* came from France. In the Hebrew mind the idea of the son existing in the father was deeply rooted. Jacob lived seventeen years after his arrival in Egypt, and it is very probable that the genealogical list gives the family history down to his death. It is evident that the historian aimed to give the round number seventy, which seems to have been sacred among the Hebrews,¹ and also to show from what a small number the Israelites had grown to be so great a nation; as it is said in Deut. x, 22: "Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons; and now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude." To this number seventy, the wives of the sons of Jacob are to be added; perhaps, also, other women. It is not unlikely that there were slaves in the household of Jacob, as we find that Abraham had three hundred and eighteen in his (Gen. xiv, 14); so that it is impossible to fix the whole number of the household of Jacob, though it must have numbered one or two hundred.

Respecting the length of the abode of the Israelites in Egypt, God declares to Abraham: "Thy seed shall be a stranger in ^{Length of the} ~~stay in Egypt.~~ a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards shall they come out with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace;

¹Hence Gesenius remarks: "שְׁבַעִים, *seventy*, often as a larger round number Gen. \ 3; Exod. xv, 27; xxiv. 1; Num. xi, 16," etc.

thou shalt be buried in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again." (Gen. xv, 13-16). If this language does not refer to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and state that that sojourn should last four hundred years (expressed prophetically in round numbers), it is difficult to say what language would refer to it. And this does not include the time that the patriarchs dwelt in Canaan, for the declaration is made in reference to *the seed of Abraham*, while he himself was to go to his fathers in peace. His seed was to dwell in a land not their own, not Canaan surely, which had been already promised to Abraham, but in the *fourth* generation they were to come thither again (to Canaan). The *fourth* generation, standing in close connexion with the *four hundred years*,¹ denotes the same period of time. Gesenius remarks on the word דור, *a generation*: "In the times of the patriarchs it was reckoned at a hundred years" (Heb. Lex). So also Fürst (Heb. Lex).

In Exodus xii, 40, the length of the abode in Egypt, as being historical, is fixed with exactness: "Now the sojourn of the children of Israel, which they sojourned² in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." The Samaritan Pentateuch reads: "The sojourn of the children of Israel and of their fathers, which they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." The Septuagint has the following: "The sojourn of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was four hundred and thirty years." But the addition, "in the land of Canaan," is utterly inconsistent with the *four hundred years* during which the Israelites were to dwell in Egypt (Gen. xv, 13), which number both the Samaritan and Greek Pentateuch contain, in agreement with the Jewish. This period, then, of four hundred and thirty years rests upon strong grounds, and is a refutation of all the inferences and absurdities that Colenso draws from the short sojourn of two hundred and fifteen years.³

The only difficulty in connexion with this period of four hundred and thirty years is found in the fact that Moses and Aaron appear

¹ This number, *four hundred years*, is found in the Jewish, Samaritan and Greek Pentateuch of the LXX, the Targum of Onkelos, and in the Peshito Syriac.

² We have somewhat departed from the English version in this passage. "The sojourn which they sojourned" is the force of the passage confirmed by the LXX, Peshito-Syriac, and the Vulgate.

³ St. Paul (Gal. iii, 17), speaking of the covenant that God made with Abraham, says that "the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul" it. But this period is incidentally mentioned, and the *number* of years taken from the LXX used by Paul's readers forms no part of the argument. If St. Paul had been questioned on the subject he would doubtless have answered that *he had no revelation on chronology*.

to be the great-grandsons of Levi, and it would be difficult to make four generations extend over four hundred and thirty years. But it is highly probable that several generations between Levi and Moses and Aaron have been omitted. It is well known that Matthew, in his genealogy of our Lord, omits several generations. In chapter i, 8, he says: "Joram begat Ozias" (Uzziah), while in fact there were three kings between these two; the order being, Joram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah (Ozias). In verse 11 he omits Jehoiakim after Josiah. In 1 Chron. xxvi, 24, in reference to the regulations of King David, it is said: "Shebuel, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, was ruler of the treasures." Here we have about a dozen generations omitted between Shebuel and Gershom. Likewise in Ezra vii, 1-5, we have six generations omitted between Meraioth and Azariah, which are found in 1 Chron. vi, 6-9.

From Nahshon (mentioned Num. i, 7) to David (1 Chron. ii, 11-15) there are five generations, running through a period of about four hundred years. Now it is highly probable—we might say certain—that several generations have been omitted, as there would be about eighty years to a generation if this were not the case. That several generations have been omitted is rendered quite certain from the fact that from Aaron to Zadok, who was priest in the time of David, there were *ten* generations (1 Chron. vi, 3-11), *twice* as many as are given from Nahshon (in the time of Moses) to David. That several generations have been omitted between Levi and Moses and Aaron appears exceedingly probable from the fact that, according to 1 Chron. ii, 18-20, Bezaleel, a contemporary with Moses, mentioned Exod. xxxi, 2, was the *seventh* generation from Jacob; and from 1 Chron. vii, 20-27, it would seem that there were *eleven* generations from Jacob to Joshua. If, then, in one case we find *seven*, and in another case *eleven*, generations, extending to the time of Moses, it is difficult to think that Moses is only the *fourth* generation from Jacob.

It is also evident from Num. iii, 19, 27, 28, that there must have been several generations that have been omitted between Kohath and Moses. For in the first of these passages it is said that the sons of Kohath were Amram, Izehar, Hebron, and Uzziel; and in the other two that these sons gave the family names of Amramites, Izeharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites, and that the number of their males from a month old and upward was eight thousand and six hundred. If no links are omitted in the genealogy, then the male descendants of the grandfather of Moses in the lifetime of the latter reached this great number of eight thousand six hundred, which is utterly in

credible, and would make the whole number of descendants seventeen or eighteen thousand. The historian could never have been guilty of such an absurdity as this. Here the question arises, Between what names do the omitted generations occur? As Kohath has such a large number of descendants, the omitted generations must be placed between him and Moses; and as it is said that Amram married Jochebed, his father's sister, daughter of Levi, born to him in Egypt (Num. xxvi, 59), we are compelled to interpolate the missing links between Amram and Moses. Nor does the statement that Jochebed bare to Amram Aaron and Moses negative it, for it is said in Genesis xlvii, 15, "These be the sons of Leah *which she bare to Jacob*," thirty-three, of whom *only six* were her own sons, and the rest were her grandchildren and great grandchildren. In the same way Matthew says, "Joram begat Ozias," although there were three generations intervening, so that in fact Ozias (Uzziah) was Joram's great-great-grandson.

Allowing an abode of four hundred and thirty years in fertile Egypt, there is no difficulty in the biblical statement that the adult males of the Hebrews amounted to about six hundred thousand. Population doubles every twenty-five years where there are no obstructions to its natural increase. On the supposition that the *whole* family of Jacob that went into Egypt consisted of only eighty-two persons, the lowest estimate, we should have at the end of four hundred and thirty years a population of more than twelve millions. But if we suppose the number eighty-two represents the number of the household of Jacob at his death, we should have more than seven millions as the number of the Israelites at the time of the exodus.¹ But if the abode in Egypt lasted but two hundred and fifteen years, and if at the beginning of this period there were but eighty-two persons, the whole number of the Israelites at the exodus would be only thirty-one or thirty-two thousand.² And to reach the sum of two millions, it was necessary that they should have numbered more than five thousand when they went down into Egypt.³ Although population may for a considerable length of time double itself every twenty-five years, yet it soon meets with checks that greatly retard it, so that it is impossible to reach sure results.

Respecting the large numbers that left Egypt, about two millions

¹ On the supposition that population doubles every twenty-five years, we should have the following formula for the whole number of Israelites at the end of 430 years, by dividing 430 by 25=17.2=the number of times the population would double. $82 \times 2^{17.2} = 12,346,084$. But if we count from the death of Jacob we shall have for the whole number, $82 \times 2^{12.25} = 7,706,032$.

² $215 \div 25 = 8.6$; $82 \times 2^{8.6} = 31,773$.

³ $2,000,000 \div 2^{8.6} = 5,161$.

of souls, Rawlinson remarks: "They seem required by the general tenor of the whole narrative, especially by the great unwillingness of the Egyptians to let the people go, and by their power within little more than a generation to conquer and occupy Canaan. In Germany the best critics, including so subtle and little credulous a writer as Ewald, accept them."¹

Respecting the great number of Israelites that left Egypt *at once*, Professor Rawlinson well remarks: "It is certain migrations of tribes quite as large as that of Israel is said to have been, have from time to time taken place in the East, and, indeed, in the West also. Such migrations have frequently been sudden. The emigrants have started off with their women, children, and all their possessions, on a certain day; they have traversed enormous distances, much greater than the Israelites traversed, and have finally settled themselves in new abodes." He gives a striking instance of this.²

When the Israelites were about to leave Egypt, Moses, in accordance with a divine direction, ordered the Israelites *to ask* of the Egyptians jewels of gold, jewels of silver, and raiment, and they did so. "And Jehovah gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, and they *gave* these things unto them." In this passage we have departed from the English version, but in so doing we have better expressed the force of the Hebrew; the verb *שאל*, *to ask* (rendered *to borrow* by our translators), is very often used in the Hebrew Bible, but rarely ever in the sense *to borrow*. The *Hiphil* conjugation, *השאל*, *to let ask*, properly *to offer willingly* (Fürst, Heb. Lex.), is translated *to lend* in our version without any sufficient authority. This *Hiphil* form occurs but twice in the Hebrew Bible—in 1 Sam. i, 28 and in Exod. xii, 36. In the former passage it has the sense of *given freely*, without any expectation of return; for Hannah says respecting Samuel, "I have given him to Jehovah all his days." Here the meaning "lent" would be improper. After the death of their firstborn the Egyptians were exceedingly anxious to get rid of the Israelites, and would cheerfully *give* them almost any thing to effect this. "And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men" (Exod. xii, 33).

Here the question arises, Did the Egyptians expect the Israelites

¹ In Modern Skepticism, p. 276.

² "It was on the 5th day of January, 1771, the *day* appointed by the high priests, that Oubacha began his march with *seventy thousand families*. Most of the hordes were there assembled in the steppes, on the left bank of the Volga, and *the whole multitude followed him*."—Hommage de Hell. Travels, p. 227, E. T. in Modern Skepticism.

to return to Egypt? We cannot answer this with certainty; but it is very probable that they became ultimately convinced that the Israelites intended no return, and hence Pharaoh's obstinate refusal to let them go. Certainly Moses did not promise Pharaoh that they would return. It is evident, if the Egyptians did not expect the Israelites to return, that there could have been no *lending* to the Hebrews by them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY CONTAINED IN THE PENTATEUCH—CONCLUSION.

THE passover of the Jews, instituted just before the Israelites left Egypt, in commemoration of the death of the firstborn of the Egyptians and the passing over—the preservation of—the firstborn sons of Israel, is a striking proof of the truth of the events it commemorates. It was ordered: "This day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to Jehovah throughout your generations: ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever" (Exod. xii, 14). We accordingly find the passover was kept on the fourteenth of the first month of the second year after the Israelites left Egypt (Num. ix, 5); and when Joshua entered Canaan he kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month (Josh. v, 10); and there is no doubt that the yearly festival kept at Shiloh was the passover (Judges xxi, 19). When King Josiah introduced important reforms in Judah and in a part of Samaria, he kept the feast of the passover on a magnificent scale, and it is said, "Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah" (2 Kings xxiii, 22). This language implies that the passover had been kept in the days of the judges and in those of the kings.¹ In commemoration of the preservation of the firstborn of the sons of Israel, all the firstborn males

Internal credibility of the history of the institution of the passover.

¹ Colenso absurdly derives the passover from the Canaanitish custom of making their sons "pass over" to Moloch or Baal, the Sun-god; and thus the Hebrew historian has given a wrong origin to the festival in ascribing it to Jehovah's passing over the firstborn of Israel. He supposes this festival was kept, after the example of the tribes of Canaan, with human as well as animal sacrifices. But we have not a particle of proof that the Canaanites had any great spring festival of the kind. He utterly confounds two entirely different words, פָּסַח, *pasach*, *to pass over*, and פָּעַח, *pe'ach*, *to make pass over, to offer* (to Moloch, for example). Colenso's *The Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone*.

of whatever kind were given to Jehovah, but the firstborn ass was to be redeemed with a lamb, or its neck was to be broken. The firstborn of men were to be redeemed (Exod. xiii, 12, 13).

If we suppose that the feast of the passover was originated ages after Moses, along with the book of Exodus, there would be the insuperable difficulty of its being stated that Moses had instituted the festival at the time of the exodus, and that he had expressly enjoined upon the Israelites its annual observance. But how could a nation be made to believe that they had kept such an observance from the days of Moses, when they had never heard of it before? But if we are to suppose that the festival had been kept by the Israelites from the earliest ages, it must have been for certain reasons. How, in that case, could a new history make them believe that it was for a purpose entirely different from what they for ages had supposed?

It is generally conceded that the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt, was between the eastern branch of the Nile, the Pelusiac, and the Red Sea. The LXX, which is of considerable authority in Egyptian localities, renders Goshen by "Gesem in Arabia" (Gen. xlv, 34). At the time of Christ, the Greeks called that part of Egypt between the eastern branch of the Nile and the Red Sea, Arabia. According to Gen. xiii, 17, Goshen was near the Philistines. As to the route¹ of the Israelites, all that we can maintain with any certainty is, that they left Rameses (a locality that is not identified) in Goshen, thirty or forty miles west of Etham, on the borders of the desert, and that they crossed the upper end of the Red Sea above Ghebel Attaka, probably not far from Suez, and that they then most likely encamped by the *Wells of Moses*² (Ayûn Mousa),—probably so called from this circumstance—situated in the desert five or six miles south-east of Suez. After

¹ Some find a difficulty in Exodus xiii, 18, where, according to the English version, "the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt." Colenso contends that מִקְלָשִׁים, rendered "harnessed," properly means "armed," and that it is absurd to suppose that, if six hundred thousand Hebrews had been armed, they would have been thrown into a panic at the sight of Pharaoh's army. The ancient versions generally render מִקְלָשִׁים *armed*. Gesenius gives it *fierce, active, eager, brave* in battle; and, indeed, the word is used in the sense *ready for battle, drawn up in line*, in several instances. It seems best to render the passage, "The children of Israel, *drawn up in regular order* (as if for battle), went up out of the land of Egypt." As they fought with the Amalekites within two months after leaving Egypt, it is evident that they had at that time already obtained arms from some source.

² Their first encampment after leaving Rameses was Succoth (Exod. xii, 37; Num. xxxiii, 5), which was excavated early in 1883 and identified by M. Naville. The names Pithom and Succoth (*Pitum* and *Thukul*) are found in combination on the monuments of the place. It is situated about ten miles west of Lake Timsah, near the Roman Heroöpolis, and was evidently a store city, built by Israelites (Exod. i, 11).

this "they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water" (Exod. xv, 22). With the exception of the Wells of Moses, the country east of the Red Sea for many miles is a sandy desert. Professor Palmer remarks on the passage just quoted from Exodus, "I doubt if a more suggestive description could possibly be given of this monotonous, waterless waste, the only impressive feature of which is the long *shur*, or 'wall,' which forms its northern limit."

"The difficulty of providing water for the cattle by which they were accompanied has proved a great stumbling-block to many; but this Mr. Holland has considerably lessened by a novel and ingenious suggestion. He believes that, instead of being an incumbrance to the movements of the host, the cattle were used as beasts of burden; and that, in addition to the camp furniture, each carried its own supply of water, sufficient for several days, in water-skins slung at its sides, precisely as Sir Samuel Baker found them doing at the present day in Abyssinia."¹ "And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter." On this Professor Palmer remarks: "Now the soil throughout this part of the country being strongly impregnated with *natrân* [native carbonate of soda, the *nitre* of the Bible], produces none but brackish water; and it is worth observing that the first of these springs with which we meet, 'Ain Hawwárah, is reached on the third day of our desert journey to Suez."

They next "came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees." "Here, again," says Palmer, "our own experience accords with that of the Israelites, for our next station is in Wády Gharandel, which contains a considerable amount of vegetation, palm-trees in great numbers among the rest, and a perennial stream." "And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea" (Num. xxxiii, 10). As the Israelites had wagons and a great deal of baggage, there was but one route to the sea that was practicable, by Wády Taiyebah, from which "the coast is open and passable; and, moreover, the mouth of the valley affords a fine clear space for their encampment by the sea," as Palmer clearly shows; and "the wilderness of Sin will be the narrow strip of desert which fringes the coast south of Wády Taiyebah."

According to Palmer, the only practicable route from the encampment at the Red Sea to Mount Sinai was at that time ^{Palmer's location of route from the Red Sea.} by Wády Feirán, in which he locates Rephidim. "If," says he, "we read the verse, (Exodus xix, 12), 'and they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of

¹ The Desert of the Exodus, p. 225.

Sinai,' as implying a break in the march between Rephidim and the Mount of the Law, we shall find that the natural route from Egypt to Sinai accords exactly with the simple and concise account given in the Bible of the exodus of the chosen people."

"In these conclusions all the members of the expedition are agreed. Mr. Holland, it is true, dissents upon one point, the position of Rephidim. . . . In the main facts of the routes, however, and in the identification of Jebel Músa with Mount Sinai, our investigations have led us to form one unanimous opinion.

"We are thus able not only to trace out a route by which the children of Israel could have journeyed, but also to show its identity with that so concisely but graphically laid down in the Pentateuch. We have seen, moreover, that it leads to a mountain answering in every respect to the description of the Mountain of the Law. The chain of topographical evidence is complete."

Professor Palmer identifies Rás Susáfeh, the magnificent bluff at the north end of Jebel Músa, as the Mount of the Law. This bluff fronts the great plain Er Ráhah, and commands a view of its entire extent. The plain, according to the measurements of Captain Palmer, made on the spot, is large enough to accommodate two millions of human beings, allowing about a square yard to each one.¹ He found, also, numerous traditions among the Arabs of the Sinaitic Peninsula respecting Moses and the other Israelites. The alleged barrenness of the Arabian peninsula has been made an objection to the history of the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert. But, apart from the divine power that supported them in a miraculous way, Palmer has found many indications that the peninsula was once far more fertile than it is now.

The next station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai was Kibroth-hattaavah, the graves of those that lusted. Palmer identifies this station with a place called by the Arabs Erweis el Ebeirig, "covered with small inclosures of stones. These are evidently the remains of a large encampment, but they differ essentially in their arrangement from any others which I have seen in Sinai or elsewhere in Arabia. . . . The remains extend for miles around, and on examining them more carefully during a second visit to the Peninsula, with Mr. Drake, we found our first impression fully confirmed, and collected abundant proofs that it was in reality a deserted camp. The small stones which formerly served, as they do in the present day, for hearths, in many places still showed signs of the action of fire, and on digging beneath the surface we found pieces of charcoal in great abundance. Here and

The next station after Sinai identified.

¹ Desert of the Exodus, p. 228.

² Ibid., pp. 99, 102.

there were larger inclosures marking the encampment of some person more important than the rest, and just outside the camp were a number of stone heaps, which, from their shape and position, could be nothing else but graves. The site is a most commanding one, and admirably suited for the assembling of a large concourse of people.

"Arab tradition declares these curious remains to be 'the relics of a large Pilgrim or Hajj caravan, who in remote ages pitched their tents at this spot on their way to 'Ain Hudherah, and who were soon afterward lost in the desert of the Tih, and never heard of again. For various reasons I am inclined to believe that this legend is authentic, that it refers to the Israelites, and that we have in the scattered stones of Erweis el Ebeirig real traces of the exodus.'"¹

The next encampment was Hazeroth, which Palmer evidently identifies with 'Ain Hudherah, one day's journey from the place identified as Kibroth-hattaavah. The subsequent stations, for the most part, have not yet been identified. "As the piece of country," says Professor Palmer, "north-east of 'Ain Hudherah and south-west of the 'Azázimeh mountains did not fall within our line of march, I cannot speak with certainty as to the identification of individual stations; but I have no doubt whatever as to the general direction of the Israelites' journey, and believe that all, or at least a great portion, of the unidentified names may be recovered in that district. Among them we notice Rissah, Haradah, Tahath, which correspond in etymology with Rasa, 'Arabeh, and Elt'hí. . . . Heshmonah, again, is undoubtedly identical with Heshmon."² Ezion-geber was at the head of the Elanitic gulf. The wilderness of Zin, Palmer locates in the south-east corner of the desert Et Tih; Kadesh he identifies with 'Ain Gadis; and thinks that the name was applied to the whole adjacent region.

In Numbers xxii-xxiv we have an account of Balaam and Balak, and their sacrifices to procure a curse upon Israel, in which there is shown an accurate knowledge of the topography of the land of Moab. On this narrative Dr. Tristram remarks: "Balak met the prophet at the banks of the Arnon, the frontier of his kingdom (Num. xxii, 36). He then takes him to Kirjath-huzoth, 'the city of streets' (ver. 39), probably Kiriathaim, and its high place, the top of Attarus, with its commanding prospect. This is the first conspicuous eminence north of the Arnon. Then, proceeding northward, the next day he brings him on to the high places of Baul (ver. 41), or Bamoth Baal—probably Baal-meon, evidently, from its name, sacred to Baal, which was changed by the Reubenites into Beth-meon (Num. xxvii, 38). This was the second

Probability of
identifying the
other stations.

Topography of
Moab correctly
given in the sto-
ry of Balaam.

¹ Desert of the Exodus, pp. 212, 213.

² Ibid., p. 419.

position whence he had a commanding view of the future country of Israel. Afterward they proceeded to Pisgah, or Nebo (chap. xxiii, 14); and, finally, to the top of Peor, facing Jeshimon—i. e., the ridge north of Nebo and due west of Heshbon—where there is a group of ruins. Thus, with every reasonable probability, we have the identification of the four sacrificial stations of Balak and Balaam."¹

Without giving any more particulars, we may remark that the Pentateuch displays an accuracy of topography which could have been obtained only from a *personal* acquaintance on the part of the historian with the regions of the Exodus—such an acquaintance as the Hebrew lawgiver possessed. In the ages subsequent to Moses, who among the Israelites was intimately acquainted with all the localities of the Arabian peninsula from the north end of the Red Sea to the mountains of Moab? Does not the topographical exactness of the Anabasis establish it as an accurate historical work, and prove that its author must have accompanied the expedition of the younger Cyrus? Certainly the geographical knowledge displayed in the exodus of the Israelites shows that it is veritable history.

Near the close of the wandering of the Israelites, while they dwelt in the land of Shittim, we find that "the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab. And they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods: and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods" (Num. xxv, 1, 2). On account of these crimes the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, followed by a plague in which twenty-four thousand perished, and the order was given to the judges to slay all the men who were joined to Baal-peor. As a punishment for the seduction of Israel, Jehovah commanded Moses to take vengeance on the Midianites. He accordingly warred on the Midianites, and slew all their males, and at the command of Moses all the women that had a carnal knowledge of men, and also the male children. This was undoubtedly a severe sentence.² The Midianites, however, were not exterminated, as they became powerful enough afterward to greatly afflict the Israelites. The victory over the Midianites was gained without the loss of a single man among the Israelites (Num. xxxi, 49), evidently through the providence of God, though Tacitus speaks of the capture, by the Romans, of a fortified position in Armenia in which all the men were slain, while the Romans lost not a single man, and had very few wounded.³ Strabo also informs us

¹ Land of Moab, pp. 318, 319.

² This belongs to the general subject of the extermination of the Canaanites, which will be hereafter considered.

³ Annals, xiii, 39.

Topography of
the Pentateuch
accurate.

Some of Bishop
Colenso's ob-
jections con-
sidered.

that in an invasion of Arabia by the Romans, in a pitched battle, the latter slew about ten thousand Arabs, while they themselves lost but two men. He attributes the great disparity in loss to the unskillful use of arms on the part of the Arabs.¹ Had Colenso known these historical facts he could scarcely have said that the biblical statement, that not a man was lost in the conflict with the Midianites, is "in utter defiance of reason and common sense,"² even on his theory that no divine protection was afforded the Israelites. He calculates, from the number of captured virgins, that the Israelites must have slain in battle eighty-eight thousand warriors—a most unsafe estimate, as it is most likely many of the Midianite men escaped while the women were captured.

Colenso has raised several questions respecting this history which we have not yet touched. In Exodus xvi, 16, in regard to the gathering of the manna, it is commanded, "Take ye every man for them which are in his tents."³ Other objections made by Colenso.

From this he infers that the historian teaches that the Israelites in the deserts had tents, and he calculates that two hundred thousand tents would have been required to accommodate them; but he is utterly at a loss to conceive where the Israelites could have obtained the tents, or how they could have transported them. The statement that the Israelites dwelt in booths he rejects as untrue. The feast of tabernacles, or of booths, is enjoined in Leviticus xxiii, and it is stated, "That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. xxiii, 43). It is also enjoined in Deut. xvi, 13, and is referred to in Zech. xiv, 16; Neh. viii, 14-17.

But the expression, "Take ye every man for them which are in his tent" (Exod. xvi, 16), does not prove that the children of Israel generally had tents, for the Hebrew word בֵּית, rendered *tent*, also means *dwelling, habitation, people, race, family* (see Gesenius and Fürst); so the passage means that the manna was to be taken to the *dwelling* of each, whether a *tent* or a *booth*. The children of Israel may have brought a considerable number of tents with them from Egypt, or have made them soon afterward. As they were a pastoral people, it is not likely that they were destitute of tents.

Colenso finds great difficulty in the statement that "Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, . . . gather thou all the congregation together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And Moses did as Jehovah commanded him; and the assembly was gathered together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation" (Lev. viii, 1-4).

¹ Lib. xvi, 781, 782.

² Lecture xvi, 218.

Here Moses is ordered to collect the whole assembly of Israel at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to be present at the consecration of Aaron and his sons. It was proper to extend this invitation or command to the whole assembly, though it seems there was no penalty for not complying with it, and most likely it was not expected that all, or even one fourth part, would appear. Nor is it said that the *whole* congregation did so appear, but simply that *the assembly* was collected at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. The command or invitation was to be carried out as far as possible. How often do we find in our day notices of important meetings to be held *in* a church which will scarcely accommodate a thousand persons, where the public, consisting of many tens of thousands, are invited to attend. The apostles were commanded by our Saviour to go into *all the world* and preach the Gospel to *every creature*, which was absolutely impossible, for they could not reach the one hundredth part of mankind. They were to execute the command as far as possible.

It is stated in the Gospel of Mark (i, 33), "*all* the city was gathered together at the door." But how was this possible? Parallel expressions from the gospels and Demosthenes. In the Gospel of Matthew it is said that there went out to John the Baptist "Jerusalem, and *all* Judea, and *all* the region round about Jordan." But, notwithstanding this language, it is not probable that *one tenth* of the people really went out to John. The effect produced by our Saviour's raising Lazarus from the dead called forth the remark of the Pharisees: "Behold, the world is gone after him" (John xii, 19). Now, to say nothing about the meaning "universe," which *κόσμος* had among the Greek philosophers, how few, comparatively, among men had gone after Christ! But take a single example from a profane author. Demosthenes,¹ speaking of the times of Philip of Macedon, remarks: "The whole world (*πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*) was full of traitors," meaning the principal portions of Greece only.

So much for the absurdity which Colenso finds in the statements of the Pentateuch respecting the assembling of the congregation at the door of the tabernacle.

In Deut. i, 1, it is stated: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel;" and in ch. v, 1, "And Moses called all Israel and said unto them." Here Colenso finds an absurdity, in supposing that the voice of Moses could reach all Israel; and we confess that if the statement had been that it reached *every one* of the children of Israel—so numerous were they—the declaration would have been incredible without supposing a miracle. What Moses said

¹ De Corona, sec. 48.

as addressed to all Israel, whether they could hear him or not, and those who could not hear could easily learn from others who did; and Moses wrote it down for all.

In the command given to the priest respecting the burning of the sacrifice without the camp, Colenso finds another absurdity: "Even the whole bullock shall he [the priest] carry forth without the camp unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out, and burn him on the wood with fire" (Lev. iv, 12). Judging from the size of the camp, Colenso infers that "the ofal of these sacrifices would have had to be carried by Aaron himself, or one of his sons, a distance of six miles." There is no need to suppose, as he does, that the priest had to carry the ofal on his back, or that he carried it at all. The Hebrew word *וְהוֹצִיָּהוּ* means *he (the priest) shall send forth, or cause to go forth*. We have no good reason for supposing either that the priest himself carried out the ofal, or that it had to be carried six miles. We do not know how far the tabernacle was pitched from the border of the camp.

Equally absurd—rather more so—are the remarks of Colenso respecting the distance to which the Israelites would have been compelled to go to attend to the necessities of nature (Deut. xxiii, 12-14), for the camp to which reference is here made was *but a part of the host* of Israel. For it is said when the host, *כְּחֵנֶה*, a single camp (not all the hosts, camps), goes forth. The whole regulation has reference to the Israelites when they shall have entered the land of Canaan; and we find a full account of the rules of war in Deut. xx, which no one can read without seeing that it refers to the Israelites when they shall have settled in that land.

There is one peculiarity of Colenso which must be noticed. Whenever any subject admits of different views or explanations, the one which creates a difficulty or absurdity is almost invariably adopted by him. No other document of either the ancient or modern world would be treated in the same way.

If the Pentateuch was written by Moses, or even by one of his contemporaries, the truth of the history in the last four books follows as a natural consequence; and this consideration furnishes a ground of objection to its being contemporary history in the eyes of those whose philosophic system admits of nothing supernatural. Hence De Wette remarks: "If it is at least doubtful to the thinking intellect that such miracles really occurred, the question arises whether they did not so appear to the eye-witnesses and participants of the history, or were supposed by the reporters to have occurred in a

The opinion of De Wette as to the miraculous features of the Pentateuch considered.

natural way, but set forth in a poetic-miraculous light? But this must be denied as soon as the narratives are carefully considered. For there is wholly wanting in them that credulous, poetic frame of mind which would contain the key to the miraculous."¹ He further observes: "It would be rash to conclude that these narratives of miracles were absolute inventions. There lies at the bottom of them a genuine historical tradition, which, united to certain signs, and borne in the songs of the people, was transmitted orally. An ideal poetical element blends itself with the real historical in the traditions of the people, by which the tradition is gradually transformed into the miraculous and the ideal. To effect this the songs of the people especially contribute, which, in the bold lyric flight of the imagination, represent in a supernatural light that which was naturally worthy of astonishment and wonder, and these representations are easily misunderstood by a people believing in miracles."² If this statement of De Wette were correct, it would be strange that the Mosaic history, with the exception of a few songs, is uniformly prose. If it had been preserved as poetry, why should it not have been written down as such, and so continued, like the historical Psalms?³ But the largest portion of the Mosaic history could, from its very nature, never have had a poetic form. If poetry had exaggerated the original natural history, it is singular that an historian should have been so ignorant of poetic usage and license as to take its exaggerations for sober fact.

A great portion of the miraculous history of the Pentateuch is sober truth or it is deliberate falsehood. Of this character are the plagues of Egypt, especially the death of the firstborn of the Egyptians, which are real history and supernatural, or they are fiction.

Colenso, in his view of miracles, goes beyond even De Wette.

Colenso's general objection to the miracles of the Pentateuch. "The order," says he, "of this wondrous universe, so manifold, so diverse, yet all tending to unity, to one great central Cause, a miracle, if really witnessed, would be like a jarring discord in the midst of a mighty music

—not a sign of the master-musician's presence, but a token that for once he had failed to subdue the rebellious elements—would, in short, be simply frightful."⁴ What shall we say to a miracle's being "a jarring discord in the midst of a mighty music?" Is this world nothing but harmonious music? What shall we say of earthquakes burying whole cities with thousands of human beings; of inundations laying waste vast tracts, and destroying human life; of famines, pes-

¹ Schrader's *De Wette's Einleitung*, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 259. ³ Psalm lxxviii, for example.

⁴ *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, etc., p. 369. London, 1873.

silences, tornadoes, sweeping away houses, and sending ships with their precious freight beneath the waves of the deep? Is all this music in the ears and harmony to the eyes of Colenso? To these discordant and destructive forces add the passions of men, exhibited in horrible wars and devastations. In the midst of such a world as this, is an extraordinary display of omnipotent power in punishing the wicked and delivering the good—the manifestation of the divine power and Godhead, the revelation of Jehovah to man, a great light in the midst of moral darkness—is all this nothing but a jarring discord? In the midst of the wrongs and the darkness of the world, who has not felt as did Isaiah, and prayed, "Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down?"

Colenso seems to have but little faith in the miracles of Christ, "whose doings, however," says he, "we now see but indistinctly through the mists of those many years which had elapsed between the time when Jesus lived on earth and the time when those narratives were written."¹ In this course he is consistent, for a rejection of the Pentateuch, with the divine authority of the Jewish religion, must necessarily lead to the rejection of the authority of the Gospels—though Colenso professes to believe in Christ as the Saviour of men. If the Christian religion was founded in miracles (and Christ was the greatest of all miracles), is it not reasonable to suppose that Judaism, its foundation, was also established by miracles?

The only way in which the supernatural in the Bible can, with any show of reason, be rejected, is by ignoring a personal God in nature, and reducing the whole universe to a system of blind forces. If God has acted in creation, if man is his workmanship, revelation and redemption are highly credible. In fact, creation is a miracle; life is a perpetual miracle. Struggle as we may, we can never get rid of the supernatural, without a belief in which all religion is impossible.² If there is anywhere in the Bible a single prophecy, or a single miracle, then the chain of purely natural causes is at once broken, and the whole series of biblical prophecies and miracles becomes credible. The history of aerolites furnishes a remarkable proof of the danger of rejecting

¹ Lectures on the Pentateuch, p. 376. 1873.

² John Stuart Mill takes decided ground against Hume's famous argument upon miracles: "All, therefore, which Hume has made out—and this he must be considered to have made out—is, that no evidence can be sufficient to prove a miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence of a being or beings with supernatural power, or who believed himself to have full proof that the character of the Being whom he recognizes is inconsistent with his having seen fit to interfere on the occasion in question."—*Logic*, p. 376.

well-authenticated facts merely because they do not coincide with our own experience. Writers in all ages had mentioned instances of the fall of meteoric stones from the heavens, but down till the beginning of this century all these accounts were treated as fables, as the tales of the ignorant and the superstitious.¹ An *a priori* judgment that stones do not fall upon the earth misled the whole scientific world till a shower of stones fell at L'Aigle, in Normandy, in 1803. It was not testimony that misled the scientists, but a *prejudice against the facts to which testimony was given*. And may not the whole rationalistic world be similarly deceived in the rejection of the miracles of the Bible?

In the case of the aerolites² one difficulty—rather the principal difficulty—was to explain how they originated. To explain the biblical miracles we have an adequate cause in the Deity, and a sufficient reason for their performance in the fact that they were to reveal the character and will of Jehovah in the midst of abounding idolatry.

The history in the Pentateuch shows the most intimate acquaintance on the part of the writer with the events related. Numerous particulars are given, which, had they not been recorded at the time, must have faded away in the lapse of ages. Objects seen at a distance present themselves to us only in great outline. Nowhere does the author of the Pentateuch appear to write from conjecture, or to be feeling his way in the dark, or to narrate from the report of others. He³ everywhere shows himself the master of his materials. How different it is with the great writers of the early Roman history in the Augustan age! Livy, in his Introduction, recognizes the fact that the early history of Rome is embellished with fable. Nor does he proceed far in his narrative before he says of a certain event, "There are *two* different accounts respecting this." So in reference to Romulus and Remus, he says, "There is a report." And when he speaks of the oath which Hannibal when a boy took to cherish hostility to Rome, he says, such is "the report."

When the Greek historian, Herodotus, is relating the history of Cyrus the Great, he remarks that he could give three other accounts

¹ "That arrogant spirit of incredulity which rejects facts without attempting to investigate them, is in some cases almost more injurious than an unquestioning credulity."—Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. i, p. 123.

² How easy it would be to disprove the reality of aerolites on Hume's principles! We [the great mass of men] have never seen stones fall from heaven, but we have known men to lie.

³ Blunt, in his *Scriptural Coincidences*, gives a considerable number of *undesigned* coincidences in the Pentateuch, establishing the truth of the history.

of him.¹ How unlike is the language of the author of the Pentateuch! There is the air of reality and naturalness in the books of Moses, which impresses the reader with the feeling that he is reading genuine history.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE COMMAND TO EXTERMINATE THE CANAANITES, AND THE GENERAL SEVERITY OF THE MOSAIC SYSTEM.

OF "the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee: that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God" (Deut. xx, 16-18). Similar commands are found in other parts of the Pentateuch.

Now it must be observed that it is expressly said that the Canaanites were to be exterminated on account of their wickedness. In Lev. xviii, after enumerating various abominable things to be avoided, it is added: "For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled; that the land spew not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spewed out the nations that were before you." "Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: but, for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee" (Deut. ix, 4, 5). In accordance with these declarations, it is said (in Gen. xv, 16) to Abraham, "The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full."

A divine order only could justify the extermination of the Canaanites.

The children of Israel were warned that if they practised the abominations of the Canaanites the land would vomit them forth also, so that they had before them perpetually the proof of Jehovah's hatred of sin in the extermination of the Canaanites, and an example of what might be expected to overtake themselves if they

¹Liber i, 95.

forsook Jehovah and abandoned themselves to vice and crime. That the Almighty should send a plague upon a wicked city, and destroy every living being in it, the old man with the infant, involving all in one common ruin, would excite no surprise. If a city or large community were sunk by an earthquake on account of the crimes of its people, no one would think that the destruction of the infants with their wicked parents was inconsistent with the moral attributes of God. But, instead of the pestilence or earthquake, suppose we substitute an angel from heaven, there would still be no objection to the divine goodness or justice on that score. Can we not substitute men instead of an angel to accomplish the same work? The great point is, *the act, not the agent.*

In the extermination of the Canaanites the weakness and vanity of their gods were clearly seen, and thus a powerful blow was given to the whole system of idolatry.

Nothing but a divine command could authorize the Israelites to take possession of the lands of the Canaanites, and to destroy the inhabitants. Without this it would have been robbery and murder. God alone has the right to dispose of the lands and lives of nations. The destruction of the ancient world by water, the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, the destruction of Korah and his company, with the women and children, by the earth's opening her mouth and swallowing them up on account of the rebellion against Moses, are examples of guilt and punishment involving innocent children with guilty parents in ruin.

But if we banish these examples to the region of the mythical nothing is gained. For with our own eyes we see innocent children suffer on account of the crimes and vices of their parents; we behold earthquakes and inundations, famine and pestilence, destroying the good and the bad, the gray-headed sinner and the unsinning little one. All this occurs in a world that God has constituted, the laws of which he has established, the consequences of which laws he must have foreseen. *They are the divine acts.* "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?" (Amos iii, 6). Far more difficult is it to reconcile with the divine goodness the swallowing up of whole towns by an earthquake than the extermination of the Canaanites. The latter were cut off for their abominable vices and crimes, while cities have been buried by earthquakes without our perceiving that the inhabitants were worse than those of cities exempt from such visitations.

In the affairs of this world Providence often employs one nation

as the means of punishing another. The Jews themselves were frequently punished for their sins by means of heathen nations. But the most striking and dreadful example of this kind occurred in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, A. D. 70, and its utter demolition. Thousands upon thousands fell by the pestilence, famine, and the sword; the old man and the infant perished alike in the general overthrow. No man can read the Bible with any faith in its teachings, and deny that this terrible calamity overtook the Jews on account of their great sins, especially their rejection of the Son of God. Thus, while the Israelites were the punishers of the Canaanites, they, in turn, were punished for their dreadful crimes by the Romans, the executors of the divine decree.

God uses one nation as his instrument to punish other nations.

The existence of evil, with its consequent woes, is a mystery which no finite mind can solve; how to reconcile its existence with the attributes of a Being infinitely wise and good has been the problem of the ages. The rejection of revelation affords no relief, nor does Atheism itself.

But not only towards the Canaanites is severity shown in the Pentateuch, but also towards disobedient Israelites. As the temptation to idolatry was very strong, and as it struck at the very foundation of true religion, being nothing less than treason against God, it was punished with death. We have already seen that Korah and his company, for their rebellion against Moses, were swallowed up by the earth; and nowhere is any leniency shown towards transgressors. But it must be observed that in that age of the world severe penalties were more necessary than now to restrain men from crime, especially from idolatry. The laws of Draco were written in blood, and so were those of the twelve tables at Rome. In proportion as nations become civilized, cultivated, and virtuous, they mitigate the severity of their penal codes. The Mosaic system was not perfect, but was adapted to the condition of the Israelites in Palestine in that period of the world's history. Some evils were tolerated because they were so deeply interwoven in the fabric of ancient society that their immediate eradication would have been impossible. Some of the Mosaic laws were mitigations of existing evils. Respecting the Mosaic law of divorce, our Saviour said to the Jews: "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so."¹ What Solon said of the code he had given Athens is applicable to the Mosaic system, that it was not

An even-handed severity shown towards both Israelites and Canaanites.

The Mosaic system adapted to the people.

¹ Matt. xix, 8.

the best possible system, but the best the people were capable of receiving. To the same point is a remark of Mr. Jefferson, that if a legislator cannot do all the good he could wish, he must do what he can. But in fundamental principles there was no compromise in the Mosaic system.

But, notwithstanding the severity of the penal code of Moses, kindness to the poor and to strangers characterize his legislation in a remarkable degree.

"There is a comparative *purity* in the theology and morality of the Pentateuch, which argues not only its truth but its high original; for how else are we to account for a system like that of Moses in such an age and among such a people? how explain the fact that the doctrine of the unity, the self-existence, the providence, the perfections, of the great God of heaven and earth should thus have blazed forth (how far more brightly than even in the vaunted schools of Athens at its most refined era!) from the midst of a nation ever plunging into gross and grovelling idolatry; and that principles of social duty, of benevolence, and of self-restraint, extending even to the thoughts of the heart, should have been the produce of an age which the very provisions of the Levitical law itself show to have been full of savage and licentious abominations?"¹

CHAPTER XXX.

TESTIMONY OF CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES TO THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

OUR Saviour and his apostles everywhere assume the Mosaic authorship and the divine authority of the Pentateuch. Our Saviour, in his controversy with the Jews, says: "For had you believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for *he wrote* of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"² How absurd this language would be, on the theory that the Pentateuch was written ages after Moses!—If you do not believe in a work made up of traditions and myths in a late age and attributed to Moses, how can ye believe in me—and this language from him who is the *truth* itself!

In various passages Christ speaks also of Moses as if he was the author of the Pentateuch: "Have ye not read in *the book of Moses*,

¹ Blunt, *Scriptural Coincidences*, pp. 104, 105.

² John v. 46, 47.

how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham," etc. (Mark xii, 26). "If they hear not *Moses* and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead" (Luke xvi, 31). "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in *the law of Moses*," etc. (Luke xxiv, 44). "Did not *Moses* give you *the law*?" (John vii, 19.)

The Apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, says: "For *Moses* truly said unto the fathers, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me," etc. (Acts iii, 22).

The Apostle Paul, in his address to Agrippa, observes in respect to his teaching: "Saying none other things than those which the prophets and *Moses did say* should come" (Acts xxvi, 22). And in Acts xxviii, 23, St. Paul expounded, "both out of *the law of Moses* and out of the prophets." "For *Moses* describeth (Greek, *writes*) the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth these things shall live by them" (Rom. x, 5). This refers to Lev. xviii, 5, which St. Paul here declares that *Moses* wrote. "For even unto this day, when *Moses* is read, the vail is upon their heart" (2 Cor. iii, 15).

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE EARLIER PROPHETS.

UNDER this title (נביאים ראשונים) the second division of the Hebrew Bible embraces Joshua (יהושע), Judges (שופטים), two Books of Samuel (שמואל), and two Books of Kings (מלכים).

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

This Book, the next after the Pentateuch, is so called from Joshua, the successor of Moses, and the leader of the Israelites in the conquest of Canaan. It takes up the thread of their history at the end of Deuteronomy, and continues it to the death of Joshua. It may be appropriately divided into two parts. The first division, containing chapters i-xii, gives an account of Joshua's conducting of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, of the capture of Jericho, Ai, the deception of Joshua by the Gibeonites and his league with them, the defeat and slaughter of the armies of the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, and the capture and the execution of the kings themselves, of Joshua's building an altar on Ebal, and inscribing on its stones a copy of the law of Moses, the capture

of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, and the conquest of southern Palestine. Besides these conquests it contains a description of the defeat of the combined forces of the various nations of Palestine at the waters of Merom, in the northern part of the country. The second division, containing chapters xiii-xxiv, gives an account of the lands that still remained to be possessed when Joshua was an old man, the allotments of the different tribes and the boundaries of their territories, the appointment of the cities of refuge, and of cities for the priests and the other Levites, Joshua's exhortation to the chiefs of the Israelites, his gathering of all the tribes to Shechem, his address to them, and his death.

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

From the foregoing statement of the contents of the book of Joshua it is seen that there is a connexion, though not always close, between its various portions, and that the second division presupposes the first. De Wette and others think they find contradictions between the first and second parts of the book, and between it and Judges. But their view is a narrow one, and seems to have arisen from a predisposition to make Joshua, to a great extent, mythical.

In chap. xi, 16, 17, it is stated that "Joshua took all that land, Agreement between the first and second divisions. the hills, and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley, and the plain, and the mountain of Israel, and the valley of the same; even from the Bald Mountain, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and slew them." But in chap. xiii, when Joshua was old and stricken in years, Jehovah says unto him, "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed . . . all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, from Sihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines; the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also the Avites: on the south, all the land of the Canaanites, and Meshah that is beside the Sidonians, unto Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites: and the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon toward the sunrising, from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon unto the entering into (until you come to) Hamath. All the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, and all the Sidonians" (vers. 1-6). Yet these latter passages do not contradict the former respecting the extent of the conquests of Joshua. The first statement is a general one, and by no means asserts the entire conquest of the Philistines and *most southern* Canaanites, nor does it

contain any reference to the subjugation of the *most northern* nations of Palestine, which are named in the second part of Joshua as unsubdued.

In the second part, the land to be possessed in the north extended to Hamath on the Orontes, and Aphek (between Byblus and Baalbec), embracing the Sidonians and the Byblians (Giblites), whose land the Israelites never possessed. In this same part, among the Philistines unsubdued are mentioned Gazathites, Ashdothites, and Gittites (Gathites). Now, in the first part we have an indirect confirmatory proof of this fact in chap. xi, 22, where it is stated that no Anakim were left in the land of Israel except in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod—a clear proof that the Israelites had not yet subdued these cities of the Philistines.

In the account of the conquests of Joshua it is stated that he took and destroyed Hebron and Debir (chap. x, 39); while in ch. xv, 13–17 it is said that Caleb drove from the former city the sons of Anak, and that Othniel took the latter. Other apparent contradictions reconciled. But here there is no contradiction; for whatever is done by a subordinate can be said to have been performed by the commander-in-chief himself.

In the list of the kings whom Joshua and the Israelites smote (chap. xii, 9–24) are named the kings of Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor, and Megiddo—places which, it seems, had not yet been taken (Josh. xv, 63; xvi, 10; xvii, 11, 12). But the kings of these towns, with the surrounding small towns and villages, could have been killed and the strongholds of the towns remained untaken, as we actually see in the case of Jerusalem, respecting which it is said: “The children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire” (Judges i, 8); but this was not the stronghold of Zion, for it is stated in Josh. xv, 63, that “the children of Judah,” and in Judg. i, 21, “the children of Benjamin,” did not, or could not, drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem, “but they dwell there unto this day.” But David drove them out and took the stronghold (2 Sam. v, 6, 7).

As we find five kings coming forth to fight Joshua (ch. x, 5), so it is not unlikely that the kings of those cities not captured by him were slaughtered outside of the strongholds of their towns while defending their positions, which, excepting the strongholds, fell wholly into Joshua’s hands (chap. xii, 7, 8).

The statement that Joshua burnt Hazor (ch. xi, 11) is not inconsistent with the fact that we find, more than a century afterward, Jabin, king of Canaan, reigning in Hazor (Judg. iv, 2), for there was ample time for the enemies of Israel to recover it and to rebuild it

In Judges i we discover several events described which are already related as having occurred in the time of Joshua, viz.: the capture of Hebron and Debir, with the attendant circumstances. But these events related in Judges are not to be regarded as having occurred after Joshua's death. It is true, it is stated that *after the death of Joshua* the Israelites inquired of Jehovah who should first go up to fight against the Canaanites (ch. i, 1). But after the account of the slaughter of the Canaanites and the Perizzites, and the mutilation of Adoni-bezek, it is said, "they (the Israelites) brought him to Jerusalem, where he died" (Judg. i, 5-7). This statement presupposes that Jerusalem (with the exception of the stronghold of Zion) was already in possession of the Israelites, and it is followed with an account of its having been already taken, to which are added other previous conquests. This seems to us to be the most natural view. In Joshua we have a full statement, while in the first chapter of Judges we have isolated events, the order of which must be determined by Joshua. We cannot regard Josh. xiii, 3 as contradicted by xv, 45-47; for the former passage speaks of cities still in possession of the Philistines, while the latter refers to some of these cities as belonging to the inheritance of the tribe of Judah *obtained by lot*, but says not a word respecting their having been *already conquered*.

It has been urged, in opposition to the unity of Joshua, that in the first twelve chapters the word שִׁבְטֵי, *shebet*, for *tribe*, prevails, while in the rest of the book מַטֵּה, *matteh*, is generally used to express the same thought. But מַטֵּה, *matteh*, is used in Josh. vii, 18, in close connexion with שִׁבְטֵי, in verse 16. In the first half of the book שִׁבְטֵי occurs about fifteen times, and in the second half about seventeen times. In the second part מַטֵּה occurs about fifty-three times. From such a use of words no valid argument can be drawn against the unity of the book.

The word חֵלְקֵי, *division*, is first found in Joshua, in which it occurs twice in the first half of the book (chap. xi, 23; xii, 7), and once in the second part (chap. xviii, 10).

It is not true, as is alleged by Davidson, that Moses is termed *servant of Jehovah* in the historical sections only; for in chap. xiii, 8, which is geographical, in speaking of lands divided among different tribes, it is added, "Even as *Moses the servant of Jehovah* gave them."

That in the first division of the book the *priests* are named without any further designation, or with the simple addition *the Levites*, i. e., *Levitical priests*, while in the second division (chap. xxi, 4, 10, 13, 19)

they are called *the sons of Aaron*, is entirely natural and consistent. For in the latter case the priests are especially discriminated from the other Levites, because an account is given of the cities allotted to the children of Merari, Gershon, and Kohath, to which latter Aaron and his sons, the priests, belonged; to them thirteen cities are assigned.

Dr. Davidson finds a difference of style between the first half of the book and the second. In the second division there is a great deal that is geographical, while the first part is entirely historical. Is not this sufficient to explain any want of elegance met with in the second part? Are geographical boundaries something to be rounded off in beautiful periods? Who looks for elegance in a description of the lines and courses of a plot of land?

In the account given of twelve stones being taken up from the midst of the Jordan, where the priests' feet stood firm, and of the setting up of twelve stones in the river, where the feet of the priests stood, Bleek thinks that two different narratives are blended into one; or, what is more probable, that the earlier account was revised. We can see no good reason for either of these views. They appear to be arbitrary conjectures.

Some of Bleek's objections considered.

The method pursued by Bleek in his treatment of this book is exceedingly arbitrary. As he refers Deuteronomy to the time of King Manasseh, every incident that has any relation to that book is, according to him, an interpolation or addition to the original form of the book of Joshua. In chapter viii, 30-35, we have an account of Joshua's building an altar on Mount Ebal, on the stones of which he writes the words of the law of Moses, and of his reading the blessings and the cursings, as he had been commanded by Moses in Deut. xxvii, 2-6, etc. Here, likewise, Bleek thinks there is at least a partial interpolation.

It is true that this section could be omitted without interfering with the thread of the narrative, but that is no proof of interpolation, as such passages are found in almost all histories.

In the account given of the erection of an altar at the Jordan by the two tribes and a half dwelling east of the river, and the circumstances connected with it, Bleek thinks that the story, by reason of its reference to Deuteronomy, bears the stamp of a comparatively late age. But the whole narrative is well connected and interwoven, and must be wholly retained or wholly rejected. Can we suppose that such a history—in which nine and a half tribes were gathered together to make war upon the rest of Israel for the erection of an altar supposed to be treason against God—is a pure myth?

In a book like that of Joshua, wherein, from its brevity, much in the history of the conquest of Canaan and in the life of the great captain is of necessity omitted, we should not expect to find all parts of the history dovetailed together. It is impossible, however, to maintain any hypothesis that would make the book a collection of fragments, or the work of a succession of revisers. Here we have no place for the Elohist and the Jehovist. Schrader, indeed, in his edition of De Wette, very fancifully distributes Joshua, as he does the Pentateuch, among the annalistic, theocratic, and prophetic narrators, and the author of Deuteronomy. Can we suppose that there were several histories of the times of Joshua written in the period of the judges, when there was but little literary activity among the people, or in the time of Joshua himself? As for Schrader's hypothesis, it is impossible to make any good sense out of it. For we cannot suppose that any writer gave simply such an account as the annalist, the theocratic or prophetic narrator of Schrader, presents us. Who can believe that the book of Joshua, in the annalist, began with chap. iv, 15-17: "And the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying, Command the priests that bear the ark of the testimony that they come up out of Jordan," etc.?

THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK.

There is nothing in the book that might not have been written within twenty-five years after the death of Joshua, as the latest recorded event is the expedition of the Danites against Leshem (chap. xix, 47, 48); and the statement that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord that he had done for Israel" (chap. xxiv, 31), does not carry us far beyond his time. It is evident that it was written before the age of David and Solomon, for it is said that "the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (chapter xv, 63). But David drove these Jebusites out of Jerusalem (2 Sam. v, 6-9). Again, it is said that the Ephraimites "drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute" (chapter xvi, 10). But in 1 Kings ix, 16, it is stated that "Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife." If the book of Joshua had been made up of fragments written principally before the time of David

Written probably within twenty-five years after the death of Joshua.

and Solomon, but combined and edited subsequently to their time, it is difficult to believe that those passages which speak of the Jebusites as still dwelling in Jerusalem, and the Canaanites in Gezer, would have been allowed to remain without remark. Nowhere in Joshua is there the remotest allusion to any thing pertaining to the times of the kings of Judah, or to the condition of affairs in the age of the judges. Of this the most natural explanation is, that the book was written in neither of those periods.

In Joshua x, 13, mention is made of the *book of Jasher*. As this is also referred to in 2 Sam. i, 18, as containing the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan, it has been thought by De Wette that the Book of Joshua could not have been written before the time of David. But the proper title of this quoted book is the "*Book of the Upright*," a book reciting the acts of just men, not named after the author, for in that case the noun Jasher would not have had the article הַיָּשָׁר, No allusion in Joshua to the times of the Judges or the Kings.

the Jasher, or, *the upright*. Gesenius understands it to be "a collection or anthology of ancient Hebrew poems, . . . so called as celebrating the praises of upright men, or, perhaps, for some other cause" (Heb. Lex.). Fürst prefers to render it, "*the Book of the Israelites*, i. e., national book," according to a tradition in the Talmud (Heb. Lex.). It may, accordingly, have been a record of the actions of pious Israelites, written in the age of Joshua and subsequently.

The numerous particulars given in various parts of the Book of Joshua at least show that the author drew from original sources, if he was not contemporary with the events he relates.

In reference to Rahab the harlot it is said, "she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day" (chap. vi, 25), which most naturally means that Rahab was still alive when the book was written. Respecting the Gibeonites who had deceived Joshua, it is said he "made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord, even unto this day, in the place which he should choose" (chap. ix, 27), which shows that Jerusalem was not yet chosen.

From the brief manner in which Joshua pronounces a curse upon the rebuilder of Jericho (vi, 26), it is evident that the prophecy was written before the time of Ahab (918-897 B. C.), in whose days Hiel rebuilt it (1 Kings xvi, 34).

The language of Josh. v, 1 furnishes a probable proof that the writer was among those who crossed the Jordan. When they "heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of the Jordan from before the children of Israel, *until we were passed over*," etc. In the margin, however, עָבְרָם, *until they passed over*, is written, and so the passage

is rendered by the Septuagint, Targum, and Peshito Syriac, which diminishes something of the force of the passage as it stands written in the Hebrew text, but is not conclusive against it.

In the time of the composition of the Book of Joshua Zidon is called "great Zidon" (Josh. xi, 8; xix, 28), and Tyre is of inferior importance (Josh. xix, 29); but in the time of the prophet Joel (B. C. 800) Tyre is of the first importance, and Zidon second (Joel iii, 4); so also in the time of Isaiah (chap. xxiii).

In various parts of the Book of Joshua occurs the phrase "unto this day." But this by no means indicates a long interval between the events and the time of the writer, and it is used simply to declare the facts or condition of things in the writer's time.

That Joshua was written *before* the Book of Judges is evident from the fact that Judges begins where Joshua leaves off, and recapitulates but few of the events recorded in the latter. In some instances there seems to be a quotation of Joshua in the Book of Judges, and in other instances an abridgment. As a general rule, in historical statements the circumstantial account is the primitive one, while the shorter, or abridged form, is later. For a subsequent writer, living far away in point of time from the events, has nothing of his own to add, and he often satisfies himself with giving the substance of what is well known. As an example of the quotation of Joshua in Judges, compare Josh. xv, 16-19 with Judges i, 12-15. Judges i, 19 is an abridgment of Josh. xvii, 15-18. Judges iii, 3 is an abridgment of Josh. xiii, 1-6. It is evident that Josh. xxiv, 28-31 is older than Judges ii, 6-9, for the last verse of the former states that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord, that he had done for Israel." To this passage the author of Judges, living at a later period, adds: "And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers: and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel" (Judg. ii, 10).

It seems very clear, where the same facts are related both in Joshua and Judges, that in the former book the narratives are the originals, from their being fuller, and standing in close connexion with each other, while in the latter book they are comparatively isolated.

Respecting the *authorship* of the book it is impossible for us to speak with certainty. We may, however, confidently assert that it had not the same author as the books of the Pentateuch. For *אני*, *an*, which occurs nearly two hundred times in the Pentateuch as feminine, meaning *she*, is never so used

in Joshua, but a separate form, *חֵרֶשׁ*, *hi*, is employed to designate this gender, and occurs twenty times. In the Pentateuch the form of Jericho is always *יְרִיחוֹ*, *Yêrêcho*, occurring twenty-six times, while in Joshua we have always the form *יְרִיחוֹ*, *Yêricho*, occurring eleven times. In the Pentateuch, when *the kingdom* of Og or Sihon is mentioned, it is *מַמְלָכָה*, *mamlakkah*, but in Joshua it is *מַמְלָכֻת*, *mamlakkhuth*. There are some other words in which the Pentateuch and Joshua differ.

It is expressly stated that Joshua wrote the words of the covenant he made with the people in the book of the law of God (chap. xxiv, 25, 26). And there is nothing improbable in the supposition that he himself wrote memoirs of his time. These, with the description of the land given in a book (chap. xviii, 4-9), served as the basis of the work, which was probably composed by Eleazar or Phinehas. How far the book of Jashar was used it is impossible to say, as there is but one reference to it (chap. x, 13). According to the Talmud¹ the Book of Joshua was written by Joshua himself. To this work Eleazar, the son of Aaron, gave the conclusion, and Phinehas afterwards added the last verse. Though placed at the head of the prophets, it was still regarded as an appendage to the Pentateuch.

THE HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY OF JOSHUA.

The great outlines of the history must be undoubtedly true, if written either in the time of Joshua or in the subsequent age. In any event, the account of the settling of the Promised Land by the different tribes of Israel must be true, as we know they conquered the country and divided it among themselves. The numerous details given in various parts of the history indicate that many of the events were committed to writing soon after they occurred, and must be matters of fact.

The history is evidently contemporary.

All through the history the Israelites are represented as being directed by the Almighty, who aided them in their conquests. There is nothing improbable in this, if we believe that God brought them out of Egypt and led them through the desert; it was but the completion of the exodus.

Dr. Davidson admits: "that Joshua led the Israelites into the Promised Land after the death of Moses; that he conquered a great part of the territory belonging to the Canaanites, and distributed it among the various tribes; that the tabernacle was set up at Gilgal and Shiloh; and that there were two distributions of territory, the former, of the con-

The passages, said by Dr. Davidson to be mythical, considered.

¹ Fürst, p. 10

quered parts in the southern half of Palestine, and the second, of other territory, cannot be disbelieved."¹ He, however, regards a part of the history as mythical. He admits nothing miraculous in the crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites; "for an army," he tells us, "could pass over the fords of Jordan without much difficulty, apart from any marvellous interference of Jehovah." In proof of this he cites the fact that the troops of David and Absalom crossed it, where there is no allusion to anything miraculous (2 Sam. xvii, xix). But the instances cited are not to the point, unless it can be shown that these passages occurred at the same season in which it was crossed by the Israelites. It is especially stated in the narrative: "for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest" (Josh. iii, 15).

If the Jordan had been very low at the time, this fact might have been attributed to Divine interposition, and the story might have arisen that Jehovah dried up the waters. But how could the story have arisen that the waters had been cut off, when, in fact, the Israelites must have been, without the interposition of Providence, near drowning in the passage at that season of the year? How could the story have arisen about the stones that were taken up from the Jordan at the time, and deposited in Gilgal, for the perpetual memorial of the drying up of the river?

Dr. Davidson also rejects the account of the falling of the walls of Jericho through the intervention of Jehovah. He thinks it was captured in a natural way. How, then, did the circumstantial account of its overthrow by Jehovah arise? The original account must in that case have been entirely forgotten, and the present account have been a sheer fabrication. But it is not likely that the capture of the first important city of Palestine should have been so soon forgotten, and that a history of its capture entirely different from that of the other cities should have been fabricated to take its place.

In the description of Joshua's defeat of the hosts of the five kings of the Amorites occurs an account of a remarkable The standing still of the sun and moon. miracle, the standing still of the sun and moon, which seems to create great difficulty, and has given rise to many discussions and conjectures: "Then spake Joshua to Jehovah in the day when Jehovah delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the

¹ Vol. i, p. 430.

book of Jashar (the Upright)? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man : for Jehovah fought for Israel " (chap. x, 12-14).

In this passage all that precedes "is not this written in the Book of Jashar?" beginning with "sun, stand thou," etc., must be a quotation from this poetical book. If nothing more than this poetical extract were given we might regard it as a bold figure, meaning nothing more than that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, that is, that it should not go down until he had subdued his enemies, and that in reality the sun seemed reluctant to set. And this might be confirmed by the song of Deborah (Judges v, 20): "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." But the addition made by the sacred historian renders such an explanation as this a difficult one: "So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before or after it, that Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man : for Jehovah fought for Israel." In this remark there is nothing poetical, but the historian tells us that the sun remained in mid-heaven about a whole day. If the day was not lengthened, there was no place for this remark.

To this passage there seems to be an allusion in the prayer of Habakkuk, which refers to the wonders of the exodus: "The sun and the moon stood still in their habitation" (chap. iii, 11). Yet it is remarkable that this stupendous miracle is nowhere else referred to, either in the Old or in the New Testament. This fact, however, is no sufficient cause for its rejection. The principal difficulty respecting the standing still of the sun and moon seems to be, that under the circumstances no such magnificent miracle was necessary. But here it must be confessed that we have no means *à priori* of determining how far the Deity would control natural laws for the salvation of his people. In granting that Divine power assisted Joshua in the conquest of Canaan, we cannot consistently stint this power, or subject it to arbitrary rules of our own. This would be as inconsistent as it is in the case of Mr. Darwin, who, in creation, limits the Deity to the origination of a few primordial forms, into which he infused life. There seems to be no middle ground between accepting the miracle, or rejecting the account of it as an interpolation; but of the latter hypothesis we have no proof.

The language of Joshua addressed to the sun and moon has nothing inconsistent with the truths of astronomy. We are not to

Reference to
this miracle in
Habakkuk.

suppose that Joshua was acquainted with the true system of the universe, nor do we suppose that the historian had any such knowledge. It made no difference to the Israelites whether the sun or earth stood still, provided the day was lengthened. Even a modern astronomer might use the language of Joshua, and the historian certainly, without inconsistency.

In the address of Joshua at Shechem he exhorts the people to put away the gods which their fathers served in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, and to serve the Lord (chap. xxiv, 14). This does not imply that the people in the time of Joshua were idolaters, but it warns them of the danger of relapsing into idolatry. And the answer of the people clearly shows that they were not idolaters, for they reply: "God forbid that we should forsake Jehovah to serve other gods" (chap. xxiv, 16). This harmonizes with the statement that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua," etc. (ver. 31)



CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

THE Book of Judges (שופטים) stands next in the Hebrew Canon.

It takes its name from its being principally occupied with the history of those judges who ruled in the period between Joshua and the Prophet Samuel.

Chapters i, ii, iii, 1-7, contain isolated events that occurred in the history of the conquest of Canaan, in part a repetition of those in Joshua, and also a general statement of the sins, the punishments, and the deliverances of Israel in the days of the judges, which serves as an introduction to the more special history of these times. The next section (chapter iii, 8-xvi) embraces the names of thirteen judges, raised up by Providence for the deliverance of Israel, and gives a sketch of the history of the most conspicuous of them. The last five chapters (xvii-xxi) relate several important events which occurred in the times of the judges, but which do not belong to the thread of the narrative in the preceding chapters; viz., the affairs of Micah, the capture of Laish by the Danites, the war between the Benjamites and the other tribes of Israel growing out of the abuse, by a band of Benjamites, of a concubine of a Levite, and the contrivance by which the Benjamites obtained wives from the other tribes.

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK.

There is no sufficient ground for assigning this book to several authors, as some have done. It is evident that the main portion (chap. ii, 6-xvi) proceeded from *one* source; for it narrates the history of the judges, in which we can see no diversity of authorship; but, on the contrary, the ever-recurring phrase, "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord" (chaps. ii, 11, iii, 7, vi, 1), or with the addition of "again" to this phrase (chapters iii, 12, iv, 1, x, 6, xiii), points to *one* writer. In the history of Samson (chapters xiii-xvi) we have a connected account, evidently written by one author. In fact, the main portion of the book is quite closely connected together. The last five chapters (chapters xvii-xxi), disconnected from the chapters preceding, narrate events that belonged to the early part of the history of the judges. In respect to the use of language in different parts of the book, we may observe that *מָשַׁח*, *mashakh*, in the sense of *to approach*, *to draw near*, seems to be found nowhere except in Judges iv, 6 and xx, 37. The Niphal form of *וָעָק*, *saag*, *to be gathered*, occurs in Judg. vi, 34, 35, and in xviii, 22, 23, *אִמְרֵי יְמִינוֹ*, *to be impeded of the right hand*, *to be left-handed*, Judges iii, 15; xx, 16; nowhere else. And, as the events related in them belong to the early period of the judges, and are described with so much vividness, there is no reason for referring their composition to an age later than that of the preceding chapters. This Bleek himself acknowledges.¹

Respecting the first part of the book (chapters i-ii, 5), there is no good reason for attributing it to another author than that of the middle portion. It begins with the statement, "Now after the death of Joshua, it came to pass that the children of Israel asked the Lord, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first to fight against them? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up," etc. After this the chapter presents an account of conquests made by Judah and Simeon, and also by Joseph; and a statement is given of the places from which different tribes of Israel were unable to drive out the native inhabitants. Here it must be observed that some of the incidents are also recorded in the Book of Joshua as having occurred in his time, and it would seem best to suppose that the achievements of Judah are referred to in a general way, and that events which occurred both before and after the death of Joshua are not always discriminated.

In the beginning of the next chapter it is stated that the angel of

¹ Page 340.

Jehovah rebuked the Israelites for making a covenant with the Canaanites, and not throwing down their altars; whereupon the Israelites wept and sacrificed to Jehovah. This is a very suitable introduction to the history that is to follow, which begins at the sixth verse, with the statement, "And when Joshua had let the people go, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land." This is followed by the statement that the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua. Next we have an account of the death of Joshua, and the remark that all that generation were gathered unto their fathers. Another generation of men arises who know not Jehovah, and they sin against him. We can find no sufficient proof from the connexion of the history to justify the remark of Bleek,¹ that it is not at all probable that the historian would have written, "Now after the death of Joshua it came to pass" (ch. i, 1); and afterwards, "And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died" (ch. ii, 8).

In chap. i, 1, 2, it is said, "The children of Israel asked the Lord, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first, to fight against them? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up." With this compare, for a proof of sameness of authorship (xx, 18), "And the children of Israel asked counsel of God, and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up first." In both passages we have *battechillah*, *first*, in the sense of making a beginning—the only passages in the Bible in which Gesenius so defines the word.

Criticism should be very careful not to lay down arbitrary laws in determining the unity of authorship respecting books written at so early an age of the world, when we have no other works of the same period with which to compare them. Even in regard to the finest productions of the age of Pericles in Greece, and of Augustus in Rome, this caution is needed. What have the first three chapters of Sallust's Jugurthine War to do with his history? yet who doubts the genuineness of those chapters? The search for separate and independent documents in the books of the Bible seems to have become a passion with many of the German critics, and it has been carried to a most ridiculous length.

THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF JUDGES.

The Book of Judges bears internal evidence of being written before the middle of the reign of David; for in chap. i, 21 it is stated that "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jeb-

Not written later than the middle of the reign of David.

¹ Einleitung, p. 345.

usites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." David, however, took the stronghold of Zion, and drove out the Jebusites (2 Sam. v, 6-8). In Judges i, 29 it is said, "Neither did Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them." This could not have been written later than the reign of Solomon, as it was during the time of that monarch that Pharaoh, king of Egypt, captured Gezer, burnt it with fire, slew the Canaanites that dwelt in it, and gave it as a dowry to his daughter, the wife of Solomon (1 Kings ix, 16).

On the other hand, the book could not well have been written before the time of Saul, or the first part of the reign of David, as there seems to be a comparison between the times of the kings and those of the judges in the phrase, "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (chaps. xvii, 6; xxi, 25); or, simply, "In those days there was no king in Israel" (chaps. xviii, 1; xix, 1).

In chapter xviii, 30 it is stated, "The children of Dan set up the graven image (of Micah): and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan *until the day of the captivity of the land*." The latter part of this verse has an important bearing upon the date of the book; for if the Assyrian captivity is referred to, we shall be compelled either to treat the passage as an interpolation, or to refer the composition of the whole to some time subsequent to that event, that is, after B. C. 721. Houbigant conjectured that we should read, instead of גלות הארץ, *captivity of the land*, גלות הארון, *captivity of the ark*, referring it to the capture of the ark of God by the Philistines at the death of Eli. This conjecture is adopted by Bleek and Davidson. The emendation gives a suitable meaning to the passage, but we see no sufficient reason to adopt it. But if the phrase גלות הארץ, *captivity of the land*, is to be received as the true reading, the context forbids its reference to the Assyrian captivity; for the next verse, which is parallel and partly explanatory of this, reads: "And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh." But, after the removal of the ark from Shiloh, and its capture by the Philistines, Shiloh could no longer be regarded as the house of God. Hence "the captivity of the land" refers to the victory gained over the Israelites by the Philistines, and the deplorable consequences to Israel that followed it. And this is confirmed by Psa. lxxviii, 60, 61: "So he

forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh . . . and delivered his strength into captivity."

Dr. Davidson remarks on chaps. i, ii, 1-5 that this section "has an inherently vivid character, which favours its composition soon after the events described occurred." The same author refers chapters xvii-xxi to the time of the kings, "perhaps the reign of Saul, or the beginning of David's;" and, while admitting that the middle portion (chaps. ii, 6-xvi) contains materials as old as any other part of the book, and "that the constituent parts are authentic records of a pretty early date," he thinks the compiler of the whole work must be placed in the time of the later kings.¹ Bleek refers the composition of the book, as a whole, to the time of the earlier kings. Schrader absurdly refers the final composition, or present form of the book, to the close of the Jewish kingdom, about B. C. 600.²

Respecting the authorship of Judges, nothing is known. The Talmud,³ most of the rabbies, as well as many Christian theologians, attribute it to Samuel, and this is not at all improbable.

THE CHARACTER OF ITS HISTORY.

The Book of Judges bears every mark of being veritable history. There is a vividness in many of its narratives that is rarely surpassed. What a natural picture we have in the nineteenth chapter, in which the Jebusites are represented as still dwelling in Jerusalem! How many particulars are given which must have come from eye-witnesses! The song of Deborah, which celebrates the defeat of Sisera by Barak, is acknowledged to be a composition belonging to the time of the Judges. It is exceedingly spirited, and frequently sublime; and the vivid manner in which it sets forth in detail the conflict with Sisera shows that it must have been composed, even if not written, soon after the events described.

Even De Wette says of the history in the book: "Although the narrative is partly interwoven with miraculous and mythological traits, it bears the stamp, not only of a genuine, not over-refined tradition of the people, but even of a true historical transmission, and it gives us a vivid picture of the condition and of the morals of the people in those times."⁴ "The descriptions of the book," says Dr Davidson, "are, commonly, natural and graphic, bearing on their face the im-

¹ Page 466.

² Einleitung, p. 333.

³ Baba Batra, 14b. Fürst explains the Talmudic passage to mean that the *Prophet Samuel edited the book from existing single narratives*.—Ueber den Kanon, p. 11.

⁴ Schrader's De Wette, p. 327.

press of historical truth."¹ But, notwithstanding this statement, he finds mythological exaggerations in the history of Gideon and Samson; that is, the supernatural parts of the history are myths. But would it not be absurd to suppose that the same writer who describes so faithfully and minutely events in some chapters, should, in others, give us so many myths when treating of the affairs of the same age with which he seems to be equally familiar? Are we to reject every thing superhuman in the history of the Israelites?

Schrader thinks he finds repetitions and contradictions, and a different tone of representation, and a different economy, in various parts of the book. But the instances he cites amount to little or nothing. He finds a contradiction between chapter i, 18, where it is stated that "Judah took Gaza with the coast thereof, and Ekron with the coast thereof," and chapter iii, 3, where "five lords of the Philistines" are mentioned as being left unsubdued to prove Israel. It requires no deep investigation to remove the scarcely apparent discrepancy; for in the latter passage reference is made to the nations left *unsubdued at the death of Joshua*, which is perfectly plain from the latter part of the preceding chapter; but the former passage (chap. i, 18) speaks of what was done *after the death of Joshua*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

THIS book, though placed in the Hagiographa, which is the fourth and last division of the Hebrew Bible, properly belongs to the period of the Judges, in whose times the events described in it occurred.

In the days of the judges of Israel, when there was a famine in the land, Elimelech, of Bethlehem-Judah, his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, went to sojourn in the land of Moab. Upon the death of Elimelech his two sons marry women of Moab—Orpah and Ruth. After the death of her two sons, Naomi, with her daughter-in-law Ruth, returns to Bethlehem. After this Ruth gleanes ears of corn in the field of Boaz, a relative of Elimelech. Boaz thus becomes acquainted with Ruth, and finally marries her. Of this union is born a son, Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David (chaps. i-iv).

¹ Vol. i, page 169.

DESIGN OF THE BOOK.

The book was evidently written to give the ancestry of David, and ends with the verse, "And Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David." To seek for any other design than this is useless.

ITS DATE AND AUTHOR.

It was probably written not later than the time of David. When he had become king over Israel, and gained a great reputation, it was natural that some one should write out his genealogy. Had the book been written after his time, it is likely that Solomon, at least, would also have been named.

The language of Ruth bears great similarity to that of the books of Judges and Samuel; yet there is a tendency in some instances towards Aramaic forms. The addition of yodh (י) to the second person singular, preterit feminine, in the words יִרְדִּי, שָׁכַנִּי (chapter iii, 3), and שָׁכַנִּי (chap. iii, 4), is Aramaic; yet they may have been very ancient forms, as we have the same ending to the personal pronoun, second person feminine (in Judg. xvii, 2), אַתְּ. The form תִּקְבְּלִי (chap. ii, 8) is Aramaic. No stress is to be laid on the ending, nun (ן), second person, singular, future, in a few words, as it occurs in 1 Sam. i, 14; and second person plural, future, masculine termination (וּ), occurs even in Genesis. Such forms are no proof of a late stage of the language.

The phrase וְשָׂא נָשִׁים, *to take wives* (chap. i, 4), though considered a late expression, is, nevertheless, found in Judges xxi, 23.

Bleek¹ observes on the Aramaic forms, "that they are not of such a nature that the age of the composition of the work can be determined from them with any degree of certainty."

If we were sure that no generations have been omitted between Obed and Jesse, it would be easy to fix the narrative as belonging to the times of the great-grandfather of David. But, as several generations between Hezron and Boaz are omitted (chap. iv, 18-21), a similar omission may have been made between Obed and Jesse.

CHARACTER OF THE NARRATIVE.

The history of Naomi and Ruth, and the marriage of the latter with Boaz, are given with great simplicity, and impress us deeply with their truth. Nowhere can there be found a more beautiful picture of the early country life of the Hebrews. Few, indeed, have regarded the narrative as a fiction.

The history a beautiful picture of Hebrew life.

¹ Page 356.

And, indeed, what Hebrew would have thought of inventing the story that the great king of the nation sprang in part from Moabite blood!

"The little book of the gleaner Ruth," says Humboldt, "presents us with a charming and exquisitely simple picture of nature. Goethe, at the period of his enthusiasm for the East, spoke of it 'as the loveliest specimen of epic and idyllic poetry which we possess.'"¹

RABBINICAL VIEW OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.

"'This book,' says tradition, 'on account of its contents would never have been admitted into the Kethubim (Hagiographa), as it contains no law, prophecy, or national history, were it not that the object of its admission was to show forth the divine favour bestowed upon Boaz for his liberality and benevolence, by making him the progenitor of the royal house of David.' Tradition also held that the history of the woman related in it is really true, genuine, and credible; that the Prophet Samuel, after he had written the Book of Judges, composed this as a supplement, in order to describe the descent of David, whom he had anointed king, and to remind him of the noble simplicity of the morals of his ancestors. . . . And as the Psalter of David stood at the beginning of the Hagiographa, the Book of Ruth was prefixed to it as a prologue for the glorification of David.'"²

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

THE two Books of Samuel, doubtless, originally formed but *one*,³ and took the name of Samuel from his being the chief character in the first part of the history. In the Septuagint they form the first two of the four Books of Kings. From their character it is quite evident that they must be separated from the two Books of Kings in respect to date and authorship.

The books may be divided into three sections: the first embracing the period of the administration of the Prophet Samuel (1 Sam. i-xii); the second containing the history of the reign of Saul (chaps. xiii-xxxi); the third containing the reign of David (2 Sam. i-xxiv). May be divided into three sections.

¹ Cosmos, vol. ii, 415.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, pp. 62, 63.

³ In the time of Origen they constituted one book among the Hebrews. In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, 25.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The two Books of Samuel end with the last political act of David, the numbering of the people. The Book of Kings opens with the statement that "David was old and stricken in years," and bears no necessary connexion with those preceding it. We have straightway an account of the installation of Solomon as king. Thus the two Books of Samuel end with the official life of David, to which point of time the historian brings down his narrative.

These books do not appear to be compiled from preceding ones, and nowhere in them is there any reference to other historical works,¹—quite unlike the two Books of Kings, in which we find it stated, "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the Book of the Acts of Solomon?" (1 Kings xi, 41.) "Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?" (1 Kings xiv, 29.) Besides these references we find *nine* others in 1 Kings, and many such references in 2 Kings. These facts separate the two Books of Samuel from those of Kings.

Nowhere in Samuel is there any reference to the Babylonian captivity, or, indeed, to the removal of the ten tribes by Written before the revolt of the ten tribes. Shalmaneser, nor even to the separation of the ten tribes from Judah at the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam, the successor of Solomon.

That we find in 1 Kings ii, 27-35 references to prophetic declarations recorded in 1 Sam. ii, 31-35, iii, 11-14, 2 Sam. iii, 27-29, and that in 1 Kings viii, 17-20 we find Solomon speaking of God's declaration to David respecting a temple to be built by his son, related in 2 Sam. vii, furnishes no proof that the original history embraced a portion of 1 Kings, on which Bleek lays some stress. That predictions are recorded by one writer, and their fulfillment by another, presents no difficulty except to those who have no faith in divine inspiration. The phrase "unto this day," occurring in various places (as 1 Sam. v, 5, xxx, 25, 2 Sam. vi, 8), does not necessarily imply a long period of time between the events and the recording of them.

There is nothing in the books that points to a period later than the first part of the reign of Solomon, or the close of that of David. In this connexion the two following passages are to be considered: "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake, Come and let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a

¹The exception is a single reference to the Book of Jashar, 2 Sam. i, 18.

prophet was beforetime called a seer" (1 Sam. ix, 9). "Then Achish gave him (David) Ziklag that day; wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day" (chapter xxvii, 6). The first of these passages affords no proof that the writer lived later than the age of David. In 1 Sam. ix, 19 Samuel calls himself a seer; but Nathan, a messenger of God contemporary with David, is called a *prophet* (נָבִי) (2 Sam. vii, 2); and in the superscription to Psalm li. Gad, another contemporary with David, is also called a *prophet* (נָבִי) (1 Sam. xxii, 5). The second of these passages, respecting Ziklag, has been thought to indicate that the writer lived not earlier than the reign of Rehoboam (about B. C. 975), in whose time the ten tribes revolted. Both the Septuagint and the Peshito-Syriac read: "Pertaineth to *the king* (not kings) of Judah," which might have been written in the time of David. But if we abide by the Hebrew reading, the passage could have been written in the beginning of Solomon's reign; for we are under no necessity of supposing that there is a reference in the passage to the division of the Israelites after the time of Solomon into the kingdom of Judah and the kingdom of Israel. The sacred historian states that Achish, the Philistine king, gave Ziklag to David, which, though situated within the kingdom of Judah, and afterwards assigned to Simeon (Josh. xix, 5), had not yet been possessed by either of these tribes. When David received the town he had been already anointed king, and he reigned "over the house of Judah" seven years and six months. The distinction between Israel and Judah already existed in his time, and grew out of the fact that David belonged to the tribe of Judah, over which alone he had first ruled seven years and a half, during a part of which time Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, reigned over Israel. Even Schrader¹ remarks, "The designation of collective Israel as ISRAEL and JUDAH (1 Sam. xviii, 16, 2 Sam. xxiv, 1), seems to belong to the time of David (Davidisch)." It is, indeed, possible that the passage respecting Ziklag's pertaining to the kings of Judah unto this day may be a later addition to the original text.

The passage, "she had on a long tunic, for thus do the virgin daughters of the king wear (future, *are accustomed to wear*) robes" (2 Sam. xiii, 18), affords no proof whatever of a long time intervening between the event and its recording.

Ewald places the composition of the books twenty or thirty years after the death of Solomon, and Bleek² at a somewhat later period, while Davidson³ prefers the reign of Asa, B. C. 940. It is natural

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 346.

² Einl., p. 363.

³ Intro., vol. i, p. 528.

for us to expect some reference in the Books of Chronicles to the Books of Samuel in respect to the sources of the history of David and such reference there seems to be in 1 Chron. xxix, 29: "Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer." Samuel, it seems, wrote the history of his own times, and so did Nathan and Gad afterwards. Nathan, it is probable, survived David; at least, he is mentioned in the first chapter of 1 Kings.

It seems not improbable that Nathan wrote the two Books of Samuel. He was a contemporary of Gad the prophet, though younger, it would seem, and there was no good reason why he should make any use of what Gad wrote. The history of the time of Samuel he could have learned from the writings of Samuel, or from those who were still living and had participated in the events described in the first part of the book. On this supposition the work was written at the close of the reign of David or at the beginning of that of Solomon. It bears no marks of having been made up from the united writings of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; yet in such case it would carry with it high authority.

According to the Talmud, Samuel wrote the work as far as the account of his death. The rest of 1 Samuel, and the whole of 2 Samuel, were written by Gad the seer and Nathan the prophet.¹

THE CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY.

The history is distinguished by simplicity, minuteness, and every indication of fairness and truth. Its three great characters, Samuel, Saul, and David, stand before us as real personages. In Samuel we see the faithful, blameless servant of Jehovah, possessing great power, yet never using it for his own selfish purposes. Saul everywhere appears as the fickle, rash king, always sinning and always repenting: David as a valiant warrior and just monarch, whose soul can always be touched with pity, especially toward Saul and his house.

Dr. Davidson, while acknowledging that the history in these books "has the stamp of truth upon it," nevertheless finds contradictions in it; and in 2 Sam. xxi-xxiv, he thinks there is an historical basis, "altered and enlarged by the addition of legendary, miraculous, and improbable circumstances."² Here, again, his aversion to the supernatural appears; whatever has that appearance must be banished to the region of myths! As

The opinions of modern critics concerning the books

¹ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 13.

² Vol. i, p. 521.

far as improbabilities are concerned, how many events of the most improbable character occur everywhere in profane history!

"The narrative," says De Wette, "in the second book especially, bears a genuine historical stamp, and is drawn, if not from contemporary memorials, yet from a very lively and faithful (only here and there obscure and complicated) oral tradition, which, indeed, rests partly upon memorials, proverbs, and important names. With the exception of some pieces of the nature of Chronicles, it is so rich in living traits of character and descriptions, that in this respect it vies with the best written historical compositions, and at times becomes biographical; the natural connexion of the events is also often very satisfactory, though not set forth with sufficient clearness."¹ Notwithstanding these acknowledgments of the high historical character of these books, De Wette and others think that they find inconsistencies and contradictions in them. These we shall briefly consider in the historical order.

In 1 Sam. vii, 13 it is stated, "So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coast (territories) of Israel; and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel." It has been objected that this is inconsistent with the language of chap. ix, 16, "that he [Saul] may save my people out of the hands of the Philistines: for I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come unto me." But the former statement, that the Philistines "came no more," obviously refers to the period of Samuel's life—official life, perhaps. In the eighth chapter Samuel is spoken of as an *old* man, and it is said that he made his sons judges, and that their conduct was bad. After this a king is promised who will deliver the people of Israel from the Philistines. It seems that the inroads of the Philistines were made during the *administration of the wicked sons* of Samuel. The statements are sufficiently exact, except to a hypercritical spirit.

That Samuel, in accordance with a divine revelation, should anoint Saul to be king over Israel (1 Sam. ix, 15-17), has been considered inconsistent with his being chosen by lot by the people, who had demanded a king. And, indeed, if Samuel had not been directed by a divine communication in anointing Saul, and if Providence had not controlled the lot so that it would fall upon Saul, the whole proceeding would have been inconsistent and absurd. As God had acceded to the demand of the people to have a king, there was nothing in his making the selection inconsistent therewith. All this is, of course, unsatisfactory to those who believe that no divine communication was made to Samuel.

¹ In Schrader's De Wette, p. 335.

In 1 Sam. x, 9-12, it is said that a company of prophets met Saul, and that the Spirit of God fell upon him, and he prophesied; from which it became a proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" But upon another occasion we find Saul prophesying before Samuel, and it is added, "Wherefore they say (*will say, are accustomed to say*), Is Saul also among the prophets? (1 Sam. xix, 24.) Here there is no reason to suppose that in the judgment of the writer Saul prophesied for the first time, and that the adage then arose. If he prophesied a second time, as the history shows, it was quite natural that the adage should be repeated.

In 1 Sam. x, 8, after Samuel has anointed Saul to be king, he tells him: "And thou shalt go down before me to Gilgal; and behold, I will go down unto thee, to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings: seven days shalt thou tarry, till I come to thee, and show thee what thou shalt do." After this Saul is chosen by lot to be king, and, being sent for by men of Jabesh-gilead, east of the Jordan, to aid them against the Ammonites, he goes to their help, and defeats the Ammonites. After this Samuel says to the people, "Come and let us go to Gilgal to renew the kingdom there. And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal; and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace-offerings before the Lord" (chap. xi, 14, 15). It is very evident that Samuel's direction to Saul after anointing him, to go down to Gilgal, where he would make offerings and tell him what to do, has reference to the meeting just mentioned, where Saul was made king. Nothing is said respecting Saul's going *first* to Gilgal; this was not necessary; but if he should do so, he was to tarry for Samuel seven days.

In the face of these facts it is not easy to see how De Wette can make the following passage refer to chap. x, 8: "And he (Saul) tarried seven days, according to the set time that Samuel had appointed: but Samuel came not to Gilgal; and the people were scattered from him" (chap. xiii, 8). When this appointment was made we know not; but it would seem that seven days was the usual time that Saul was to wait for Samuel. Saul had collected the army of the Israelites at Gilgal, and the Philistines gathered together to fight them. This was two years after Saul had been made king (chap. xiii, 1), and can have no reference to chap. x, 8.

While waiting for Samuel at Gilgal Saul forces himself to offer sacrifices, for which he is censured by Samuel, who informs him that his kingdom shall not continue.

In the fifteenth chapter Saul is sent to exterminate the Amalekites, but failing to carry out fully the command, the word of the Lord

comes to Samuel: "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king, for he is turned back from following me," etc. (chap. xv, 11). After this Samuel tells Saul: "For thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel" (ver. 26). Here there is no inconsistency. In respect to the former transgression the declaration was, "Thy kingdom shall not continue;" while, on account of further disobedience, he is already rejected from being king. This is something more than a repetition.

In the account given of David's going forth to meet Goliath, it is stated that Saul inquired of Abner, "Whose son is this ^{Saul's ignorance of David's family} youth?" and that Abner replied, "As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell;" and that, after David had re-considered, turned to Saul with the head of the Philistine, he put the question to him, "Whose son art thou?" to which he replies, "I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Bethlehemite (1 Sam. xvii, 55-58). As the house of his father was to be made free in Israel, it was important to know this. It has been considered utterly incredible by some that Saul should not have known whose son David was, when he had already played before him, having been sent to him by Jesse at Saul's request.

It is true that it does seem singular that Saul, under the circumstances, should not have known David's father. But it may be explained by the consideration that the number of Saul's officers, acquaintances, and visitors, must have been very great, and that it might easily have happened that the name of David's father had escaped him at the time. How frequently it occurs that the names of persons with whom we are acquainted escape the memory when they have been some time absent from us. How many governors of States remember the names of all the men who have been employed near them, to say nothing of the *Christian* names of their fathers? With us, to know the son is to know the *surname* of the father; but with Saul it was entirely different. Further, Saul, in his hypochondriacal state, may have been subject to remarkable lapses of memory. But, if we are to reject every thing as unhistorical which *à priori* was improbable, what havoc we will make of history! How long David remained with Saul on his first visit to him (1 Sam. xvi, 21-23) it is impossible to say, but probably it was but for a short time. It is said that he became Saul's armour-bearer; but this may refer to what happened subsequently to David's fight with the Philistine; for after that event it is said that "Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house" (chap. xviii, 2). In the account of David, previous to his fight with the giant, it is said, in speaking of the three eldest sons of Jesse who followed Saul: "But

David went, and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem" (chap. xvii, 15).

The Vatican copy of the Septuagint omits chaps. xvii, 12-31, 55-58, and xviii, 1-5. This would remove all difficulty by the omission of the passage expressing Saul's ignorance of the name of David's father. But we have no sufficient authority for the rejection of the passages omitted in the Vatican copy of the LXX, as they are found in the Peshito-Syriac version and in the Targum. That Saul on two different occasions (1 Sam. xviii, 10, 11, xix, 10) hurled a javelin at David, has in it nothing strange; certainly nothing to lead us to infer that it is the same event twice related.

In chap. xix, 2 Jonathan informs David of Saul's intention to kill him; but in chap. xx, 1, 2, when David declares that Other alleged contradictions examined. Saul is seeking his life, Jonathan says: "God forbid; thou shalt not die: behold, my father will do nothing, either great or small, but that he will show it me." These passages De Wette regards as contradictory. But it must be remembered that after Jonathan had communicated to David Saul's intention to kill him, he remonstrated with his father against such an act, and *Saul swore that David should not be slain*. It is true that after this, when the evil spirit comes upon Saul, he again attempts to kill David, but David escapes from him. Again Jonathan, in the second instance, does not express himself very confidently, but declares his intention to sound his father, and to communicate the result to David. Jonathan would naturally have as good an opinion as possible of his father, and think that, notwithstanding his bad conduct, he would yet, in his better moments, have some regard for his oath. But suppose the two passages contain inconsistent sentiments—is the same man always consistent with himself?

In 1 Sam. xxi, 10-15; xxii, 1, it is said that David, for fear of Saul, fled to King Achish of Gath; but that, becoming alarmed when his warlike deeds were known to the king, he changed his behaviour and feigned madness, and left, with the king's decided approval. The superscription of the thirty-fourth Psalm confirms this: "A psalm of David when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech, who drove him away, and he departed." But after this, perhaps about four years, David, with six hundred men and their families, goes to Achish, king of Gath, who gives him Ziklag in which to dwell (chap. xxvii). Why cannot both of these events be true? In the first instance it seems he was alone, and became alarmed; he afterwards took courage and went with his six hundred men. Who that should read of an individual or of a company of soldiers playing the coward one day in battle, but on another occasion acting with bravery,

would ever imagine a contradiction or absurdity in the statements?

In chap. xxiv Saul, in seeking David in the wilderness of Engedi, goes into a cave in which David lies concealed, and his skirt is cut off by the latter. This is an entirely different event from that described in chap. xxvi, where Saul, seeking David in the wilderness of Ziph, encamps and goes to sleep with a spear stuck by his pillow, which spear David carries away.

The death of Samuel is twice related in nearly the same words, (1 Sam. xxv, 1, xxviii, 3). But the second statement, that he was dead, is required, or, at least, is made appropriate, by the account that follows—of the raising of Samuel by the witch of Endor.

In 2 Sam. iii, 14 David says: "Deliver me my wife Michal, which I espoused to me for *a hundred* foreskins of the Philistines." This does not contradict what is in 1 Sam. xviii, 27, that David brought *two hundred* foreskins of the Philistines to Saul for Michal, for the contract which Saul made with him was to bring *one hundred* foreskins of the Philistines (1 Sam. xviii, 25). David modestly names the smaller number.

Dr. Davidson finds a contradiction between 1 Sam. xv, 35: "And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death," and 1 Sam. xix, 24: "And he (Saul) prophesied before Samuel." The first of these passages Davidson renders: "Samuel did not see Saul again till the day of his death."¹ But the proper rendering of ראָה, *raah*, in this passage is, *to visit, to go to see*, one of the meanings given by Gesenius—so the passage should be rendered, "And Samuel *visited* Saul no more till the day of his death," which is not contradicted by what is said of Saul's prophesying in the presence of Samuel, for in that case Saul *sought* Samuel.

Dr. Davidson finds a contradiction in the lists of Saul's sons. In 1 Sam. xiv, 49 we have Jonathan, Ishui, and Melchi-shua; but in chap. xxxi, 2 it is stated that the Philistines slew Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchi-shua. But it seems best to suppose that the first list gives the sons of Saul at an earlier period of his reign, and that Abinadab was born afterwards. Ishui is probably the same who was afterward called Ishbosheth (*man of shame*), who alone of Saul's sons escaped death when the others were slain, and who ruled two years over eleven tribes in opposition to David

¹Vol. i, p. 513.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

THE two Books of Kings, originally constituting but *one*¹ book, are so named from their embracing the history of the kings of Israel and Judah. They cover a period of about four hundred and fifty years, from the accession of Solomon to the throne of Israel to the thirty-seventh year of the Babylonian captivity.

The whole history may be divided into three periods. The first embraces the reign of Solomon over a united Israel (1 Kings i-xi). The second contains the history of the two separate kingdoms of Judah and of Israel, from the revolt of the ten tribes in the time of Rehoboam until these tribes were carried away captive beyond the Euphrates by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (1 Kings xii-xxii; 2 Kings i-xvii). The third period embraces the history of the kingdom of Judah, from the time of the captivity of the ten tribes to the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, at Babylon, about B.C. 562 (2 Kings xviii-xxv).

SOURCES AND TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION.

The history everywhere refers to written documents, which were, doubtless, used by the author in the compilation of his work. At the end of the reign of Solomon it is said: "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the Book of the Acts of Solomon?" (1 Kings xi, 41.) In the subsequent part of the history, after the Israelites had been divided into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, we have references both to "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." There are *eighteen* references to the former book, and *fifteen* to the latter.

Here the question arises, Were these books "of Chronicles," to which reference is made, records written during the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, or were they historical works written by two private individuals at a late period of the Hebrew monarchy? The last mention of "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" occurs

Were these books contemporary records, or compiled at a late period?

¹Origen in Euseb. Eccles. Hist., book vi, 25.

(2 Kings xxiv, 5) in reference to Jehoiakim (about B. C. 600), so that, on the supposition that, "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" was the work of a later writer, he must have lived at the beginning of the Babylonian captivity. But this is inadmissible, as there are indications in the Books of Kings that they are composed of documents written at an early period.

In reference to the remnant of the people of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, it is said: "Upon these did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-service unto this day" (1 Kings ix, 21). Here we have reference to a state of affairs, existing in the time of Solomon, hardly applicable to the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and certainly inappropriate when the ten tribes had been removed, and the remnant of the Canaanites in their territory were no longer tributary to them. Again, in reference to the separation of the ten tribes from Judah in the reign of Rehoboam, it is said: "So Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day" (1 Kings xii, 19). It is evident that this was written before the ten tribes were carried away captive by Shalmaneser, since the language was no longer applicable after that event.

Respecting the defection of the Edomites, it is stated: "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day" (2 Kings viii, 22). It is evident that this was written before the Babylonian captivity, otherwise the language would be inappropriate, as Judah was then carried away captive.

In the description of Solomon's temple occurs the following: "And they drew out the staves, that the ends of the staves were seen out in the holy place before the oracle, and they were not seen without: and there they are unto this day" (1 Kings viii, 8). But this language could not be used respecting the staves of the ark when the temple had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and all its sacred utensils had been removed; so that here, also, we have proof that the account was written before the Babylonian captivity.

As the author of the Books of Kings lived during the Babylonian captivity, it might have been expected that he would have made some change in passages no longer applicable to the condition of the people in his time. But this he did not deem necessary, as the altered circumstances were well known, and were not of such a nature as to demand that he should change the language of the original documents.

We cannot doubt that "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel,"

סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵּיהֶם *Book of the Affairs of the Days of the Kings.*

were the annals of the respective kings of the two kingdoms, written down for the most part during the reign of each king. Such annals are referred to in the book of Esther as being kept in the kingdom of Persia: "He (Ahasuerus) commanded to bring the book of the records of the Chronicles" (chap. vi, 1). When these were read there was found recorded an important event in the reign of this very king.

Among the Hebrews we first find mention of a *recorder* in 2 Sam. viii, 16, where it is stated that in the time of David, "Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder." First mention of a recorder or annalist. Mention is also made of him in 2 Sam. xx, 24, and in 1 Kings iv, 3. The same office in the time of Hezekiah was held by Joah the son of Asaph (2 Kings xviii, 18, 37; Isaiah xxxvi, 3), and in the time of Josiah by Joah, the son of Jehozabab (2 Chron. xxxiv, 8). Gesenius defines the word מְסַכֵּר, *maskir*, (*recorder*, in English version), "a recorder, register, i. q., historiographer, the king's annalist, whose duty it was to record the deeds of the king and the events of his reign. . . . The same office is mentioned as existing in the Persian court, both ancient and modern" (Heb. Lex.).

It is true, we do not find any mention of a *recorder* in the kingdom of Israel, yet it is probable that the Israelites would have such an officer. But, independently of this, the history of Israel is so closely interwoven with that of Judah, that the historiographer of the latter kingdom would necessarily record a great deal of what occurred in the kingdom of Israel.

Bleek does not favour the view that the Books of Kings were composed from the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel, written during their reigns. Views of Bleek, Schrader, and Davidson. "To me it is very probable," says he, "that what is cited under the titles of *The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and of the Kings of Judah* was a larger work, which, for the most part, was not composed till a later period, and written *at once*."¹ This view has nothing in its favour, and must be altogether rejected, as it is contradicted by the facts of the case. Schrader,² while he supposes that the *annals* were used by the composer of the Book of Kings in an edition not finished before the death of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv, 5), about B. C. 600, acknowledges that "it is very probable, if not certain, that a series of chapters in them were written far earlier."

Dr. Davidson regards the work quoted by the author of Kings as "made up, not long before the downfall of Judah, of materials and monographs which had accumulated in the progress of time. It began before the commencement of the two kingdoms, and narrated

¹ Einleitung, p. 371.

² In De Wette's Einleitung, p. 357.

more or less fully the public acts of the kings and other leading personages. It was neither complete, nor alike valuable in all its parts. Another source was *oral tradition*."¹ We have no reason to believe that oral tradition was an element in the composition of the Books of Kings. Are we to suppose that *trustworthy* traditions of events unimportant, or even *any* tradition at all, existed centuries after the events occurred? It is a convenient way to get rid of the supernatural to suppose that all accounts of that nature have their origin in traditional elements incorporated into real, sober history.

We, indeed, find in the Books of Kings events that are not of a political character, but which belong to the theocracy, and accordingly have a suitable place in the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel; and we are, therefore, under no necessity of seeking *outside* of these *annals* the sources of the history in the Books of Kings.

The author of the Books of Kings wrote, it would seem, or at least finished his history, in the second half of the Babylonian captivity, as he states that Evil-merodach, king of Babylon, lifted up the head of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison, in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, treated him kindly, and supported him all his life (2 Kings xxv, 27-30). As no mention is made of the close of the captivity, it cannot be doubted that that event had not yet occurred when the author wrote.

It is impossible to say who was the author of the two Books of Kings. Ancient Jewish tradition² attributed them to the prophet Jeremiah, which reference is followed by most of the rabbies, and many of the earlier Christian theologians, and has been adopted by Hävernicks, but rejected by Bleek, Davidson, and Keil. It is not, indeed, probable that Jeremiah was alive when the incidents occurred which are recorded at the close of the book, where it is stated that Jehoiachin was taken out of prison at Babylon in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, and supported all his life by Evil-merodach (2 Kings xxv, 27-30), for at this time Jeremiah would have been about *ninety* years of age. The peculiar phraseology employed in the Books of Kings nowhere occurs in Jeremiah. We, indeed, find that the history of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv, 18-20, xxv), is nearly verbatim with that of Jer. lii. But this last chapter of Jeremiah was not written by him, for at the close of chap. li it is added, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah." It was probably inserted from the last book of 2 Kings. The author of these books doubt-

¹ Introduction, vol. ii, p. 34.

² Baba Batra, 15 a, in Fürst, Ueber den Kanon p. 14.

less belonged to the tribe of Judah. He was evidently a pious man, and zealous for the worship of the true God, and probably endowed with the prophetic spirit.

CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS.

The history is distinguished for its fidelity and impartiality, which are stamped on every page. Kings and the great men of Hebrew history are weighed in the impartial balances of the divine law, and justified or condemned according to their deeds. What but the stern love of truth and justice could have induced the sacred historian to describe the great crime of David and the apostasy of Solomon, two of their mightiest monarchs?

As the history was derived from contemporary annals, it rests upon the surest basis of truth, and is acknowledged by skeptical writers to be credible in a very high degree. "The genuine character of the books is well attested by internal evidence. . . . Though the history is compendious and extract-like, it bears on its face the stamp of fidelity."¹

A considerable number of the events recorded in these books receive confirmation from monumental sources. The famous Moabite stone discovered at Dhiban, east of the Jordan, in 1868, by Rev. Mr. Klein, contains an inscription in Hebrew showing that it was erected about B. C. 900, by Mesha, king of Moab, in commemoration of his deliverance from the Israelites. In 2 Sam. viii, 2 it is stated that David smote Moab, and that the Moabites became his servants, and brought gifts. How long this servitude lasted it is impossible to say, though it is probable that it ceased immediately after the separation of the ten tribes from Judah. It is certain that some time after this event Moab came under the dominion of the kings of Israel, for it is stated in 2 Kings i, 1, "Then Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab." We have also the further statement: "And Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the king of Israel a hundred thousand lambs, and a hundred thousand rams, with the wool. But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel" (2 Kings iii, 4, 5). After this statement we have an account of the attempt of Jehoram, king of Israel, and successor to Ahab, to subdue Moab. For this purpose he united with the king of Judah and the king of Edom. At first the Moabites were defeated, and the king of Moab, in his distress, offered his eldest son, who was to succeed him, as a burnt offering upon the wall. Upon this event the Israelites returned to their own

Confirmations
of the Books
of Kings from
ancient monu-
ments.

¹ Dr. Davidson, vol. ii, pp. 39, 40.

land, and there was great indignation against them (2 Kings iii). After this, it seems, the Moabites became independent. In commemoration of the deliverance of Moab, Mesha dedicated to the god Chemosh the celebrated stone on which were inscribed his remarkable achievements, of which we give the following: "I, Mesha, am sor of Chemoshgad, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I erected this stone to Chemosh at Korcha, [a stone of sa]lvation, for he saved me from all despoilers, and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. Now Om[r]i, king of Israel, he oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his l[a]nd. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said, [let us go], and I will see my desire on him and his house, and Israel said, I shall destroy it forever. Now Omri took the land Medeba, and [the enemy] occupied it [in his days, and in] the days of his son, forty years. And Chemosh [had mercy] on it in my days; and I built Baal-meon, and made therein the ditch, and I [built] Kirjathaim, for the men of Gad dwelt in the land [Atar]oth from of old, and the k[ing of I]srael fortified A[t]aroth, and I assaulted the wall and captured it." Mesha speaks also of capturing Nebo: "And I took from it [the ves]sels of Jehovah and offered them before Chemosh."¹

*The inscription
on the Moabite
stone.*

On this monument are found the following names, which also occur in the Hebrew Scriptures: Jehovah, Chemosh (the national god of the Moabites), Mesha, Omri, Moab, Gad, Israel, Medeba, Ataroth, Dibon, Baal-meon, Nebo, Jahaz, Beth-diblathaim, Aroer, Horonaim, and Kirjathaim.

This shows a remarkable confirmation of the Scripture history, and proves that the names we have in the Books of Kings have come down to us in their integrity, and that they represent real persons and places.

The monuments of Assyria, also, have furnished some remarkable confirmations of the history in these books: "Sa-
maria is known to the Assyrians for some centuries merely as Beth-Omri, 'the house' or 'city of Omri'; and even when they come into contact with Israelite monarchs of the house which succeeded Omri's upon the throne, they still regard them as descendants of the great chief, whom they view, perhaps, as the founder of the kingdom. Thus the Assyrian records agree generally with the Hebrew in the importance which they assign to this mon-"

*Confirmations
from Assyrian
monuments.*

¹ From the inscription on the Moabite Stone, as translated and published by Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D., London, 1871. Also Schlottmann and others have translated it.

arch, and especially confirm the fact (related in 1 Kings xvi, 24) that he was the founder of the later Israelite metropolis, Samaria."

"Omri's son and successor, Ahab, is mentioned by name in an Assyrian contemporary inscription, which, agreeably to the account given in the First Book of Kings with respect to the place of his ordinary residence (1 Kings xviii, 46; xxi, 1, 2), calls him 'Ahab of *Jesreel*.' . . . Among the confederate monarchs with whom he leagued himself was the Damascene king, Benhadad, whom Scripture also makes Ahab's contemporary."¹ "The Assyrian monument known as the 'Black Obelisk' contains a notice of the Israelitish monarch, Jehu, and another of the Syrian king who succeeded Benhadad, Hazael." The reference to Jehu on the Assyrian monuments is acknowledged by Schrader: "Tribute of Jehu, son of Omri. The reference to Jehu, the successor of the rulers of the house of Omri, is secured against all doubt by the simultaneous mention of Hazael (in the cuneiform writing, *Chaza'ilu*) of Damascus."²

In 2 Kings xv, 19 mention is made of the invasion of the land of Israel by "Pul, the king of Assyria." "Of this Pul," Mention of Pul, king of Assyria, by Berosus. says Rawlinson, "the Assyrian records tell us nothing.

On the contrary, they in a certain sense exclude him, since in the lists of the Assyrian monarchs who reigned about this period . . . there is no mention of Pul, and no indication of any place at which his reign can be inserted. . . . In this silence of the Assyrian annals with respect to Pul, we turn to the ancient historian of Mesopotamia, Berosus,³ and we find that we have not turned to him in vain. Berosus mentioned Pul, and placed him exactly at this period; but he called him a 'Chaldean,' and not an 'Assyrian,' monarch."⁴ Rawlinson explains this by the fact that the king of the great empire of western Asia at any time after the rise of the Assyrian empire could be regarded as the "king of Assyria," as Nabopolassar in 2 Kings xxiii, 29, and Darius Hystaspis in Ezra vi, 22.

In 2 Kings xv, 29 it is stated that "in the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-bethmaachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." Again, "And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria" (2 Kings xvi, 10). Here the history of the monarchs of Israel and Judah touches the Assyrian history, and finds abundant confirmation from the Assyrian monuments. "Tig-

¹ Hist. Illus. Old Test., Rawlinson and Hackett, pp. 121, 122.

² Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

³ De Wette—Schrader, p. 330.

⁴ He was born in the time of Alexander the Great.

⁵ Hist. Illus. Old Test., pp. 131, 132.

lath-pileser relates, that about his fifth year (B. C. 741), being engaged in wars in Southern Syria, he met and defeated a vast army under the command of Azariah, king of Judah, the great monarch whose host is reckoned in Chronicles at 307,500 men, and whose military measures are described at considerable length (2 Chron. xxvi, 6-15). Again, he relates that from his twelfth to his fourteenth year (B. C. 734-732) he carried on a war in the same regions with the two kings, Pekah of Samaria and Rezin of Damascus, who were confederate together, and that he besieged Rezin in his capital for two years, at the end of which time he captured him and put him to death, while he punished Pekah by mulcting him of a large portion of his dominions, and carrying off vast numbers of his subjects into captivity. It is scarcely necessary to point out how completely this account harmonizes with the scriptural narrative, according to which Pekah and Rezin, having formed an alliance against Ahaz, and having attacked him, Ahaz called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who 'hearkened to him, and . . . went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people captive to Kir, and slew Rezin' (2 Kings xvi, 9); and who likewise punished Pekah by invading his territory and carrying away the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh (2 Kings xv, 29; 1 Chron. v, 6, 26), and settling them in Gozan in the Khabour. Further, Tiglath-pileser relates, that before quitting Syria he held his court at Damascus, and there received submission and tribute from the neighbouring sovereigns, among whom he expressly mentions not only Pekah, of Samaria, but "*Yahu-Khasi* (i. e., Ahaz), king of Judah."¹ This illustrates the account of Ahaz's visit to Damascus "to meet Tiglath-pileser" (2 Kings xvi, 10). "The annals of Tiglath-pileser contain also some mention of the two Israelite monarchs, Menahem and Hoshea."

"The capture of Samaria, and the deportation of its people by the Assyrians, which terminated the reign of Hoshea, and at the same time brought the kingdom of Israel to an end, is noticed in the annals of Sargon, who was Shalmaneser's successor, and assigned by him to his first year, which was B. C. 722, 721. Here, it will be observed, there is an exact accord between the Assyrian and Hebrew dates, the Hebrew chronology placing the fall of Samaria in the one hundred and thirty-fifth year before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which was in the eighteenth year of that king, or B. C. 586 (and B. C. 586+135 producing B. C. 721). Again, Sargon relates that he carried away captive from Samaria 27,280 persons; and he subsequently states that he transported numerous prisoners from Babylonia to a place 'in the land of

¹ Hist. Illus. Old Test., pp. 134, 135.

the Hittites,' which is probably Samaria, though the inscription is not at this point quite legible (compare 2 Kings xvii, 24)."¹

In 2 Kings xviii, 7, 13-16 it is stated that Hezekiah, king of Judah, rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not, and that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up "against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them." Hezekiah appeased Sennacherib by agreeing to pay him whatever he might demand. Sennacherib appointed him to pay "three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria." "The annals of Sennacherib, son and successor of Sargon," says Rawlinson, "contain a full account of this campaign. 'Because Hezekiah, king of Judah,' says Sennacherib, 'would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of submission to my power.' The close agreement of these two accounts is admitted on all hands, and is, indeed, so palpable that it is needless to enlarge upon it here. The Assyrian monarch, with pardonable pride, brings out fully all the details. . . . His main facts are exactly those which the Jewish historian puts on record, the only apparent discrepancy being in the number of the talents of silver, where he probably counts the whole of the treasure carried off, while the Hebrew writer intends to give the amount of the permanent tribute which was agreed upon."²

After Hezekiah had paid tribute to Sennacherib, the Assyrian

¹ Hist. Illus. Old Test., p. 138.

² Ibid., pp. 142, 143.

king sent a great force against Jerusalem, and a message to Hezekiah. "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses" (2 Kings xix, 35). It was also prophesied: "Behold, I will send a blast upon him," etc. (chap. xix, 7).

Respecting this disaster, "the annals of Assyria are silent. Such silence is in no way surprising. It has always been the practice in the East to commemorate only the glories of the monarch, and to ignore his reverses and defeats. The Jewish records furnish a solitary exception to this practice. In the entire range of the Assyrian annals there is no case where a monarch admits a disaster, or even a check, to have happened to himself or his generals; and the only way in which we become distinctly aware from the annals themselves that Assyrian history was not an unbroken series of victories and conquests, is from an occasional reference to a defeat or loss as sustained by a former monarch."¹ But in the account of Egypt by Herodotus there seems to be a reference to the miraculous defeat of Sennacherib. In speaking of Sethon, a priest of Hephæstus, who made himself king of Egypt, he remarks that he had offended the soldiers; and when Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and the Assyrians, marched a great army against Egypt, Sethon in his distress, as the soldiers would not aid him, resorted to the temple, where the god appeared to him in a dream, and assured him he would suffer no injury by going out to meet Sennacherib's army. He accordingly set out for Pelusium with a force consisting only of traders, artisans, and hucksters. When he had reached the place where Sennacherib's army had encamped, the field-mice, during the night, had poured forth like a stream over the army of the Assyrians, and had eaten up their quivers, their bows, and the straps of their shields, so that on the next day, being deprived of their arms, they fled, and many of them perished. And now this king, in stone, stands in the temple of Hephæstus, having a mouse in his hand, with the following inscription: "WHOEVER BEHOLDS ME, LET HIM REVERENCE THE GODS" (book ii, 141). In Egyptian mythology, the *mouse* seems to have been the symbol of *the silent destructive workings of divine Providence*.

In 2 Kings xx, 12 mention is made of Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon. His name "appears in the Assyrian inscriptions, and also in the famous document known as the Canon of Ptolemy." In 1 Kings xiv, 25, 26 it is

Silence of Assyrian annals concerning the destruction of Sennacherib's army.

Merodach-Baladan in Assyrian inscriptions.

¹ Hist. Illus. Old Test., p. 144.

stated, that "it came to pass, in the fifth year of King Rehoboam that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem: and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house: he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made." Of this expedition there is a notice "contained in an inscription erected by Shishak (Sheshonk) at Karnak, which has been most carefully studied by modern scholars, and may be regarded as having completely yielded up its contents. This document is a list of countries, cities, and tribes conquered in his great expedition by Shishak, and regarded by him as tributaries. It contains not only a distinct mention of 'Judah,' as a 'kingdom' which Shishak had subjugated, but also a long list of Palestinian towns."¹

Josephus states, that according to the Phœnician records, "the temple in Jerusalem was built by King Solomon one hundred and forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians founded Carthage."² He also quotes the testimony of Dios, who wrote of Phœnician affairs, that "when Solomon was king of Jerusalem he sent riddles to King Hiram."

Respecting the Babylonian captivity Josephus quotes the testimony of the Chaldean historian, Berosus, born in the time of Alexander the Great, that Nabopolassar sent his son Nebuchadnezzar with a great force when he had learned that the Jews had revolted, and mastered them, and burnt the temple which was in Jerusalem, and carried away all the people captive to Babylon; and that the city (of Jerusalem) was desolate for seventy years, until the time of Cyrus the king of the Persians.³

Lynx-eyed, skeptical criticism can find but few contradictions in the Books of Kings. In 1 Kings ix, 22 it is stated, that "of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen." But this does not contradict what is said in 1 Kings v, 13, 14: "And King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty thousand men. And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month, by courses;" for this was but a brief service, somewhat like drafting men into the army, or compelling them to work a certain number of days on the public highways, as is often done, even in republican governments. Nor is there any force in the *indirect* contradictions sometimes alleged, nor have we space to pursue them.

¹Hist. Illus. Old Test., p. 118.

²Against Apion, lib. i, 17.

³Ibid., 19.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

THE two Books of Chronicles, called in Hebrew דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *dibbre hayyamim*, *daily affairs*, *journal of affairs*, originally made *one* book.¹ In the Septuagint they are called παραλειπόμενα, *things omitted*, or *supplemental*. They are placed at the end of the Hebrew Bible, but as the events related in them generally belong to the same age as the Books of Kings, they appropriately follow those books, as in the English version.²

The first nine chapters contain the genealogies of the ancient world as found in Genesis, beginning with Adam, and also those of the Israelites in the times subsequent to the history in the Pentateuch, ending in the royal line with the sons of Eliezer (chapter iii, 24), who lived after the return of the Jews from Babylon. Interspersed with these genealogies are historical incidents, and an account of the temple service in Jerusalem.

The second division of the books begins with the death of Saul and the accession of David to the kingdom of Israel, and ends with the death of Solomon (1 Chron. x-xxix; 2 Chron. i-ix). The third division begins with the reign of Rehoboam, the successor of Solomon, and embraces the history of the kingdom of *Judah only*, and reaches to the proclamation of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chron. x-xxxvi).

THE DATE OF THEIR COMPOSITION AND THEIR AUTHORSHIP.

As the history in these books ends with the proclamation of Cyrus for the rebuilding of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxvi, 22, 23), ^{Probably written in the time of Ezra.} about B. C. 536, the books could not have been composed before that monarch's reign. The use of the Persian word ^{אֲדָרְכֹן}, *adharkon*, *a daric*, in 1 Chron. xxix, 7, shows that the work could not have been composed before about B. C. 500, as *darics* are said to have been first introduced by Darius about that time.

¹ Origen (in Euseb., Hist. Eccles., vi, 25) speaks of Chronicles as making *one* book in Hebrew. Jerome calls them the *seventh* book in the Hagiographa. Preface to Samuel and Kings.

² Also in the Septuagint, Peshito-Syriac, and Vulgate.

Nor is it likely, if the books had been written in the Greek period after Alexander the Great, that the word *darics* would have occurred in it at all, especially as, according to Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, "after the Persian conquest they were melted down and recoinced under the type of Alexander."

It has been thought by some that the genealogies in 1 Chron. iii, 19-24, reach down to the time of Alexander the Great, or even later;¹ but this view is destitute of any good foundation, for the list goes no further than the sons of Hananiah, the son of Zerubbabel; and there is no proof that the subsequent names in the list were descendants of the previous ones, but they are, rather, parallel genealogies. But we are not compelled to rest on negative proof only, for we have some of the persons whose names occur in the last part of the list also in Ezra, who speaks of them as having gone up with him in the reign of Artaxerxes. He mentions Hattush, one of the descendants of David; the sons of Shechaniah, and Elihoenai.² Accordingly, the genealogies in Chronicles do not come down later than the time of Ezra, for Zerubbabel went up to Jerusalem in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, B. C. 536, and the grandchildren of Zerubbabel, mentioned in 1 Chron. iii, 19-21, would be the contemporaries of Ezra, who went up to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, about B. C. 457 (Ezra vii, 6, 7).

There is nothing in these Books of Chronicles belonging to an age later than that of Ezra, and this is a probable proof that they were composed in his time.

Respecting the author of the books, Fürst remarks that tradition ^{Ezra probably} says that Ezra composed the first nine chapters; and ^{the author.} if he did this, it was for an introduction to his Ezra-Nehemiah; that, respecting the written sources of the second part (1 Chron. x-xxix, 2 Chron. i-xxxvi), tradition is silent.³ But if Ezra wrote the first nine chapters, it is very probable that he wrote the other part of Chronicles.

Some very able biblical critics regard Ezra as the author of the Chronicles; as Eichhorn, Hävernicks, Keil, Fürst,⁴ etc. And this seems to us the best view. It is true, if Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were all written by one author, we should be compelled to deny that Ezra was that author. But Nehemiah is plainly to be separated from Ezra, as we shall see in the sequel. There is good

¹ Dr. Zunz thinks that the Chronicles were composed about 260 B. C. Gottesdienst. Vorträge, p. 33.

² Ezra viii, 1-4. In 1 Chron. iii, 24 the last man whose sons are named is Elihoenai, without the *h*.

³ Ueber den *ʿEzra*-n, pp. 120, 122.

⁴ In his Geschich. Bib. Lit., vol ii, pp. 537, 538.

reason for believing that Ezra wrote the book that bears his name; and the Chronicles and that book are closely connected, and share the same spirit, and use the same style of language.

The last two verses of Chronicles are the same as the beginning of Ezra, referring to the decree of Cyrus respecting the building of the temple in Jerusalem. "The great affinity in language," says Keil, "the frequent references made to the law in similar formulas; the predilection for extended descriptions of the proceedings at acts of worship, along with the temple music and the songs of praise by the Levites, in standing liturgical formulas; also the predilection for genealogies and public registers—all which are common to the two works—elevate this probability of common authorship into a certainty."¹

As examples of words common to both Chronicles and Ezra, may be mentioned *קֶפֶר*, a *cup*, which occurs three times in Chronicles, and the same number of times in Ezra; nowhere else in this sense. *פְּלִיָּה*, a *division* of the Levites, is found twice in Examples of words common to Chronicles and Ezra. Chronicles and once in Ezra; nowhere else in the Bible.

The peculiar phrase, combining three prepositions, *עַד־לְמַרְחֹק*, *unto afar off*, is found only in 2 Chron. xxvi, 15, and in Ezra iii, 13. The Hithpaël form of *נָתַתְּ, הִתְנַתְּ, to give willingly, to offer spontaneously* gifts to Jehovah, occurs in this sense only in 1 Chron. xxix, 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, and in Ezra i, 6, ii, 68, and iii, 5. Elsewhere the Hithpaël conjugation is used only in Judges v, 2, 9, 2 Chron. xvii, 16, in the sense *to volunteer for military service*, and in Nehemiah xi, 2, in the sense *to offer themselves to dwell*. The Hophal infinitive, *הִסִּיר*, in the sense *foundation* (from *יָסַד*), occurs only in 2 Chron. iii, 3, and in Ezra iii, 11. *הִכִּין לִבּוֹ לִדְרוֹשׁ, to set one's heart to seek*, is found in 2 Chron. xii, 14, xix, 3, xxx, 19, and in Ezra vii, 10. The phrase *בְּשֵׁמוֹת נִקְּנוּ, expressed by name*, based on Num. i, 17, is elsewhere found only in 1 Chron. xii, 31, xvi, 41, 2 Chron. xxviii, 15, xxxi, 19, and in Ezra viii, 20. There are other usages of language common to Chronicles and to Ezra, but the examples given are the most striking, and of themselves furnish a highly probable proof of the identity of authorship of these books.

There is no good reason for supposing that Chronicles and Ezra originally formed *one* book; for, in that case, we would not have the same statement in the conclusion of Chronicles and in the beginning of Ezra. The language of Chronicles, though coloured with Chaldee bears no marks of being later than that of Ezra or Nehemiah. In fact, the Chaldaisms, *זֶכֶן, time*, and *שָׁלַט, to rule*, found in Ecclesiastes,

¹ Introduction, Clark's Pub., vol. ii, pp. 77, 78.

Nehemiah, and Esther, are wanting in Chronicles. The full method of writing David, דָּוִד, occurs in Ezra (chaps. iii, 10, viii, 20) as well as in Chronicles, and furnishes no proof of the lateness of the book. This full form is found even in the prophets Amos (chaps. vi, 5, ix, 11) and Hosea (chap. iii, 5).

THE PURPOSE OF THE AUTHOR.

As the Books of Samuel and those of Kings were already written, the question arises, For what purpose did the author of Chronicles, whom we suppose to be Ezra, write? to which the answer must be given from the examination of the books themselves. First of all, he intended to give the genealogies of the Israelites, which were but partially found in the other books of the Hebrew people; and then to give a connected history from the death of Saul to the proclamation of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, limiting himself, after the separation of the ten tribes, to the house of Judah, omitting much that was found in Samuel and Kings, and interweaving new matter, especially in reference to the armies of David, and the service of the priests and Levites in the temple.

THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY.

The author of Chronicles refers to various works treating of the principal portions of the history over which his books extend, and which he doubtless used in the composition of his own work.

The sources first named occur in 1 Chron. xxix, 29: "Now the acts of David the king, the first and last, behold, they are written in the Book of Samuel the seer, and in the Book of Nathan the prophet, and in the Book of Gad the seer." The word here rendered "book" is properly "*affairs*" (דְּבָרִים), and it is very probable that our present Books of Samuel are included in the reference, as they appear to be *original sources*. Mention is also made of the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the Visions of Iddo the seer, in addition to the Book of Nathan the prophet, as sources for the history of Solomon (2 Chron. ix, 29). Other sources for the history of other kings are, the Book of Shemaiah the prophet, the Book of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies (2 Chron. xii, 15), the Commentary of the Prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii, 22), the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi, 11; xxv, 26; xxviii, 26; xxxii, 32); the same work or works referred to, as the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (2 Chron. xxvii, 7; xxxv, 27; xxxvi, 8); the Book of the Kings of Israel (2 Chron. xx, 34; xxxiii, 18); the Commentary of the Book of the Kings (2 Chron. xxiv, 27). Reference is also made

to Isaiah the prophet (2 Chron. xxvi, 22); and to the vision of Isaiah the prophet (chap. xxxii, 32).

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Books of the Kings of Judah and Israel are the annals of those kingdoms which are referred to in these books as the sources of the history. The Commentary mentioned was, no doubt, the same as the annals of the kingdoms.

The question here arises, How far did the author of Chronicles make use of our Books of Kings? This question is not easily answered; for where the language is the same in Chronicles as that in Kings, the former may not be a quotation, but in both works the phraseology may have been derived from a common source. It is evident that with the original sources of the history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel lying before the author of the Chronicles, there would be but little need of using our Books of Kings, which, for the most part, are mere epitomes of the history. But in the arrangement of the materials, he may, to a certain extent, have taken them as models.

Keil's opinion is, that "in the historical narratives which are common to the Chronicles and the Books of Samuel and Kings these canonical books cannot have been employed. For in the parallel passages the Chronicles furnish a multitude of historical statements for which we seek in vain in those books; and they also differ often and in many ways from the parallel accounts as regards the arrangement and successive order of the individual points of importance, and also follow thoroughly a course of their own, both as to what they communicate and as to what they pass over."¹

The Books of Samuel and Kings used by the compiler of the Chronicles.

Opinions of Keil, Bleek, and De Wette.

"We cannot doubt," says Bleek,² "that the author derived the materials of his work, at least by far the greatest part, from written sources—from older historical works. In regard to the relation of the Chronicles to our other Old Testament books, especially Samuel and Kings, considering the age of the author of Chronicles, there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with these books as writings possessing public authority, as elements of a canonical collection of holy Scriptures; and we can presuppose as certain that he made use of them for his work. It is in the highest degree probable that he has once expressly cited the Books of Samuel, as *דְּבָרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל וְרֵאָה*, *the affairs of Samuel the seer* (1 Chron. xxix, 29). The comparison of the books themselves does not allow us to doubt that the author really made use of those books, and that they were for him in many things the chief source in his history of the kings."

¹ Introd., vol. ii, p. 63. In Clark's For. Theol. Libr.

² Einl., pp. 396, 397.

De Wette thus expresses his opinion: "That the accounts which run parallel with those in the Books of Samuel and Kings were taken from them the following considerations favour: The natural connexion in which the earlier accounts stand with such as the Chronicles have omitted; . . . the originality of those accounts in comparison with these in the Chronicles; the certainty that the writer of Chronicles must have known the earlier books." To which Schrader adds, as the special reason, "that the author of Chronicles has incorporated into his work such sections as were written by the author of the Books of Kings."¹ The first section which Schrader gives in Chronicles as having been written by the author of the Books of Kings is Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii, 12-53; 2 Chron. vi). But are we to suppose that Solomon's prayer was *made up* by the author of the Books of Kings? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that it was written down by some one at the time it was delivered? It is clear that the author of Kings, in his history of Solomon, followed an original document, for he says: "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the Book of the Acts of Solomon?" (1 Kings xi, 41.) It is true, the writing to which reference is here made may have perished before the composition of the Books of Chronicles, so that the author of this work took the prayer of Solomon from the Book of Kings. The other instances of quotation cited by Schrader have in them, sometimes, passages not found in the Books of Kings, so that it is evident that the author had other written sources to which he refers. The most reasonable of all theories is, that the author of Chronicles used the Books of Samuel and Kings, in addition to various other written sources.

CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY IN THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

The principal portion of the history in Chronicles is the same as that contained in the Books of Kings, and, accordingly, has all the claims to be considered genuine history which belong to the narratives in the earlier books. And where the author of Chronicles gives additional matter he refers us to the original sources whence he evidently drew his information.

"The Chronicles," says Bleek, "in our century, have been the subject of various investigations and lively disputes, mostly in respect to their relation to the other books of the Old Testament (Samuel and Kings), and their historical credibility."² Especially did De Wette attack these books in 1806, and subsequently endeavoured to show, against

Depreciation of the Books of Chronicles by modern skeptical critics.

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 379.

² Einleitung, p. 393.

Eichhorn, that their author had no other early written sources except Samuel and Kings, which he did not use faithfully or skillfully; that he partly misunderstood them, and partly altered them in an arbitrary manner, and made additions in the interest of the priests and Levites. Against him, in 1819, wrote Dahler, to whom Gramberg, a few years later, wrote a reply, denying all credibility to the Books of Chronicles. On the other hand, the books have been defended vigorously by Movers, Keil, Hävernicks, and others. De Wette, in the fifth and sixth editions of his Introduction, softened and modified his earlier views.

Schrader remarks that the author of Chronicles "did not use exclusively our canonical Books of Samuel and Kings in ^{Schrader examined.} the composition of his history. This is evident from the character of a great part of the accounts, peculiar to himself, which are given by the author. The different sources quoted in these Books of Chronicles lead to the same result."¹ He also remarks: "From a comparison of the parallel sections in Chronicles and in the Books of Samuel and Kings two things follow: on the one hand, that the author of Chronicles executed his work in accordance with his sources, and in many instances adhered closely to the letter of those sources; but, on the other hand, that he judged at the same time that an elaboration, to a certain extent more free, and upon the basis of the views of his own age, would not be unsuitable. The same may be presumed for those sections and remarks which assume a more independent position towards the parallel sections in the other historical books. And a more close investigation thoroughly confirms this supposition. Among sections of the latter kind we meet with such as excite just suspicion respecting their entire credibility, and their having been derived from authentic sources: partly, on account of their Levitical tendency; partly, on account of the improbability of their contents; and, finally, on account of their contradiction to the older, and, on this ground, generally more credible, accounts of the other books of the Old Testament. But we likewise find, on the other hand, such as carry in their very face the stamp of their being thoroughly historical, and are to be referred either to a good memory or to old sources. The Chronicles are not, therefore, to be at once rejected as an historical source. How far their statements are to be taken as credible must, in every instance, be separately investigated."² Such, then, is the present skeptical view respecting these books. Negative criticism has a dogmatic interest in reducing the historical credibility of the Chronicles to the lowest point. De Wette confesses this when he says: "As the entire

¹ In De Wette's *Einleitung*, p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 375, 376.

Jewish history, on its most interesting and important side, namely, that of religion and the manner of observing the worship of God, *after the accounts in the Chronicles have been put out of the way*, . . . assumes quite a different shape; so, also, the investigations about the Pentateuch take quite a different turn all at once; *a multitude of troublesome proofs, difficult to put out of the way, that the Mosaic books were in existence at an earlier time, vanish*," etc.¹

On the historical character of the Chronicles Dr. Davidson remarks: "The *general* credibility of the writer's communications may be safely asserted. In many cases they can be confirmed by independent testimony. Thus the victory of Asa over the Ethiopians, under Zerah [omitted in Kings], is described in a manner accordant with the historical relations of ancient Egypt. The Ethiopians marched from Egypt, and thither they went back. Accordingly, it may be inferred that this Ethiopian king possessed Egypt, and, therefore, that his territory extended nearly to the borders of Palestine. Herodotus relates that several of the Egyptian kings were Ethiopians. The successive and minute details in the narrative are such as bear the stamp of historical truth, not of fiction. . . .

"The invasion of Jerusalem by the Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chron. xxi, 16-19) [not mentioned in Kings] is confirmed by Joel (chap. iii, 4-6). . . .

"The wars of Uzziah and Ahaz against the Philistines, as described in 2 Chron. xxvi, 6, and xxviii, 18, agree with Isaiah xiv, 28, etc., and Amos vi, 2." . . . Dr. Davidson, however, adds: "Yet it must not be concealed that there are serious suspicions against his accuracy in all places."²

Bleek thinks that the statements of the Chronicles are sometimes inexact, and remarks: "Where a comparison of the more ancient canonical books, especially Samuel and Kings, is at our command, we are bound to lay these at the foundation in forming our judgment, and not to depart from them. But we are not at all justified in regarding all things which the Chronicles contain, beyond what is in these books, as unhistorical, or purely arbitrary changes or enlargements, but we must consider them as having been derived by the author of Chronicles from other old sources; for the most part from the same which were used for the Books of Samuel, and especially for those of Kings."³

We have no good reason for questioning the fidelity of the author of the Chronicles in any instance. He had before him the original

¹ In Keil's Introduction, vol. ii, pp. 81, 82.

² Ibid., pp. 105, 106.

³ Einleitung, p. 400.

documents for the history he narrates, nor can we see that he has not fairly used them. We see no indications that he has magnified the office of the priests. It was natural that the author, who was in all probability a priest (Ezra), should interweave in his history some account of his professional brethren. How could one, writing in the interests of the priests, use the following language: "For the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests" (2 Chron. xxix, 34)?

The author of Chronicles has been charged with hatred towards the kingdom of Israel. But this nowhere appears. When Pekah, king of the ten tribes, slew a hundred and twenty thousand men of Judah, and carried away two hundred thousand captives, women, sons, and daughters, then certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim refused to receive the captives, but took them, "and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho . . . to their brethren" (2 Chron. xxviii, 6-15). Could such a statement respecting the treatment which the captive Jews received from the ten tribes, especially from the Ephraimites, have sprung from hate?

The *numbers* in the Books of Chronicles sometimes bear the marks of exaggeration, and occasionally, also, are at variance with those in Samuel and Kings. In other instances, however, the numbers in Chronicles are the smaller.

Exaggerated numbers in Chronicles.

The book has, doubtless, suffered greatly from the errors of transcribers, as there is always a great liability to mistake in copying numbers; and, when the error is once committed, it is continued in each copy, as there is no check upon numbers. An error in the spelling of a word is corrected from a previous knowledge of its orthography. A mistake in writing a word is often corrected from the context. If we were sure that in the most ancient manuscripts numerals were designated by letters—the opinion of some¹—the errors in numbers could in some cases be easily explained. For *beth* (ב), *two*, might be readily mistaken for *kaph* (כ), *twenty*; and *daleth* (ד), *four*, for *resh* (ר), *two hundred*.

There are about *thirty-five* or *forty* statements in the Chronicles

¹ Among others Dr. Davidson holds this view. But in Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, by Roediger, it is remarked: "This numeral use did not, according to the existing MSS., take place in the O. T. text, and is found first on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.)." Prof. Conant's Trans., p. 17. But it must be observed that the oldest of the Hebrew MSS. are not more than a thousand years old and furnish no proof respecting the custom a thousand years before.

respecting either the age of the kings of Judah when they began to reign, or the years of their respective reigns, and in every case, except that of Ahaziah and Jehoiachin, the numbers correspond with those in the Book of Kings. If the numbers in the primitive documents used by the author of Chronicles were exaggerated, he is not responsible for it. But it is not at all probable that the most excessive of these numbers were in the original text of Chronicles. For how is it possible that the author of Chronicles could have supposed that Asa's army was five hundred and eighty thousand (of Judah and Benjamin) (2 Chron. xiv, 8), and that of Jehoshaphat, thirty or forty years later, one million one hundred and sixty thousand, and that forty or fifty years afterwards, when Amaziah numbered the forces, the whole number of warriors in Judah and Benjamin was three hundred thousand, and then shortly afterwards three hundred and seven thousand five hundred, when there was no cause to make the increase or diminution? We cannot attribute such stupidity as this to the author. A corruption of the original text in the excessive numbers is the most reasonable explanation.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE BOOK OF EZRA.

THIS book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee. The Chaldee portions are chaps. iv, 8-vi, 18; vii, 12-26; this last part being the decree of Artaxerxes in favour of Ezra. The book is so named on account of Ezra's being the principal character in it, and perhaps also from his being its reputed author. It is separated from the Book of Nehemiah not only in the modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, but also in the Septuagint, the Peshito-Syriac, and the Vulgate.¹ In the time of Origen² and Jerome,³ Ezra and Nehemiah formed one book. Although both Ezra and Nehemiah treat of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, there is no good reason for uniting them together as if they were the product of the same author, for Nehemiah is naturally separated from Ezra by the very language with which it begins: "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah." The second chapter of Ezra contains

¹ In the Vulgate Nehemiah is also called the Second Book of Ezra.

² In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, book vi, chap. 25.

³ In preface to Samuel and Kings, Jerome, however, states that Ezra was divided into two books [Ezra and Nehemiah] among the Greeks and Latins.

a long list (seventy verses) of those who went up with Zerubbabel from Babylon to Jerusalem, and a statement of their beasts of burden and the contributions made for the building of the temple. This list is given with but little variation in Nehemiah vii, 6-70. If Ezra and Nehemiah were the work of a single author, or of a later editor, who compiled the whole from existing documents (Ezra-Nehemiah), what could have induced him to give this long list *twice*, and that, too, with *variations*?

The Book of Ezra naturally divides itself into *two* parts. The first contains an account of those who went up to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel, in the beginning of Cyrus's reign, and the rebuilding and the dedication of the house of God (chaps. i-vi). The second division gives an account of the going up to Jerusalem of Ezra and his companions in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and their acts after their arrival (chaps. vii-x).

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK AND ITS AUTHOR.

Skeptical critics, who, as far as possible, resolve the books of the Old Testament into separate and independent documents, apply the dissecting knife to Ezra. Thus Schrader attributes to Ezra that portion of the book beginning with chap. vii, 27, and ending with chap. ix, 15, in which Ezra speaks in the first person; to Ezra he also attributes the Chaldee document (chap. vii, 12-26). But chaps. vii, 1-11; x, in which the third person is used, he thinks, did not, in their present form, proceed from Ezra himself, but were composed upon the basis of Ezra's notes by a later writer who, he supposes, wrote the Book of Chronicles, and to whom he attributes also chaps. i, iii, iv, 1-7, 24; vi, 14, 16-18, 19-22.¹ Respecting chaps. vii-x Bleek² remarks: "The second part is in general, without doubt, composed by Ezra himself, who, for the most part, speaks of himself in the first person (chaps. vii, 27-ix). But even where he uses the third person, as in the entire tenth chapter, and in the beginning of this division (chap. vii, 1-11), it can in no way be inferred with any degree of certainty that Ezra himself did not write this part; but rather, as chapter tenth stands in close connexion with what precedes, there is the greatest probability that it was written by the same author. Likewise, it cannot be well supposed that Ezra began his narrative with chap. vii, 27, and it is also very probable that he would not have commenced it immediately with the letter of Artaxerxes (chap. vii, 12-26); rather, he would have prefixed to it an introduction, as we read in chap. vii, 1-10). Only it may be well supposed that it was retouched by a later

The objections of modern critics to the unity of Ezra considered.

¹ Einleitung, pp. 386, 388.

² Ibid., pp. 384, 385.

hand." Accordingly, he does not think the statement respecting Ezra, "he was a scribe *skilled* in the law of Moses," really proceeded from him, nor Ezra's genealogy (chap. vii, 1-5). But why Ezra could not say that he was *skilled* in the law of Moses, and write his own genealogy, is not easy to see.

We entirely agree with Bleek in the foregoing remarks, excepting what he says about the retouching of this part of Ezra. It is, indeed, utterly improbable that the book should have originally ended with chapter ninth, containing the prayer of Ezra for those who had taken strange wives, and should have given no account of the effect of that prayer—how that the Israelites assembled and solemnly pledged themselves to put their strange wives away.

Since chaps. vii-x must be conceded to have been written by Ezra, it remains to consider the first part (chaps. i-vi). As Ezra did not go up to Jerusalem till the seventh year of Artaxerxes (about B. C. 458), he had no share in the transactions recorded in the first part of the book, ending with the dedication of the temple in the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 515), and the celebration of the passover soon after (chap. vi, 15-22). Now, first of all, it must be observed that the beginning of the second part of Ezra, opening with these words, "Now, after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes," naturally refers to a preceding part. As he wrote an account of the second company of exiles who returned to Jerusalem, it was quite natural that he should write a sketch of the preceding company that returned thither. When Nehemiah went up to Jerusalem he found a list of those who first went up to the city, and incorporated it into his book (Neh. vii, 5-73); this same list is found in Ezra ii. Doubtless there was also a list of the vessels and other articles to be used in the temple. There also existed the decree of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, the letter of their enemies to Artaxerxes, and his command to cease building the temple, and the decree of Darius for its rebuilding. These documents furnished Ezra with material for the first part of his history. There may have been other written memorials; besides, Ezra could have learned some things from old men who, in their youth, had been eye-witnesses of the transactions described. That the existing documents and memorials would be combined into an historical form in the time of Ezra, rather than a hundred years later—if, indeed, they had any separate existence that late—is very probable. The history in the first part of Ezra is consecutive, and well connected with the second part.

But if Ezra did not write the first part of the book—more than one half of it—why should a later writer have composed it and prefixed it to Ezra's writing, and not rather have called it Zerubbabel, or by

some other name? It could not be on account of its containing but six chapters, since some of the minor prophets contain but two or three chapters, and one of them has but a single chapter. Bleek himself acknowledges "that the narrative has an altogether good connexion and natural course, from the proclamation of Cyrus to the exiles to return to their home, to the impediments which the adversaries of the Jews threw in the way of the rebuilding of the temple"—that is, from Cyrus to Darius Hystaspis. It is in the fourth chapter that Bleek finds difficulties which he cannot solve on the hypothesis that it was written by Ezra, or any one in that age. In chap. iv, 5-8, it is stated that the people of the land "hired counsellors against them (the Jews), to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia. And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the days of Artaxerxes, wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes, king of Persia. Rehum, the chancellor, and Shimshai, the scribe, wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes, the king." After this the letter to Artaxerxes is given, in which they speak against the building of the city of Jerusalem, and in reply Artaxerxes forbids the building, whereupon the enemies of the Jews caused them to cease from their work. It is added: "Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of Darius, king of Persia" (chap. iv, 24).

As there is no mention made of building the temple in the letter to Artaxerxes and in his reply, but only of the building and fortifying of Jerusalem, Bleek thinks that the writer has made a mistake, and referred difficulties in the way of the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the times of Xerxes (B. C. 485-465), and in those of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B. C. 465-425), to the building of the temple which had already been finished a considerable length of time.¹ In reply to this, it must be remarked, that in the decree of Artaxerxes (Ezra iv, 19-22) there is no mention of the building of the walls of Jerusalem; the language of the decree is as follows: "Give ye now commandment to these men [the Jews] to cease, and that this city be not builded, until another commandment shall be given from me." It is the *city* that he decrees shall not be rebuilt. How could Artaxerxes Longimanus have decreed that Jerusalem should not be rebuilt, when the temple had been rebuilt and dedicated *fifty years before he began to reign*? If the Jews had been allowed to rebuild their temple, of course it was implied that they could build dwelling-

¹ Einleitung, pp. 386, 387.

houses also, as a necessary accompaniment. It is not to be supposed that they lived in Jerusalem a half century or more without dwellings; for, according to 2 Kings xxv, 8, 9, when Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem, Nebuzar-adan, his captain, "*burnt all the houses of Jerusalem.*" The language of decrees is required to be definite. If the temple of Jerusalem and its houses had been rebuilt, the decree of Artaxerxes would have named *walls* specifically. The decree of Artaxerxes was in answer to the letter of the enemies of the Jews, who declared that the Jews are "building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations." "We certify the king that, if this city be builded again, and the walls thereof set up," etc. This language implies that the Jews had but recently commenced the work, and it is not appropriate to the times of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The decree forbidding the building of the city, of course, forbade also the construction of the temple.

Keil¹ supposes that Ezra iv, 6-23 refers to the hostile attempts of the adversaries of the Jews under Xerxes and in the first years of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and that it respects "the building up of the city and its walls," agreeing in this respect with Bleek. But the context, in addition to what we have already said, refutes this view; for immediately after the decree of Artaxerxes it is added, that the adversaries of the Jews "made them to cease by force and power. Then ceased the work of the house of God, which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia" (chap. iv, 23, 24). It is difficult to see how the decree of Artaxerxes, in virtue of which the work on the temple ceased, was issued more than fifty years after the beginning of the reign of Darius!

When Nehemiah obtained from Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the twentieth year of his reign, permission to go up to Jerusalem, and to take a letter from him to the keeper of the king's forest, that he might obtain timber for the wall of the city and for other purposes, no objection was made, nor allusion to any decree by this king forbidding the building of the wall, and that in a narrative giving many particulars (Neh. ii). Between Cyrus and Darius but two monarchs are known to history—Cambyzes and Smerdis—who must be the Persian kings during whose reign the building of the temple was frustrated (Ezra iv, 5-7). The first of these is called Ahasuerus: on which name Gesenius remarks, in reference to the present passage: "The order of time would require it to be understood of Cambyzes" (Heb. Lex.). In Daniel ix, 1, Darius the Mede is called

¹ Introduction, vol. ii, p. 102.

the son of Ahasuerus, where, according to Gesenius, Ahasuerus stands for Astyages. It is evident, then, that the name cannot be restricted to the famous Xerxes. According to Gesenius the name is the same as the modern Persian, *lion king*. Artaxerxes (chap. iv 7, etc.) is defined by Gesenius to be in this chapter Pseudo-Smerdis, who not improbably took the name of Artaxerxes on his accession. According to Gesenius, Artaxerxes means *mighty king*, and this title could be easily applied to the kings of Persia, whom the Greeks called the great kings.

There is no difficulty, then, in attributing the whole book to Ezra, and there is nothing in it belonging to a later age. It is no objection to its unity that Ezra begins the sketch of himself in the third person (chap. vii, 1-11), and then in the first (chap. vii, 27-ix), and then changes to the third (chap. x). An examination of the nature of the matter in each case either justifies or requires this change. This change of person occurs in other biblical writers. In the Book of Daniel, the unity of which is acknowledged by the most skeptical, in the first part (chaps i-vii, 14) Daniel speaks in the third person of himself, in the rest of the book (chaps. vii, 15-xii) in the first person. We find Isaiah speaking of himself in the *first* person in chap. vi of his prophecy, but in the very next chapter he says: "Then said the Lord unto Isaiah." Amos, in the beginning of the 7th chapter of his prophecy speaks of himself in the first person, but he changes it to the third in the 12th and 14th verses: "Amaziah said unto Amos." . . . "Then answered Amos." Any difference of style in the book is easily explained from its being partly made up of decrees, where, of course, the phraseology is naturally different from Ezra's.

That the "kings of Persia" have this designation in Ezra is to Schrader¹ a proof that the book in its present form is not older than the time of Alexander the Great, as it presupposes that the Persian empire had already fallen. According to this Ezra would never himself have written, "Cyrus king of Persia," or "Darius king of Persia," but simply "Cyrus the king," "Darius the king." But the Book of Ezra uses both of these formulæ. Isaiah, in the beginning of his prophecy, speaks of having seen his vision "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Micah tells us that the word of the Lord came to him "in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Had the kingdom of Judah already perished when they wrote? Would it be improper for a Canadian or an Irishman to write: Victoria, Queen of England? or even for a citizen of the United States to write: R. B. Hayes,

¹ In De Wette's *Einleitung*, pp. 391, 392.

President of the United States? The Jews had been accustomed to have kings of their own, and it was natural for them, while in subjection to foreign rulers, to name the country over which they ruled.

According to the Talmudists,¹ Ezra wrote the book that bears his name, and this is the judgment of such critics as Hävernicks and Keil, and we have already seen that it has everything in its favour.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

THIS book, so called from Nehemiah's being its chief character as well as its author, stands separate from the Book of Ezra in the modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, in the Septuagint, in the Peshito-Syriac, and in the Vulgate.² Unlike Ezra, it is written wholly in Hebrew.

In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Nehemiah, his cupbearer, is deeply afflicted by the intelligence he has received of the distressed condition of his countrymen in Judah, and obtains permission from the king to visit Jerusalem and to rebuild it. After this the book gives an account of the building of the wall of Jerusalem under his administration; a list of those who went up to the holy city with Zerubbabel; an account of the solemn and important religious services held there, and of the covenant made by the people; a list of the chief men dwelling in Jerusalem, and of others dwelling in Judah and Benjamin. This is followed by a list of the priests and Levites who went up with Zerubbabel, and of the arrangements made at the dedication of the wall. The book closes with a statement respecting the correction of abuses by Nehemiah.

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK AND ITS AUTHOR.

The different parts of this book are well connected, and in the most of it the connexion is very close, so that there is no room for the supposition that it is the work of more than one author. In the first half (chaps. i-vii, 5) Nehemiah speaks of himself in the first person, to which must be added, as undoubtedly his, the list of those who went up to Jerusalem and Judah at first, which carries us to the end of chapter vii. In chap.

The parts of the book closely connected.

¹ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 116.

² In the Latin Vulgate it is called both *the Book of Nehemiah* and *Second Book of Ezra*.

ter viii Nehemiah retires, as it were, into the background, and Ezra the priest comes into view; his brethren, the Levites, take a prominent part in the religious services, and the following chapter (ix) is occupied with the prayer of certain Levites. In these two chapters the name of Nehemiah occurs but once, and then in the third person. There was no place for him in the performances. In the beginning of chapter x his name appears in the third person, first in the list of those who were sealed. But in this very chapter, standing in close connexion with what precedes, the first person plural is used in such a way as to identify the writer with them. Take as an example: "And we cast the lots among the priests," etc.; "And that we should bring the first fruits," etc. In chapter xi is an enumeration of those who dwelt in Jerusalem and in other cities, in which there is no place for the mention of Nehemiah, and accordingly his name is not found.

In the first part of chap. xii is a list of priests who went up to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. In the other portion the writer speaks of himself in the first person, and so he does in the concluding chapter. It is evident, then, that Nehemiah wrote at least ^{The authorship of one fourth part only is doubtful.} three fourths of the book, and the middle of it is the only part (with the exception of a few verses) that is denied to be his. As the very beginning of the book asserts its author to be Nehemiah ("The words of Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah"), which is confirmed by his writing for the most part in the first person, none but the weightiest reasons should induce us to think that about one fourth of the whole is an interpolation, and that in the *middle*.

De Wette attributes to Nehemiah the first eight chapters. Schrader, then, taking up the subject, asserts that chaps. viii-x, 40, are an interpolation, made by the author of the Books of Chronicles upon the basis of contemporary notes; chap. xi, 3-36, Schrader thinks may have been written by Nehemiah—at least, that it belongs to his time; chap. xii, 1-26, he thinks cannot be Nehemiah's, but that it is quoted from annals referred to in verse 23; chap. xii, 27-42, he concedes to Nehemiah; chaps. xii, 43-xiii, 3, he supposes to have been written by the author of Chronicles. The remainder of the book (chap. xiii, 4-31) he attributes to Nehemiah.¹ This is, indeed, a fine specimen of critical dissection! Bleek regards Nehemiah as the author of the first seven chapters, and of the last three with the exception of chap. xii, 1-26, which, in its present form could not have been written by Nehemiah; he denies also chap. xii, 47, to be Nehemiah's. He supposes that originally the last three

¹ In De Wette's *Einleitung*, pp. 389, 390.

chapters were joined to the first seven—the work of Nehemiah—and that the three middle chapters were interpolated by a later hand.¹ Dr. Davidson's views are about the same² as those of Schrader.

Respecting the three chapters (viii, ix, x), which some deny to be Nehemiah's, it must first of all be observed that such an interpolation in the *middle* of a book is unnatural. A verse or two might be written on the margin, and afterwards incorporated into the text, but not whole chapters. Large additions may be made to an original work as a continuation. And, indeed, it is not likely that any one would take the liberty of interpolating so largely the work of their respected governor. But why should we suppose that the incidents recorded in the three middle chapters formed no part of the genuine narrative of Nehemiah? They stand in close connexion with what precedes. In chapter vii, 73, it is stated: "When the *seventh* month came, the children of Israel were in their cities." In the very first part of the next chapter (viii) Ezra reads the law of Moses to the assembled crowd in Jerusalem on "the first day of the *seventh* month." In the same chapter (viii, 14-18) it is stated that the Israelites dwelt "in booths in the feast of the *seventh* month," beginning on the fifteenth (Lev. xxiii, 39). And in the beginning of the next chapter (ix) it is stated that the Israelites held a fast on the twenty-fourth "day of this month" (the seventh), and the prayer offered on the occasion is given. The end of this prayer is closely connected with the following chapter (x). And in this chapter (x) the writer uses the first person plural in such a way as to show that he was a participator in the events. Now Nehemiah appears to have had a part in the transactions narrated (viii, 9; x, 1). The reading of the law of Moses before the assembled crowd of Israelites after the wall of Jerusalem had been rebuilt, and the grand celebration of the feast of tabernacles, the solemn fast, and the covenant which the people made to serve God (and Nehemiah appears among the covenanters), would not have been omitted by him in the circumstantial narrative of the events in the earliest part of his administration.

The minute particulars given in these three middle chapters (viii-x) show that they were written down by an eye-witness. Even Schrader admits that they were composed on the basis of notes made at the time. The long prayer (chap. ix, 5-38) offered by *eight* Levites on the solemn fast day was in all probability prepared for the great occasion—most likely written down and committed to memory. For, if it had been extemporaneous, how could *eight* Levites (verse 5) have

¹ Einleitung, pp. 382-384.

² Introduction, vol. ii, pp. 137-150.

Objection to the authorship of Nehemiah considered.

The three chapters evidently written by an eye-witness.

prayed it at once? In its original form it was incorporated by Nehemiah into his book, and thus has all the freshness and peculiarities of the *original* author, and it would be absurd to look into it for the style of Nehemiah. If it contained Nehemiah's peculiarities, that would be fatal to its claim of being thoroughly genuine.

Further, there are certain linguistic peculiarities found both in the middle section and in the undisputed part of the book. *אֲדִירִים*, *nobles*, occurs as "their nobles," both in chap. iii, 5, and in chap. x, 29; elsewhere but *ten* times in the Hebrew Bible, though the singular form is used fifteen times. The word occurs nowhere in Ezra. *קִרְבָּן*, 'a *dedicatory gift*, occurs in this form in Nehemiah x, 35 and xiii, 31, in the phrase "an offering of wood," and nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Now, this is certainly very remarkable, and seems of itself sufficient to establish the unity of authorship of these two parts of the book, and hence the unity of the whole book. *קִדְּשָׁן*, *appointed*, occurs in Neh. x, 35 and xiii, 31, and nowhere else, except Ezra x, 14.

Respecting chapter xii, 1-16 it is to be observed that the incorporation of such a list into the book by Nehemiah is altogether appropriate, as its object was to give the names The list in chapter xii. of the Levites who participated in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, of which we have an account in chapter xii, 27-47. Lists are found in other parts of his work. In chapter vii, 5 Nehemiah speaks of finding "a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first," which he gives (chap. vii, 6-73). In chap. xii, 11 it is stated that "Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua." It has been alleged that this Jaddua is the same as the high priest Jaddus, mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.*, xi, 8, 4, 5) as a contemporary with Alexander the Great (B. C. 332). Jaddus is the fifth in descent from Joshua (Neh. xii, 10, 11), who went up to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii, 2; Neh. xii, 1) B. C. 536. The Jaddus in Nehemiah might have lived as early as B. C. 400. In Nehemiah xiii, 28, mention is made of a son of Joiada, who had married a daughter of Sanballat. He, accordingly, was a brother of Jonathan, the father of Jaddua, who might have been mentioned by Nehemiah, and might have been erroneously made, by Josephus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. But it is best to regard the passage that speaks of Jaddua as an interpolation—his name at least. Jaddua is also mentioned in chapter xii, 22; and it is stated that the priests were recorded "to the reign of Darius the Persian," that is, either Darius Nothus (B. C. 425-404) or Codomannus (B. C. 336-330).

It is not improbable that this passage is an interpolation, written at first on the margin, and afterwards incorporated into the text.

Those who can think that whole chapters were at a late period inserted in the book should have no difficulty in believing that a few verses were added to the original text, giving some facts belonging to a later age. In chapter xii, 26 mention is made of "the days of Nehemiah . . . and Ezra," and in verse 47 of the days of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. But these words could have been written by Nehemiah after he had retired from the governorship if not before, as they refer to his *political* life. When we find nearly the whole of a work bearing internal evidence of having been written in a certain age by a certain author, and at the same time discover a few passages belonging to a later age, we, without hesitancy, consider them to be interpolations.

The Book of Nehemiah bears every mark of having been written by one who lived in the very midst of the events, which are described with a particularity and vividness rarely found.

CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY IN BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

The historical character of these books is above all suspicion.

The historical character of the books undoubted. According to Ezra vi, 15, the house of God in Jerusalem was finished in the *sixth* year of the reign of Darius.

This corresponds well with what we find in Zechariah and Haggai; for, according to the former, the foundations of the temple were already laid in the second year of Darius' reign, but the edifice was not yet finished (chapter iv, 9), though considerable progress had been made at that time (Haggai ii, 3). Ezra, and the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, his contemporaries, confirm each other in other matters respecting Jewish affairs in their age. Nehemiah is praised by Jesus the son of Sirach (not later than about B. C. 200) for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and its houses (chap. xlix, 13).

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

THIS book takes its name from the Jewish maid called originally חַדְסָה, *Hadhassah*, but *Esther*¹ after she became the wife of Ahasuerus (chap. ii, 7), as she is the principal character in the book.

¹ Esther is the same as the Persian *sitarah* (star of good fortune); Zend., *stars*; Greek, *ἀστὴρ*; Latin, *aster*; English, *star*. In Syriac, the star Venus. "This name, therefore, was particularly appropriate to the character and circumstances of Esther."—Gesenius, Heb. Lex.

The book relates that Ahasuerus, who reigned from India to Ethiopia, made a great feast in Shushan, the palace, and that when he was merry with wine he ordered the queen Vashti to be brought in, that he might show her beauty to his guests. Vashti, refusing to comply with his request, is deposed from being queen, and Esther (a Jewess, the cousin and adopted daughter of Mordecai) is chosen in her stead. Haman, the king's prime minister, taking umbrage at the want of respect shown him by Mordecai, obtains the king's decree for the slaughter of all the Jews in the kingdom. Esther obtains a counter decree. Mordecai is advanced to the highest place of honour, and Haman is hung. The Jews slaughter their enemies, and introduce the feast of Purim in commemoration of their deliverance. The book closes with a description of the greatness of Ahasuerus.

CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY.

Serious doubts have been expressed, at different times, by scholars of the credibility of the history contained in this book. Among these may be named Semler, Oeder, Corrodi, Michaelis, Bertholdt, De Wette, Gramberg, Vatke, Ewald, Bleek, and Davidson. It has been defended by Eichhorn (not fully, however), Jahn, Rosenmüller, Baumgarten, Hävernicks, Keil, and others. The modern Jews hold the book in high esteem, and Maimonides expresses the opinion that in the days of the Messiah the prophets and the Hagiographa will be done away, with the exception of the Book of Esther, which is as enduring as the Torah and the oral law. The Jerusalem Talmud says that eighty-five elders, among whom more than thirty were prophets, ridiculed the introduction of the Purim festival, through Esther and Mordecai, as an innovation against the law.¹ Julius Fürst² shows that objections were made at an early period, according to the Talmud, to inserting the Book of Esther in the Canon. It appears, therefore, that the book did not stand very high with the ancient Jews. But we are not aware that they ever called in question the credibility of its history.

The book is not found in the catalogue of Melito,³ bishop of Sardis, in the second half of the second century. It is found in the catalogue of Origen,⁴ and in that of Jerome,⁵ though omitted in a few of the catalogues of the earlier centuries. In modern times, Martin Luther⁶ especially expressed his

¹ Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 405.

² In Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, book iv, 26.

³ Preface to Books of Samuel and Kings.

⁴ *Ueber den Kanon*, pp. 106, 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, book iv, p. 25.

⁶ In Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 406.

Not found in
all catalogues
of the Old Testa-
ment Canon.

dislike of the Book of Esther, declaring that he wished that neither she nor her book had ever existed. Josephus,¹ in his *Antiquities*, gives a very full account of Esther's history, drawn mainly from our present book, and he remarks that "all the Jews who are in the world keep these days (14th and 15th Adar) as festive, and send gifts to each other." The festival is also referred to in 2 Maccabees xv, 36, as "the day of Mordecai."

This book, in its Greek version, has additions and interpolations. Mordecai's dream is prefixed to it; at the end twenty lines are added. In the third chapter is inserted the decree of Ahasuerus, and additional matter in chapters iv, v, and viii. The additions to the Hebrew text are added at the end of the book in the Vulgate. It is evident that they formed no part of it in the original Hebrew; for the Peshito-Syriac version, made from the Hebrew in the second century of the Christian era, has none of them.

It is remarkable that the name of God nowhere occurs in the book, although there were several occasions on which it might have been used. Mention is made of fasting (chap. iv, 3, 16), and the sleeplessness of the king, which leads him to have the records searched, and thus Mordecai is raised to power (chap. vi, 1-11). The writer must have recognized the providence of God in this. But why did he refrain from using God's name? Riehm supposes that it was intentionally omitted, to guard against its profanation at the Purim feast, as the author intended the book to be read during those joyful festivities² (chap. ix, 22). This seems to us quite probable; at least, we know of no better reason for the omission.

Various opinions have been held respecting the Ahasuerus of this book. The Septuagint and Josephus suppose him to be Xerxes the Artaxerxes, but the almost universal opinion among the moderns is that Xerxes is intended. Accordingly, the question arises whether the events related in Esther harmonize with the known history of Xerxes.

In the *second* year of his reign Xerxes subdued the Egyptians who had revolted, and in the *fifth* year of his reign he started on his expedition for the conquest of Greece, from which he returned within the year. In Esther i, 3, 4, we find that Ahasuerus (Xerxes) made a feast in the *third* year of his reign, that is, soon after his return from Egypt, and before he started for Greece. In the *tenth* month of the *seventh* year of his reign Esther is taken in to Ahasuerus in his house royal (chap. ii, 16), that is, after his return from Greece. Here there is nothing inconsistent with the history of Xerxes. It is

¹ Chap. xi, 6, 1-13.

² In Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 407.

not surprising that the author of the book passes over events which had no necessary connexion with his subject. According to Herodotus, (vii, 8), after Xerxes had subdued Egypt, in the second year of his reign, he gathered together the Persian nobles, to consult them about the expedition into Greece. This must have been in the *third* year, and it explains the feast which lasted one hundred and eighty days (chap. i, 4).

A difficulty meets us at the very threshold respecting the wives of Xerxes. According to Herodotus (vii, 61; ix, 109) Amestris was the wife of Xerxes, and from what he says in vii, 114 she evidently outlived him. It is possible that this may be Vashti, the deposed queen, whose place Esther took; or Vashti may have held the position of a "secondary wife," or, at a later period, may have been restored to the favour of Xerxes. We know too little about the private relations of Xerxes to pronounce any positive judgment upon the subject.

In giving the genealogy of Mordecai it is said that he was "the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite, who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jechoniah, king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had carried away" (chap. ii, 5, 6). It is probable that Kish (from whom Mordecai was the fourth in descent) was carried away captive from Judah by Nebuchadnezzar about a hundred years before the reign of Xerxes, and for this reason the author traces back the genealogy of Mordecai no farther than to him. Certainly there is no necessity of inferring from the passage that Mordecai himself was carried away in this captivity.

Bleek's first objection to the credibility of the history is the impossibility of supposing that a Persian despot, even if induced through a favourite to extirpate all the Jews, would publish the decree everywhere twelve months beforehand, and not merely secretly for the governors, but for the people themselves. But may it not have been Haman's intention, by giving notice so long beforehand of the intended slaughter, that the Jews should abandon their property and fly for their lives? That this is not stated in the account, which is very circumstantial, is no ground of objection, as the motives of actors in the world's history are generally concealed. Even if the author of the Book of Esther knew the real motive of Haman, which is not probable, yet he might have omitted to state it. There is no good reason for supposing that the edict against the Jews applied to those in Judea, for they are spoken of as "scattered abroad and dispersed among the people" (chap. iii, 8).

Also the circumstance that the king should not revoke the bloody edict, but give the Jews liberty to defend themselves, and that this could have resulted in the slaughter of seventy-five thousand men, subjects of the king, Bleek regards as incredible. Unnatural, too, he thinks it to be that the king should, to gratify Esther, issue another edict allowing the Jews to continue the slaughter of their enemies another day in Shushan. But are the facts of history to be determined by supposed probabilities? Are there not various acts of Xerxes in his expedition into Greece which are strange, and, to many persons, utterly incredible? How many both in ancient and in modern times have disbelieved and ridiculed the story that he cut a canal through the peninsula of Acte to avoid taking his fleet around Mount Athos?¹ How many improbabilities crowd into the history of Napoleon? How strange this simple fact, that the *king of Sweden was a Frenchman*! (Bernadotte). In respect to massacres, we have a remarkable (and infamous) example in the massacre of about sixty thousand Protestants in France on the night of St. Bartholomew.

Bleek also thinks it hard to believe that *all* Shushan should at one time (chap. iii, 15), through Haman's edict, be thrown into so much fear, and at another should have rejoiced (chap. iii, 15) on account of Mordecai's. But Bleek misrepresents the passage, for it is not said "*all* Shushan" in either place, but simply "Shushan." He also thinks it improbable that the king should have issued a decree that every man should rule in his own house; and difficult and obscure that Esther, as a royal spouse, should so long conceal her origin from the court, the king, and Haman himself, as represented in the history. But in matters of this kind we have no means of determining the limits of possibility—hardly those of probability.

The Book of Esther everywhere abounds with numerous particulars, dates, and names of persons, and there is but one possible conclusion—it is *genuine contemporary history*, or *it is a fabrication*. But it is difficult for us to suppose that the book, considering the intimate acquaintance it shows with Persian affairs, could have been fabricated after the fall of the Persian empire (B. C. 330). Respecting its knowledge of Persian affairs, Bleek remarks: "For its historical character the conspicuity of many special traits seems to speak, especially the mentioning of many single individuals otherwise unknown, the seven eunuchs, the seven highest officers of Xerxes, the ten sons of Haman. The customs and institutions at the Persian court, in part at least, also appear to be faithfully and vividly portrayed."²

¹ There can be no reasonable doubt about the truth of this. Even Grote believes it

² Einleitung, p. 408.

But on the supposition that Esther was written during the Persian period, when the supposed events were recent, it is difficult to see how the book could have imposed upon any considerable number of Jews.

The strong proof of the historical character of Esther is furnished in the universal observance of the festival of Purim (פּוּרִים, *lot*) by the Jews (in accordance with its institution in this book), and so named from the casting of lots by Haman (chaps. iii, 7; ix, 24). We have already seen that Josephus speaks of the festival as kept by all the Jews in the world, and it is still kept by them in commemoration of their deliverance, just as we keep the Fourth of July in commemoration of the declaration of our national independence.

The festival of Purim an attestation of the truth of Esther.

If the book is not based on a real historical fact—the remarkable deliverance of the Jews in the reign of Ahasuerus—how was it possible for its author to make the Jews believe that such a deliverance had been wrought for them, and that the feast of Purim was instituted at the time, and that they had kept it up to the period at which the book was written?

Kamphausen¹ refers with approbation to the opinion of Nöldeke, that the Book of Esther is a skilful romance, written to establish and recommend to the Jews the celebration of the Purim festival, which originally was a purely *Persian* feast. Fürst seems inclined to this view, for he says: "The festival may have been originally a spring feast, which was borrowed from Persia" (Heb. Lex.). Truly a strange notion, that the Hebrews, having so many festivals of their own, should borrow one from the heathen who had made them captives, and that they should hold it near the time of the passover! Stranger still that the book which gave such a perverse account of the origin of the festival should have made the whole Jewish people believe that they were keeping Purim in commemoration of a great national deliverance, when, in fact, they were doing nothing more than observing a heathen feast! To believe that the Jews were thus deceived is more difficult than to believe the history in the book.

Bleek thinks it not improbable that some historical fact lies at the basis of the book, though it is uncertain what it is.²

THE DATE AND AUTHOR OF THE BOOK.

It is very probable that the book was written by a Jew at Susa during the Persian dominion. The Persian and Sanskrit words in it would indicate its Persian origin, and

Probably written at Susa.

¹In Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 407.

²*Ibid.*, p. 310.

the minute particulars given in the history show the proximity of the writer to the events.¹

According to the Talmud,² the men of the Great Council wrote out (edited) the Book of Esther. Aben-Ezra and most of the rabbies attribute it to Mordecai, in which belief many Christian theologians follow them. But we have no probable proof of this, though it is not to be altogether rejected.

CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.

Some Christian scholars, among whom is Bleek, take exception to Esther on account of the spirit of revenge found in it. But its admission into the canon was not based on its containing divine revelation, or wholesome doctrine, or examples for our imitation, but because it contains the history of a most remarkable deliverance wrought out by Providence in behalf of Israel.

CHAPTER XL.

THE POETICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE poetical books include Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and The Lamentations of Jeremiah, although portions of others are poetical. But before discussing these books, it is proper for us to consider Hebrew poetry.

THE POETRY OF THE HEBREWS.

The poetical element is deeply imbedded in the nature of man, and exhibits itself in all stages of intellectual development, among the barbarous as well as the most highly cultivated. Poetry is the offspring of a vivid imagination and of deep emotion, and is closely allied to eloquence. It is not surprising, then, that some of the sacred writers, under the mighty influence of the divine Spirit, pour forth the sublime doctrines of theology, the practical precepts of religion, and their joys and their sorrows, in the form of poetry; or that the prophets, when the fall of empires and the glory of the Messiah's kingdom were revealed to them in vision, should use in their descriptions the loftiest poetical language.

¹ Schrader refers the book to the Greek period, and this seems to be the view of Bleek.

² Baba Bat Furst, p. 100.

The poetry of the Hebrews is thus of a peculiar and sacred character, and may be called *epic*, when it narrates the dealings of God with his people, of which Psalm lxxviii is an example; or *lyric*, when it expresses in song the religious experience of the writer, which is the character of most of the Psalms; or *didactic*, when it inculcates the duties of life, as the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; or *dramatic*, as it presents itself to us in the Book of Job; or *elegiac*, as in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

There is no metre, and rarely is there rhyme, in Hebrew poetry, but "it is distinguished by a certain rhythmical adjustment and distribution of the periods and single sentences, and also by many peculiarities of idiom, form, and meaning of words, grammatical constructions and inflections, which are not usual in prose. This poetic diction is found not only in the so-called poetic books of the Old Testament, but also in single inserted sections in the historical books, and partly also in the prophetic writings; nevertheless, in the different books and sections in various degree, and with a gradual transition into prose, so that a very sharp distinction cannot be well made between poetry and prose."¹

Characteristics
of Hebrew poetry.

The *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry consists in a certain harmonious relation of the parts or members of the single verses to each other, called the parallelism of members. This parallelism of members is divided by Bishop Lowth into the *synonymous*, the *antithetical*, and the *synthetical*. The synonymous consists in repeating the thought of the first member in the second, or even in several following members. Of this kind the simplest consists of two members, of which the following are examples:—

Parallelism in
Hebrew poetry.

"How he had wrought his signs in Egypt,
And his wonders in the field of Zoan."

"He gave up their cattle also to the hail,
And their flocks to hot thunderbolts."

"Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found,
Call ye upon him while he is near."

The first two illustrations are taken from Psalm lxxviii, which is composed almost entirely of similar members; the third is taken from Isaiah lv, 6.

The second kind of parallelism is the *antithetic*, in which the second member stands in contrast with the first. This kind of parallelism

¹ Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 81.

abounds in the Proverbs, of which the following are examples from ch. x, 2, 7 :—

“ Treasures of wickedness profit nothing,
But righteousness delivereth from death.”
“ The memory of the just is blessedness,
But the name of the wicked shall rot.”

The third kind of parallelism is the *synthetic*, which consists of several, and sometimes of many, members, closely connected together, and illustrating one subject. Of this kind the following is an example :—

“ I have been young, and now am old ;
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,
Nor his seed begging bread.
Every day he is merciful, and lendeth ;
And his seed is blessed.”—Psalm xxxvii, 25, 26.

In the first of these lines there is an antithesis between the past and present, while in the two following pairs of lines the second line is an enlargement of the thought in the first, and may be called synonymous.

The description of a virtuous woman in Proverbs xxxi, 10-31 is an example of the synthetic parallelism, in which the members are, for the most part, synonymous or antithetic parallelisms.

It often happens in Hebrew poetry that a single thought is expressed in a single sentence, to which no other sentence, either synonymous or antithetical, corresponds ; this may be termed *simple rhythm* ; as—

“ I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath.”—Lam. iii, 1.

What has been stated respecting Hebrew poetry has reference to its *logical* classification. But although Hebrew poetry has no prosody, yet the members of the stanzas sometimes have the same number of words, and form rhyme :—

Stanzas of the
same number
of words.

שָׁלֵךְ וְיִירָאִי וְיִסְתַּכְרֵם
וְאִתִּי בְעֶרְפִּי וְיִסְתַּכְרֵם

“ I was at ease, but he hath broken me asunder :
He hath also taken me by my neck, and shaken me to pieces.”—Job xvi, 22.

עָדָה וְזִלְלָה שְׁמַעַן קוֹלִי
קָשִׁי לְקוֹץ הַחֲמוֹץ אֶמְרָהּ
כִּי אִישׁ הִרְגֹתִי לְמַצְעִי
וְדָלִיד לְחַבְרָהּ

“ Adah and Zillah, hear my voice ;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech
For I have slain a man to my wounding,
And a young man to my hurt.”—Gen. iv, 23.

וַיִּבְרַח אֲשֵׁר עַל-רֵשֶׁת
אִם יִקְעֹד-שׂוֹר עַל-בִּלְלֵו

"Doth the wild ass bray over his grass?
Or loweth the ox over his fodder?"—Job vi, 5.

Sometimes the two poetic members are of unequal length, as :—

תָּבִיר עֲצָנִים אֲמָרִים
וַיִּדְרֹלֵו

"Ephraim is joined to idols:
Let him alone."—Hosea iv, 17.

At other times the harmony is expressed by four members of unequal length :—

כִּי כָלִי הִגִּדֹן חַיִּי
וַיִּסְתֹּף־יָבֵטֵהוּ
כִּשְׁלֵב בְּעֵתִי כֹחִי
וַיִּצְמָא עֲשָׂשׁוֹי

"For my life is spent with grief,
And my years with sighing:
My strength falleth because of mine iniquity,
And my bones are consumed."—Psalm xxxi, 10.

In Habakkuk iii, 17, we have a stanza of six members :—

"Although the fig tree shall not blossom,
Neither shall fruit be in the vines;
The labour of the olive shall fail,
And the fields shall yield no meat;
The flock shall be cut off from the fold,
And there shall be no herd in the stalls."

To this there are placed in antithesis, verses 18, 19 :—

"Yet I will rejoice in the Lord,
I will joy in the God of my salvation.
The Lord God is my strength,
And he will make my feet like hinds' feet,
And he will make me to walk upon mine high places."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

THIS book, so named from its hero, is one of the most remarkable in the canon, and has given rise to much controversy respecting its age, author, and object. It may be regarded as a *sacred drama*.

We have, first, *the prologue* (chap. i, ii); secondly, *the dialogue* (chaps. iii-xlii, 6); lastly, *the epilogue* (xlii, 7-17). The prologue contains a brief sketch of Job, its chief personage, who is represented as a pious man, living in the land of Uz, blessed with sons and daughters, and very rich. Satan, having obtained permission from God, destroys all Job's property, kills his children, and smites him with sore boils. The dialogues contain, first, the lamentation of Job over his calamities (chap. iii). After this, the discussion on Job's character and the divine government is conducted by him, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, in which Job's three friends argue that his disasters are divine judgments for his sins, while he vindicates himself, and maintains that the ways of Providence are inscrutable (chaps. iv-xxxi). This is followed by the speech of Elihu, who acts as mediator between Job and his friends (chaps. xxxii-xxxvii). The four following chapters (xxxviii-xli), with the exception of chap. xl, 3-5, contain the Almighty's description of his own power and works, and his expostulation with Job. In chap. xl, 3-5, and in chap. xlii, 1-6, Job humbles himself before God.

The *epilogue* contains God's reproof of Job's three friends, and his command to them to offer sacrifice for their folly, because they had not spoken right, as Job had; also a statement of the great prosperity—far greater than he had at first—that Job enjoyed in his latter days.

INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK.

Objections have been made in modern times to the genuineness of certain parts of the book. Carpzov supposed that while all the discourses were written down by Job himself before the time of Moses, the *prologue* and *epilogue* were added by Samuel. They have been rejected by Stuhlman, Bernstein, Knobel, and some others; but their genuineness is almost universally conceded. The *prologue* is necessary for the understanding of the book, and without it Job's character and his

peculiar afflictions would be unknown. Without the *epilogue* the book would be incomplete, as it contains a vindication of Job, and shows divine providence in bringing him safely through all his trials, and making his latter end more glorious than the beginning. The genuineness of both the *prologue* and the *epilogue* is conceded by Schrader,¹ Bleek,² and Davidson.³

Some critics⁴ have regarded chaps. xxvii, 11-xxviii, 28 as a later addition, but their genuineness is almost universally conceded by the most recent critics. The description of the hippopotamus and the crocodile (chaps. xl, 15-xli, 34) has been regarded by some critics⁵ as an interpolation, but its genuineness is conceded by Schrader⁶ and Bleek.⁷

The discourses of Elihu (chaps. xxxii-xxxvii) have been rejected as spurious by many critics. They are characterized by De Wette⁸ as "dull, tedious, artificial, and obscure in their contents and in the mode of their presentation." He also says that "they interrupt the connexion between the discourses of Job and those of God, and darken the contrast in which they stand to each other; that they anticipate what the latter discourses contain, even making them superfluous, while they offer a solution of mysteries by reflection, which, according to the latter discourses, is to be found in intuitive, believing resignation." The objections to the genuineness of the discourses of Elihu.

Elihu, it is true, is not mentioned among the friends of Job (chap. ii, 11); nor is he named at the end of the book where Job's three friends are reproved and commanded by God to offer sacrifice (chap. xlii, 7-9). Job and the three friends are the principal personages. Elihu, being a young man, is silent, until Job and his friends have ended the discussion, when he speaks, reproving both parties. He acted, in fact, as mediator, and, accordingly, it was not necessary to consider at all what he said, when the decision is made at the end (chap. xlii, 7-9) concerning the discussion. That Elihu's speeches are interposed between Job's discourses and the Almighty's answer does not in any degree imply their spuriousness. Everything depends upon the taste of the writer. We are not authorized to lay down rules in such matters, and demand that every genuine drama or poem shall square exactly with our gratuitous canons.

We can by no means agree with De Wette respecting the dullness of the speeches of Elihu. They have no little merit, though as a whole they have scarcely the strength of the other addresses. But this may be what the author intended. Quality of Elihu's discourses.

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 549.

² Eichhorn and others.

³ Einleitung, p. 664.

⁴ Pp. 660, 661.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ De Wette—Schrader, p. 550.

⁷ De Wette—Schrader, pp. 546-547.

Vol. ii, pp. 200-202.

Why should a young, rash man speak with all the power and wisdom of mature years? Do all Shakspeare's characters speak with the same force and wisdom? Even if we grant that the speeches were to set forth great principles, there is no reason for supposing that all the interlocutors must speak with the same ability, whatever their years or wisdom might be.

The linguistic peculiarities of Elihu's discourses afford no decisive proof of having proceeded from another author than of the rest of the book.

That Elihu calls Job by name, which is not done by any of the other speakers, grows out of the nature of the case. For, as Elihu acted as mediator between Job and his friends, it was necessary for him to distinguish Job from them. We confess that we do not see how the discourses of Elihu disturb the harmony of the book. They do not break in as something foreign to the subject, and they have, as far as we can see, the same style as the rest. The interpolation of *six* chapters (about one seventh of the whole) in the body of such a work is extremely improbable, and such a view is not to be adopted except for the most cogent reasons, which in the present instance do not exist. The genuineness of the discourses of Elihu has been denied by Stuhlmann, Bernstein, De Wette, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hirzel, Knobel, Delitzsch, Schrader, Davidson, Bleek, and others. On the other hand, their genuineness has been defended by Jahn, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Stäudlin, Umbreit, Köster, Stickel, Herbst, Welte, Hävernich, Schlottmann, Keil, and others. Bunsen and Kamphausen have adopted the theory that these discourses were inserted by the author himself as an addition after finishing the original work.¹

THE CHARACTER AND DESIGN OF JOB.

Here the question arises, Are we to regard the whole history of Job as entirely fictitious, the creation of the imagination of the author of the work, or altogether true, or as having merely a substratum of truth on which the book is founded? The last supposition seems the only tenable one.

The assumption that the book throughout is a *real* history involves us in difficulties. The discourses, in their present form, are too elegant, studied, and poetical, ever to have been delivered *extempore*. In the account of Job's prosperity in his latter days (chap. xlii, 12-17) the number of his sons and daughters is the same that he had before his afflictions; while the number of his sheep, camels, oxen, and asses, is just double of

The Book of Job hardly a history.

¹ In Bleek, p. 661.

what he had in the beginning. These numbers do not bear the stamp of being real history, but, on the contrary, appear to be artificial. Nor can we accept as literally true the account of Satan's presenting himself among the sons of God before Jehovah, and of his obtaining from him permission to bring upon the holy servant of God so many dreadful afflictions, to prove to Satan the sincerity of Job's piety. But even if these things had occurred, no man could have known them unless God had revealed them to him, which, under the circumstances, is very improbable.

But the hypothesis that Job never existed—which was the view of one of the rabbies in the Talmud, of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and of Le Clerc¹—is to be at once rejected, for he is mentioned in Ezekiel (chapter xiv, 14): "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God." To refer in such language to a fictitious character, and associate him with men who had a real existence, is extremely unnatural. Besides, it is foreign to the character of the ancient Hebrews to invent fictitious personages, and was not common even among the Greeks.

It is impossible for us to say with certainty how much of the history is real; but we may assume as true that Job was a man of distinguished piety and virtue, an eminent citizen of the land of Uz, who met with heavy calamities and afflictions, from which he ultimately recovered. His friends, also, are most probably real personages. According to the tradition of the Jews Job belonged to the seven heathen prophets of primitive times, and among these were his three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. He is represented as a pious, generous man, and in many respects is said to have stood even higher than the patriarch Abraham.² Bleek³ regards the book as resting on an historical basis, and even Schrader⁴ thinks the matter of the book was derived from tradition. The materials furnished the writer, either by tradition or written memorials, were worked up into the present highly artistic and sublimely poetical form.

The *design* of the author in writing it nowhere appears, either in the prologue or epilogue, but must be inferred from a consideration of the whole. From the prologue of the book we learn that Job "was perfect and upright, and one that feared God and eschewed evil;" and in the epilogue it is stated "that the Lord turned the captivity of Job . . . : also the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before." But nowhere is there assigned any reason for the great

¹ Bleek, p. 654.

² Einleitung, p. 655.

³ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 81.

⁴ De Wette—Schrader, p. 552.

sufferings that God brought upon him. Yet the palpable inference is, that however much a good man may suffer, Providence brings him safely through his afflictions, and in the end makes him happier.

But it is also evident from the discourses that the author of Job intended to refute the idea that a man's sufferings are necessarily the result of his sins, and an indication of the Almighty's displeasure. At the same time he inculcates God's sovereignty, the inscrutability of his counsels, and the duty of implicit faith in him, and resignation, without questioning or murmuring, to his providence. The author does not deny that men are ever punished for their sins in this world. This is evident from the language attributed to Job, in which, in several places, the doctrine of retribution *here* is clearly taught. See xxi, 17-20; xxvii, 13-23.

In the discussions in the book the question of retribution has reference to the present life only. The doctrine of the soul's immortality and future retribution is nowhere taught,¹ though it was probably held by the author.

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK AND ITS AUTHOR.

Respecting the age in which the book was written, there has been a great diversity of opinion. Carpzov, Eichhorn, Jahn, Date of composition uncertain. Stuhlmann, and Bertholdt, supposed it was written before the time of Moses. The Talmud at one time asserts that it was written by Moses; at another, that it was composed by an Israelite, who returned to Palestine from the Babylonian captivity.² J. D. Michaelis and others attributed the book to Moses. It has been referred to the age of David or Solomon by Luther, Doederlein, Stäudlin, Rosenmüller, Welte, Hävernicks, Schlottmann, and Keil. Others refer it to the seventh century before Christ, as De Wette, Schrader, Gesenius, Umbreit, Ewald, Stickel, and Davidson.

¹ The passage, Job xix, 26, as it stands in the English version, refers to a resurrection, but it is not supported by the Hebrew, which reads: "I know that my redeemer (*goel*) liveth, and at last he shall stand on the earth; and after these things have smitten my skin, shall this be; in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall behold for myself, and my eyes shall see, and not a stranger." Here Job expresses the conviction that God will vindicate him from all the charges of his friends, and he had just before expressed the wish that his words were written in a book (for future reference). This harmonizes with the close of the book, where God appears to Job and vindicates him, and Job then says, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee." The Septuagint, Peshito-Syriac, and Targum refer the passage to a temporal restoration, which seems demanded by the context.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 80.

No solid arguments can be found for either the pre-Mosaic or the Mosaic date. The language of Job clearly indicates a *post*-Mosaic age. The archaisms of the Pentateuch do not appear in it. The language of Job post-Mosaic. **אִנִּי**, masculine pronoun, *he*, which is found about two hundred times in the Pentateuch as a feminine, meaning *she*, occurs but once, as a mistake,¹ for **אִנִּי**, the regular feminine. This regular feminine occurs but eleven times in the whole Pentateuch, but occurs *five* times in the Book of Job. **אֵל**, for **אֱלֹהִים**, *these*, found in the Pentateuch, does not occur in Job. The names of constellations and the mention of the Zodiac most probably belong to a post-Mosaic time.²

Nor is it at all probable that Moses would have written such a work, which seems to contradict one of the leading ideas of the Mosaic legislation, namely, that obedience to God is rewarded with temporal blessings, and that disobedience is followed by the judgments of heaven. Moses promised the Israelites that if they were obedient, God would put upon them none of the diseases of Egypt: "For I am the Lord that healeth thee" (Exod. xv, 26). Besides this, Moses was too much employed with his own legislation to engage in such a task. Further, the artistic character of the poem seems clearly to indicate a date far later than Moses. And between the time of Moses and that of David no one would think of placing the authorship of such a book. We are thus brought to the conclusion that we cannot attribute the composition of Job to a period earlier than that of David, and few will refer it to the time of the Babylonian captivity, or later. Accordingly, we find that the supposed time of the composition fluctuates between the reign of David and the Captivity.

The Book of Job seems to have been well known to Ezekiel the prophet, and to his contemporaries, from the way in which he speaks of Job (xiv, 14, 20). It is probable that Jeremiah made use of the Book of Job. Compare Jer. xx, 14-18 with Job iii; Jer. xx, 7, 8 with Job xii, 4 and xix, 7; Lam. ii, 16 with Job xvi, 9, 10. There are also other passages that are similar in both books. In Isaiah, compare xix, 5 with Job xiv, 11; lix, 4 with Job xv, 35. In these passages there are close resemblances. We also find passages quite

¹ Job xxxi 11. The pronouns are transposed, **אִנִּי**, masculine. *he*, being put with a feminine **וְהָיָה**, and **אִנִּי**, *she*, with a masculine noun. The Masorites have made the correction in the margin.

² **כִּסְיֵי־לֵבָיִשׁ**, *Chesil, Orion*; **כִּימָה**, *Kimah, Pleiades*; **עֶשׂ** and **עֶרֶשׂ**, *Ash, Wagon, the Great Bear*; **מַסְרֹת**, *Massaroth, the Zodiac* (chaps. ix, 9; xxxviii, 31, 32). The first two constellations are found also in the prophet Amos (chap. v 8), and the last in 2 Kings xxiii, 5.

similar in Amos and in Job. But whether the prophets made use of this book, or the author of the book used their writings, cannot be certainly determined, unless we find independent proof of the priority of Job.

The most flourishing period of Hebrew poetry was the age of David and Solomon, and to the latter it seems most natural to refer this poem. This is confirmed by peculiarities of language common to the Proverbs of Solomon and Job. The verb *על*, *alas*, *to exult*, is found only in Job xx, 18; xxxix, 13, and in Proverbs vii, 18. The noun *תְּחִלָּה*, *guiding, steering*, occurs only in Proverbs (five times) and in Job xxxvii, 12. *מָכַךְ* is found in Prov. xvi, 26 as a verb, and in Job xxxiii, 7 as a noun. It is found nowhere else. *בֵּיָר*, *calamity*, occurs *three* times in Job, and once in Proverbs; nowhere else. *רָכַם בַּשַּׁעַר*, *to crush in the gate*, is found only in Job v, 4 (Hithpael), and in Proverbs xxii, 22 (Piel). *To drink iniquity like water* (Job xv, 16), *to drink scorning like water* (chapter xxxiv, 7), like *to drink violence* (Prov xxvi, 6), a phraseology which appears nowhere else. *אַכְרִין*, *destruction*, occurs *three* times in Job, once in Proverbs, and once in Psalm lxxxviii; nowhere else. *תִּשְׁיָה*, *deliverance, purpose*, occurs *six* times in Job, *four* times in Proverbs; elsewhere *once* in Isaiah, and *once* in Micah. There are some other points of affinity in the language of these books.

In Job xxii, 24; xxviii, 16, mention is made of the *gold of Ophir*. This reference is especially suitable to the age of Solomon (who brought gold from Ophir), but could be also used for two or three centuries after, as we find the same reference in Isaiah xlii, 12, and in Psalm xlv, 9, but would not likely occur before the time of David and Solomon. We may therefore conclude, with great probability, that Job was written in the time of Solomon; and the peaceful reign of that monarch afforded abundance of leisure for such a work.

Respecting the *author* of the book and his *native land*, it is certain that he was an Israelite, dwelling, most probably, in Southern Judea. There is not the slightest proof of its having been written in any other language originally, and afterwards translated into Hebrew.¹ The local allusions refer to a hilly country, a land of brooks that fail in dry weather, where ice and snow are occasionally seen; a tract through which the caravans from Tema and Sheba (Sabæans) passed, and were often disappointed in finding that the brooks had become dry (Job vi, 15-20).

¹ At the end of the Book of Job, in the Septuagint, it is said: "This is translated from the Syriac book." But this remark at such a late period is of little or no value.

Reference is also made to the river Jordan (chap. xl, 23). The description of the behemoth (hippopotamus) and the crocodile (leviathan) (chaps. xl, 15-xli, 34) shows that the writer must have visited Egypt, and that these animals made upon him a deep impression, from the fact that they were strange to him.

Job himself, the hero of the book, lived in the land of Uz, which Gesenius locates "in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, between Idumea, Palestine, and the Euphrates, adjacent to Babylon and the Euphrates" (Heb. Lex.).

It is impossible to determine the age in which Job himself lived. The absence of all reference to the Mosaic legislation in the discussions does not prove that the author of the book placed him before the time of the Hebrew law-giver, since, though he lived after the Mosaic legislation, it would have been improper to represent him and his friends, who were without the pale of Israel, as discussing the principles of that legislation, or drawing illustrations from it. Had he lived many centuries before the author of the book but little would probably have been known of his history, and he would not have been considered of sufficient importance, or prominent enough in the public eye, to be the hero of the story. Accordingly, we think it most likely that he lived near the age of David, a short time before the author of the book. We attach no importance to the statement at the end of the book in the Septuagint, that his name was at first Jobab, the fifth in descent from Abraham.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

The Book of Job has been considered, in all ages of the Church, as one of the most sublime of the Bible, and is surpassed only by some of the grandest passages in Isaiah, and by the prayer of Habakkuk. Gibbon, speaking of Mohammed's composition of the Koran, remarks: "His loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the Book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language."¹ It is evident that the utterances of Job's friends were often wrong, for God is represented as finally reproving them on account of their speeches, and even Job himself modifies, in some of his later words, what he had before said. And although he is commended at the close of the book for his teachings, yet God demands of him: "Who is this that hideth counsel (wisdom) by

¹Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. p. 110. The passage is not quite correct respecting the language, as Job was written in Hebrew, and the Koran in Arabic.

words without knowledge?" Job replies: "Therefore I have uttered that I understood not."

The book has its value apart from its exalted poetical character, as illustrating the inscrutable providence of God, and the delivery of his people out of all their afflictions.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS.¹

THIS book contains one hundred and fifty psalms of a highly devotional character, and expressive of deep religious experience, suitable to all conditions of religious life, and without a parallel in the annals of religious literature. The whole collection is divided into *five* parts or books. The first includes Psalms i-xli; the second, Psalms xlii-lxxii; the third, Psalms lxxiii-lxxxix; the fourth, Psalms xc-cvi; the fifth, Psalms cvii-cl. At the end of each of these parts is found a doxology, which is also given in the Septuagint, of varying form, which was intended to mark a division, after the manner of the five Books of Moses. The doxology at the end of the first division is: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting, and to everlasting. Amen, and amen" (Psa. xli, 13).

Of these psalms the superscriptions attribute seventy-three to David; twelve have the superscription, לַאֲשָׁף, *to or for Asaph*, where we are to understand that the preposition (ל) indicates Asaph as the author, in the same way that psalms are designated as having been written by David (לְדָוִד). Eleven are attributed in the same way to the sons of Korah; one of them (Psalm lxxxviii), more specifically, to Heman the Ezrahite. One is ascribed to Moses, one to Ethan the Ezrahite, two to Solomon, and fifty are anonymous. The authors of our English version² have sometimes mistranslated the titles of the psalms.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE SUPERSCRPTIONS.

Many recent critics regard the superscriptions as possessing little or no authority, and they attribute them, not to the authors, but rather to the collectors of the psalms. It is not easy to determine, in every case, whether the super-

¹ The Hebrew title is תְּהִלִּים, *tehillim*, *hymns*, *psalms*. Septuagint, *psalmoi*, *songs sung to a stringed instrument*.

² The correct superscription is given in the margin when not given in the text.

scription was put there by the author of the psalm or not.¹ In examining the superscriptions contained in the Septuagint, we find that of the seventy-three psalms attributed to David in the Hebrew text, his name is omitted from five of them; and that his name is affixed to fourteen which are anonymous in the Hebrew text. Also, the name of Solomon is omitted from the superscription of Psalm cxxvii. With these exceptions, the same names stand in the Septuagint as are found in the Hebrew text.

When the Septuagint version was made, it is very evident that some of the superscriptions had already become obscure, as is clear from the manner in which they are translated; and this is a proof of the antiquity of the superscriptions.

Gesenius remarks on the word *למנצח*, *to the chief musician*, found in the superscription to fifty-three psalms: "This inscription is wholly wanting in all the psalms of a later age, composed after the destruction of the temple and its worship; and its significance was already lost in the time of the LXX." Accordingly, the superscriptions to the psalms in which this word occurs must have been affixed *before* the Babylonian captivity. In the superscription to Psalm lx, ascribed to David, it is stated that it was composed "when he strove with Aram-naharaim (Syria of the rivers), and with Aram-zobah, when Joab returned, and smote of Edom, in the Valley of Salt, twelve thousand." It is evident that this superscription was not taken from 2 Sam. viii, 13, for it is there said that David smote in the Valley of Salt *eighteen* thousand; nor was it taken from 1 Chron. xviii, 12, for there the number is the same as in the passage in Samuel. The conclusion is, that the superscription must have been affixed by David himself, or by some one soon after, who had information independent of the Books of Samuel.

In the superscription to the seventh Psalm it is stated that David sang it concerning the words of Cush the Benjamite. There is no mention in the history of David of any one of this name, so that the superscription must have been affixed when the affair that gave rise to the psalm was still recent.

If the superscriptions had been affixed from mere conjecture, it is probable that instead of fifty anonymous psalms, we would have none of that description. We might have expected that many of them would, in that case, have been assigned to Solomon, while, in fact, but two bear his name. One is ascribed to Moses, one to Heman, and one to Ethan, both Ezrahites.

¹ Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429) led the way in the denial of the genuineness of these inscriptions.—Leontius of Byzantium, liber iii, *Adversus Inconrupticolas et Nestor*.

There is nothing in these psalms to lead any one to suppose that they must have been written by these authors, and the names must have been affixed, if not by the authors themselves, by some one, on historical grounds.¹

"It is not improbable," says Bleek, "that the Hebrew poets themselves, when they wrote and put into circulation their songs, sometimes designated them with their names or the occasion of their being written, as is altogether common among the Arabian poets, and was, at least, very often the case with the Hebrew prophets."²

The question then arises, Is there internal evidence that the superscriptions of some of these psalms are wrong? Opinions of modern critics on the accuracy of the superscriptions. Bleek asserts that in some cases they *are evidently false*, of which he gives Psalms lix, cxxii, and cxliv as examples. But it is not clear to us that David was not the author of these psalms. On the contrary, Psalm cxliv contains internal evidence of having been written by David, as it is said in verse 10, "Who delivereth David his servant from the hurtful sword;" and there is nothing in the psalm that conflicts with this view. Respecting Psalm lix, it is stated that it was written "when Saul sent, and they watched the house to kill him." This psalm is in every respect suitable to the occasion with the exception of one word in the English version, "the *heathen*." The word דָּוִל, *goyim*, rendered "heathen," has the accessory idea of *enemies, oppressors*. It is not strange that David, when speaking of his enemies among the Israelites, should speak also of wicked men in general. We would have no good reason to expect that he would name Saul, whom he always treated mercifully. Nor do we see anything in Psalm cxxii that might not have been written by David. Bleek also rejects, as not belonging to David, Psalms xiv, liii, cviii, and cxxiv. Of these, two contain the same passage, which might indicate their composition during the Babylonian captivity, but may have no reference to that event: "O that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! when the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice and Israel shall be glad" (Psalm xiv, 7; liii, 6). As both of these psalms contain in their superscriptions the expression "To the chief musician," they must have been written while the temple was still standing; for Gesenius, with great propriety, refers the psalms with this superscription to the period preceding the captivity. The contents of the two psalms have no reference to the Babylonian captivity, but to the general wickedness of men, and

¹It is not likely that Moses himself would have added to his name "man of God;" this is not the usage in the Pentateuch.

²Page 617.

the Psalmist prays for the salvation, the conversion, of the people, which was to come forth from Mount Zion, where Jehovah especially dwelt in the tabernacle of Israel. The Psalmist uses Jacob and Israel as synonymous, which he would not probably have done had the nation already been divided into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. *To bring back the captivity* (שוב שבתי) does not always imply *the returning of a people to their native country*, for it is said, "the Lord turned the captivity of Job" (xlii, 10). Also in Hosea vi, 11, the phrase means *to restore to prosperity and righteousness*: "O Judah, he hath set a harvest for thee, when I return the captivity of my people;" and in Ezekiel xvi, 53, etc.

Bleek thinks that the following psalms, though attributed to David in the superscriptions, were probably not written by him: iv, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvii, xl, David's authorship of certain psalms denied by Bleek. lviii, lix, lxxxvi, ciii, cxxxi, cxxxiii, cxxxix, cxliii, and cxlv. But there is no sufficient reason for denying these psalms to be David's. De Wette acknowledges as undoubtedly belonging to David, Psalms vi, viii, xv, xviii, xxiii, xxix, xxx, xxxii, ci. Schrader questions the Davidic authorship of Psalm xxiii, but he adds to De Wette's list, iii, vii, xi. Hitzig attributes to David fourteen psalms,¹ and Ewald eleven.² No better proof can be furnished of the arbitrary character of some of the German criticisms than the fact that two of the psalms which Ewald attributes to David are referred by Hitzig to the times of the Maccabees, about nine hundred years later than David.

Dr. Davidson, while he rejects a part of the superscriptions to the psalms, nevertheless remarks: "The best method of proceeding is to assume the alleged Davidic authority till internal evidence proves the contrary."³

In Psalm li, after an earnest prayer for forgiveness of individual sin, David is represented as praying: "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (verse 18). It is not necessary to suppose that this language is a proof that the prayer was uttered about the time of the Babylonian captivity. For the first part of the language was suitable in the age of David, and the last may have been applicable also, for Jerusalem may not have been completely walled in at this period of David's reign; or the language may be figurative, imploring a return of prosperity. The last verse of the psalm speaks of the sacrifices in which God would then delight.

¹ Psalms iii, iv, vii-xiii, xv-xix.

² Psalms ii, iv, vii, viii, xi, xviii, xix, xxiv, xxxii, ci, cx; and xv, xxix he attributes to the time of David.

³ Vol. ii, p. 255.

Bleek, while acknowledging that David is the author of this psalm, thinks that the last two verses were added at the time of the Babylonian captivity.¹ If they necessarily refer to that period, we would greatly prefer this view to the rejection of the psalm as David's.

In 2 Sam. xxii there is given a psalm as David's which is the same as Psalm xviii, and has substantially the same superscription. Also in 1 Chron. xvi, 7 a psalm is attributed to David that corresponds in part to the first fifteen verses of Psalm cv, which is anonymous. We are, therefore, authorized in attributing to David the whole of this psalm, which is anonymous. In 2 Sam. xxiii, 1, David is called "the sweet Psalmist of Israel." Here the foundation for our belief of his high poetic character is laid, and we can easily believe that he wrote a large number of psalms.

Respecting the anonymous psalms, De Wette remarks: "Many of them may, indeed, belong to David and his contemporaries, but they cannot be ascertained with certainty." It is probable that, in some instances, psalms appear as anonymous which originally were united to one psalm, or more, that preceded, and had a superscription giving the author. Psalms ix and x are united in the LXX, and, probably, made but one originally.²

Twelve psalms are attributed to Asaph: Psa. l, lxxiii-lxxxiii. That Asaph wrote psalms is stated in 2 Chronicles xxix, 30: "Hezekiah the king, and the princes, commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the words of David and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness." According to 1 Chron. xvi, 5, Asaph was at the head of the singers in the time of David. Schrader thinks 'we cannot, with any certainty, ascribe these psalms to Asaph, and Bleek is unfavourable to the genuineness of any of them, and thinks that Psa. lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiii, and perhaps lxxxii, belong to a poet of the kingdom of Israel; while Psalms lxxiv-lxxvi, lxxix, and perhaps the rest, belong to a Jewish poet near the exile.' Dr. Davidson³ thinks that Asaph wrote Psalm l, and probably lxxiii, but no more of those assigned to him. Keil attributes seven of these psalms to the Asaph of David's time, and the remaining five to later members of his family.⁴ There are only two of these psalms that cannot well be referred to the Davidic Asaph, lxxiv and lxxix, which, from their allusions, seem to belong to a later age than that of David or Solomon. They may, indeed, belong to a later Asaph.

Ten psalms are attributed to the sons of Korah: xlii, xlv, xlv-xlix.

¹ Page 633.

² This was an ancient Jewish tradition.

³ Page 620.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 258.

⁵ De Wette-Schrader, p. 523.

⁶ De Wette-Schrader, p. 523.

⁷ Introduction, vol. i. p. 460.

lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvii. Psalm lxxxviii is inscribed both to the sons of Korah, and is also called the Psalm of Heman the Ezrahite. The Korahites are mentioned in 1 Chron. ix, 19 as being keepers of the gates of the tabernacle in the times of Samuel and David; also in 2 Chron. xx, 19, in the time of Jehoshaphat, it is stated that the children of the Korahites stood up to praise the Lord. It is thus impossible to fix the date of these psalms. But it is probable that the earliest of them was written in the time of Solomon, and perhaps none of them later than the time of Hezekiah. Psalm lxxxv opens with the declaration: "Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy land: thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob." As this is directed to the chief musician, indicating that the temple was standing, it is best to suppose that there is no reference to the return from Babylon, but perhaps a deliverance from the Assyrian power in the time of Hezekiah.

Psalm lxxii is inscribed to Solomon, but perhaps in this instance the $\frac{1}{2}$ is to be translated *for*, as the prayer seems to be made for Solomon, or rather, for him as a type of the Messiah, and it would seem by David, as at the end of the prayer it is said: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." Psalm cxxii is attributed to Solomon, and we see no reason to doubt it. Psalm lxxxviii is attributed to the sons of Korah, but it is afterwards added in the superscription: "A Psalm of Heman, the Ezrahite." But Heman was one of the sons of Korah, as appears from 1 Chron. vi, 33: "Of the sons of the Kohathites; Heman, a singer." Now the sons of Korah were Kohathites (Exodus vi, 18-21). Heman is mentioned in 1 Kings iv, 31 in connexion with Ethan the Ezrahite, to whom Psalm lxxxix is attributed: "He (Solomon) was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman," etc. Heman and Ethan were, it appears, contemporaries of Solomon. There is no good reason for denying to Heman the authorship of Psalm lxxxviii, nor to Ethan that of lxxxix. It is true that the latter psalm represents the crown of David as cast down to the ground. But it is very probable that this refers to the rebellion of Absalom, when David fled from Jerusalem.

Psalm xc is attributed to Moses, and Bleek remarks: "There is no sufficient ground for denying it to be his, and it certainly bears a very ancient stamp." ¹ Of the fifty anonymous psalms David, no doubt, wrote a considerable number, but it is difficult to decide how many. Two of the Psalms, at least (cxxvi and cxxxvii), were written after the Babylonian captivity. The Talmudists ² call those psalms which give neither the name of the author nor the occasion,

¹ Einleitung, p. 618.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, etc., p. 73.

Psalms attributed to the sons of Korah.

Authorship of other psalms.

aim and end, *orphans*. They ascribed these psalms to various persons; among them to Adam, Moses, Abraham, Melchizedek, etc.¹

Hitzig, and a few other critics, have referred some of the psalms to the period of the Maccabees. But such a date for any of them is generally discarded. It has met with decided opposition from Gesenius, and finds no sympathy with De Wette. The canon was closed long before the Maccabean age, and inspiration had ceased. On this subject Bleek well remarks: "In fact, there is no psalm in our Psalter which on any sufficient ground can be placed later than the time of Nehemiah, about 300 years before the age of the Maccabees, and but few bring us down so far as the age of Nehemiah."²

ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION OF THE PSALMS.

The first question that here arises is, Did our Book of Psalms take its present form from successive additions at different times, or were the Psalms collected at once, and formed into a book, as we now have them? The question has been differently answered. Keil's view

Keil's theory of the origin of the collection. is as follows: "Our collection of the Psalms has been made at one time, and, it would seem, under the charge

of one man, on account of the principle, which is easily recognized running through it, of internal and real affinity of the Psalms, of resemblance in their subject-matter, and of identity in tendency and destination. According to this real principle of resemblance and analogy in the individual songs, the first place in the collection is allotted to the psalms of David and his contemporaries, namely, Asaph and his choir, Ethan, Heman, and the other sons of Korah, who were reckoned the creators and masters of psalmody. Then, according to the prevalent use of the two divine names, *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, which divides them into two classes, the psalms of the master-singers were distributed into three books, so that the *first* book was the portion assigned to the Jehovah psalms of David; the *second* book to the Elohim psalms of the sons of Korah, of Asaph, of David, of Solomon, and of some unknown authors; and the *third* book to the remaining psalms of Asaph and of the sons of Korah, which are in part of a mixed character, that is, Jehovah-Elohistic, and in part purely Jehovistic. . . .

"The other part of the collection has been arranged according to the same law, taking the order of time into account. In this way the psalm of Moses (xc), as the oldest, has been placed at the head

¹ *Ibid.*, 66. Fürst, however, does not think that the Talmudists really supposed that Adam wrote any of them, but that such an author would suit them.

² *Einleitung*, pp. 623. 624. Delitzsch is said to lean towards a Maccabean date for Psalms lxxiv and lxxix.

of that collection followed by (*a*) a decade of anonymous psalms belonging to the period from Solomon's reign till the exile (Psa. xci-c); (*b*) a series of songs of the age of the exile and on to Ezra (Psa. ci-cxix); (*c*) the collection of pilgrim psalms (Psa. cxx-cxxxiv); (*d*) the last group, temple and hallelujah psalms (Psa. cxxxv-cl)."¹

On the other hand, Bleek thinks the collection was formed at different times: the first two sections (i-lxxii) before the Babylonian captivity, and that the other three (lxxiii-cl), most probably, were added by Nehemiah.²

Keil's view cannot, as a whole, be fully adopted; and Bleek's opinion, so far as it acknowledges that a collection of psalms was made before the Babylonian captivity, is, no doubt, true. To obtain a clear view of the matter, we must advert to certain historical facts.

In 1 Chron. xv, 16-27 it is stated that David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren to be *singers*. We accordingly find that Chenaniah was the leader of the singers. David appointed Levites, of whom Asaph was chief, to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel, and delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren first a psalm³ to thank the Lord. The singing of psalms a part of Hebrew worship.

The psalm is composed of Psalm cv, 1-15; xcvi, 1-9; a few verses of cvi, and a few from some other source. It is not improbable that we have in 1 Chron. xvi, 7-36 but a part of all that was sung on the occasion of David's bringing the ark of God into Jerusalem. Again, in the time of David, we find two hundred and eighty-eight persons were instructed in the songs of the Lord, at the head of whom were Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (1 Chron. xxv, 6, 7).

When the temple was dedicated to Jehovah the Levites praised the Lord, according to David's appointment, with instruments of music (2 Chron vii, 6). Jehoshaphat also appointed singers unto the Lord (2 Chron. xx, 21); and Jehoiada carried out the arrangement made by David with respect to singing (2 Chron. xxiii, 18). A more important passage still is 2 Chron. xxix, 30, in which it is stated that "Hezekiah the king, and the princes, commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the *words of David, and of Asaph the seer*."

It is evident from the foregoing that David instituted the singing of psalms as a part of divine worship, and that in the time of Hezekiah there was a collection of the psalms, which at least embraced those of David and Asaph. A collection in existence in the time of Hezekiah.

At the end of the seventy-second Psalm it says: "The prayers

¹ Introduction to Old Testament in Clark's For. Theo. Lib., vol. i, pp. 464, 465.

² Einleitung, pp. 625, 626.

³ There is no word in the original corresponding to "psalm."

of David the son of Jesse are ended." This is followed by eleven psalms of Asaph. But David did not write all of these seventy-two psalms, for seven of them are ascribed to the sons of Korah and one to Asaph, and some are anonymous, though at least several of these were in all probability written by David.

It is very probable that the statement, "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," was originally placed at the end of *all* his collected prayers or psalms, if not by the author himself, by some one soon after they were written, and that a part of them were removed to their present position in the collection by the last collector and arranger of the Psalms, probably by Ezra or Nehemiah. The psalms of the sons of Korah, and the one of Asaph, now found in the first seventy-two psalms, were probably inserted by the final collector. If the psalms of David found in the last part of the collection had been composed subsequently to those in the first half their position could be easily explained, but this is not probable.

Here the question arises, Upon what principles did the collector proceed in arranging the Psalms? Keil states, as we have seen, that those psalms of David in which the name Jehovah predominates were placed in the first book, while those in which Elohim predominates were put with similar psalms in the second book, while the third book presents no uniformity in respect to the use of the divine names. But Psalms lxxxvi, ci, ciii, cix, cx, cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxi, cxxxviii, cxi-cxlv, are ascribed to David, and so is a part of cv, (1 Chron. xvi, 7); and they are either entirely or partly Jehovistic, and have been excluded from the first book on some different ground from that of the divine names. Of these psalms of David, cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxi, and cxxxiii are songs of degrees,¹ and are placed with eleven other psalms bearing a similar name. In some of the psalms of David, in the first part of the collection, Elohim is found quite often. In those of Asaph the name Jehovah generally prevails, and this is true of the psalms of the sons of Korah.

If Jehovah were exclusively used in certain psalms, and Elohim in others, there might have been some reason for arranging them with reference to these names. But to determine the arrangement by

¹ Different explanations have been given of this name. Gesenius thinks it most probable that "the name refers to the peculiar rhythm obvious in some of them, by which the sense advances by *degrees*, or steps, some words of a preceding clause being repeated at the beginning of the succeeding one, with additions and amplification, so that the sense, as it were, *ascends*;" e. g., Psa. cxxi: 1. 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh MY HELP. 2. MY HELP cometh from the LORD. 3. He will not,' etc."

considering whether Jehovah or Elohim is used the oftener in them seems very artificial, and admits of serious doubt, and it seems impossible to state certainly the grounds of the classification in respect to the most of them.

THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF PSALMS.

Almost every variety is found in the Book of Psalms: *didactic poems*, as Psalms xxxvii, xlix, and l; *hymns, or songs of praise* to Jehovah, as viii, xix, civ; *psalms of thanksgiving*, as xxxiv, xcii, xcv, xcvi; *psalms of penitence*, as xxxviii, li; *historical psalms*, as lxxviii, cv; *Messianic psalms*, as ii, xvi, xxii, xl, xlv, lxxii, cx. It is impossible to classify them very definitely, as many of them are not limited to a single subject.

THE INTEGRITY OF THE PSALMS.

Bleek is of the opinion that some of the psalms underwent changes at the hands of later poets, who revised, abridged, or enlarged them to adapt them to the various relations of the people and to divine service, just as we modify our hymns; and that, before the psalms received their fixed form as a part of the canon, minor changes were made in orthography and language.¹

That later poets revised the psalms is destitute of all proof, and it is not natural to suppose that subsequent writers would alter the language of David and other great poets, especially when no necessity existed for making changes. Nor do we see any proof that the psalms have suffered much by the errors of transcribers. In 2 Sam. xxii we have a psalm of David consisting of fifty verses. As the books of Samuel were written in the age of Solomon, or soon afterwards, it is interesting to compare this early written psalm with psalm xviii, in the collection, bearing the same inscription. The difference between the two is but slight, and we have no reason to suppose that greater changes occurred in the other psalms.

THE IMPRECATIONS IN THE PSALMS.

There are passages in the Psalms—contrary to their generally edifying character—which are deemed inconsistent with the teachings of Christ, and may be termed *imprecatory*. In Psalm lviii, 6-10 we have the following imprecation: "Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth: break out the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord. Let them melt away as waters. . . . The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked," etc. Again, in Psalm cxxxvii, 8, 9.

¹ Einleitung, pp. 632-635.

written after the Babylonian captivity, occurs the following: "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy young children against the stones."

In Psalm lxi David imprecates curses upon his enemies: "Pour out thine indignation upon them, and let thy wrathful anger take hold of them. . . . Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."

Respecting these passages it must be observed that the imperative mood in Hebrew is often used for a simple future.¹ The imprecations not upon private enemies. "Break their teeth, O God," is equivalent to, "Thou wilt break," etc. "Pour out thy wrath," for, "thou wilt pour out thy wrath." Sometimes a verb in the future tense is unnecessarily rendered by the imperative, and may be used to express results prophetically. But, after making every allowance for the Hebrew idiom, there will remain passages that contain imprecations on the wicked, and the question arises, How far are they inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity? Under the old dispensation the rule was "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" but our Saviour teaches us to love and pray for our enemies, i. e., *ἐχθροί*, private enemies, not public foes. St. Paul on one occasion said to the high-priest Ananias, "God is about to smite thee, thou whited wall" (Acts xxiii, 3); and he writes, "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord will reward him according to his work" (2 Tim. iv, 14). A Christian may heartily wish that the violators of the great principles of morality and religion may in this world receive condign punishment. It is necessary to the existence and well-being of society that the wicked should be punished, and a Christian is not called upon to extend his benevolence so far as to make laws a mere rope of sand. The pious Israelites of old, finding themselves surrounded by powerful nations deeply sunk in idolatry and crime, the deniers of the true God, and the oppressors of Israel, and having in their sacred books the account of the extermination of the Canaanites by divine command for their crimes and abominable idolatries, would naturally wish and pray for the destruction of those whose conversion to the true God and whose moral reformation they deemed hopeless.

Respecting the bitter language employed towards Babylon in Psalm cxxxviii, it must be borne in mind that the Israelites had spent there a severe captivity, and that Isaiah and Jeremiah had predicted the judgments of God which would fall upon Babylon, and her utter ruin. Under these circumstances, the author of the psalm,

¹ See Roediger's Gesenius' Heb. Gram., pp. 232, 233.

speaking of Babylon as "to be destroyed," pronounces the man happy that will aid in blotting out all her inhabitants, young and old. But with all these concessions to their genuine theocratic spirit, it is still true that some of the passages in the psalms are not models for the imitation of Christians. They belong to the old dispensation.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THIS book, called in Hebrew *משלי דָּוִד*,¹ and bearing the superscription, *Proverbs of Solomon (כְּשֶׁלֶם דָּוִד), son of David, king of Israel*, consists of the short pithy sayings, the sage remarks, and the striking comparisons of Solomon, to which, in the last two chapters, are added the words of Agur and King Lemuel.

The first nine chapters treat of the blessings of wisdom and the dangers of unchastity. The second section (chapters Consists of four sections. x-xxiv) has the superscription, "The Proverbs of Solomon," and contains moral and religious precepts and prudential maxims. The third section (chaps. xxv-xxix) contains, as stated in the superscription, the "Proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out," and do not differ materially in their character from the foregoing. The last section contains the "Words of Agur, the son of Jakeh," the proverbs (chap. xxx) consisting of moral and philosophical reflections; and the "Words of King Lemuel, the proverbs which his mother taught him," enjoining upon him temperance and justice, and describing the qualities of a virtuous woman (chap. xxxi).

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PROVERBS ATTRIBUTED TO SOLOMON.

That Solomon wrote Proverbs is expressly stated in 1 Kings iv, 32: "He spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five." In the Book of Proverbs there are eight hundred and forty-seven verses, which scarcely make so many proverbs. It is exceedingly improbable that the Proverbs of Solomon would soon perish, and thus there is presumptive proof of their genuineness. Our collection does not contain one third of what he wrote, and thus we have no reason to suppose that the proverbs of others

¹ מְשָלִים. *Alashal*, a similitude, an apothegm, a proverb, a poem. Septuagint, Παροιμία; Vulgate, *Proverbium*.

have been attributed to Solomon. Nor are these proverbs unworthy of Solomon as a whole, nor do we find any among them that are unsuitable to him. And the very fact that the last two chapters in the collection are attributed respectively to Agur and to Lemuel, shows a clear discrimination in making the collection.

With characteristic skepticism, De Wette remarks on the Proverbs: "It is nowhere said that the first collection was made or caused by Solomon himself, and can by no means be proved; but it certainly belongs to the most flourishing period of Hebrew literature." Schrader observes: "In justice, a large share in the composition of the Proverbs themselves—especially in the collection (chaps. x-xxii, 16) which in general contains the oldest proverbs—must be conceded to Solomon. It is probable that in the order of time these are followed by the proverbs in chaps. xxii, 16-xxiv; xxv-xxix, next to which, in time, stands the large section chaps. i, 7-ix, which, on account of its relation to the Book of Job, and because in form and contents it perceptibly departs from chaps. x-xx, 16, as well as from chaps. xxv-xxix, is to be referred to a later period, perhaps to the seventh century" (B. C.).¹ The last two chapters, he thinks, belong to a still later age.

Bleek's view is about the same. He regards chaps. x-xxii, 1-16 as in all probability the oldest collection, though he thinks that in its present form it can hardly have proceeded from Solomon, but doubtless contains many genuine proverbs of his; and that to this section, chaps. xxii, 17-xxiv, 22, and chap. xxiv, 23-34, have been added. He confesses that it cannot be determined whether these small sections were added, along with chap. xxv and the following chapters, by Hezekiah's men, or were already found united to the central section; but in no event could they have been added later than the time of Hezekiah: and that it cannot be clearly made out when chaps. xxx and xxxi were added; possibly by Hezekiah's men, though probably at a later period, as were probably chaps. i-ix. This first section of the book, he thinks, was composed by the last editor of the book as a kind of introduction to the following proverbs of Solomon, and that chap. i, 1-6 was written as a preface to the whole book, especially to the proverbs of Solomon in it.²

But we can see no good reason for denying to Solomon the authorship of the first twenty-four chapters that bear his name, or for supposing that the proverbs which Hezekiah's men copied out (chaps. xxv-xxix) as Solomon's were not all his. It is true, that if Hezekiah's men had simply written down the proverbs which were floating among

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 537.

² Einleitung, p. 640.

the people as Solomon's there would be ground to question their genuineness. But the statement is, "These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, *copied out*." The Hebrew word rendered "*copied out*" is *קָבְצוּ*, *they transferred, transcribed*, from one book into another; Septuagint, *ἐξεγράψαντο*, *they copied*.

We have already seen that Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs (1 Kings iv, 32). It is in the highest degree probable that he wrote them down, otherwise such a large number of proverbs would not have had definite form; and it is extremely unlikely that the number would have been known if they had not been written. Instead of saying, he *wrote* them, it is said he *spoke* (*דָּבַר*) them, indicating that Solomon himself was their author. It is also said that Solomon *spoke* of trees, etc., where we must understand that he *wrote* of them. At all events, the language in Prov. xxv, 1 shows that the men of Hezekiah transferred the proverbs in chaps. xxv-xxix from a larger *written* collection. It is exceedingly improbable that the first nine chapters of the book should have been written by the collector of the proverbs, or editor; instead of Solomon, and that the name of this Hebrew monarch should be placed at the head of them when the collector himself in that case wrote about one third of the whole, and that, too, when he has marked so carefully the source of all the proverbs in the collection, attributing one chapter to Agur, and another to King Lemuel.

The second division of the book begins with the superscription, "The Proverbs of Solomon." This superscription may seem superfluous when the fuller one was already standing at the beginning of the book. But it is most likely The second division of the book. that the superscription was placed at the head of the second division as indicating a separate collection from the preceding, as many psalms of David, standing in immediate connexion, have each a superscription. The proverbs in the first section (chaps. i-ix) are principally—in a poetical point of view—*synonymous*, while those in the second division (chaps. x-xxiv) are generally *antithetical*. The last part (chaps. xxii, 17-xxiv) of the second division is evidently intended to go with the preceding, as belonging to Solomon; nor should the last twelve verses be excluded from it as being the product of several wise men, as it is unsuitable so to explain chap. xxiv, 23, but rather, according to the English version, "These things belong to the wise," i. e., are suitable for them. The preface to the Proverbs (chap. i, 2-6) may have been written by Solomon himself.

De Wette remarks that "chapters i-ix, on account of their hortatory tone and their strict doctrine of chastity, are more suitable for

a trainer of youth, a prophet, or priest, than for a king like Solomon.¹ Why such doctrines are unsuitable to a man of Solomon's wisdom and virtues simply because he was a king it is not easy to see. It was in the latter part of his life that he was led astray by idolatrous women. And all history is full of instances in which preaching and practising are widely at variance.

There are certain peculiarities of language that characterize all the proverbs attributed to Solomon, and thus confirm their unity of authorship: *חסר לב*, *lacking heart or understanding*, occurs in Prov. vi, 32; vii, 7; ix, 4, 16; x, 13, 21; xi, 12; xii, 11; xv, 21; xvii, 18; xxiv, 30. This phrase is found nowhere else. Similar is the phrase *חסר תבונה*, *to lack understanding*, found only in xxviii, 16. The phrase *הוסיף לקח*, *to increase learning*, occurs in Prov. i, 5; ix, 9; xvi, 21, 23; but nowhere else. *פָּרַע*, in the sense *to reject*, is found only in Prov. i, 25; iv, 15; viii, 33; xiii, 18; xv, 32. *מְדֻנִּים* (plural of *מְדֻנָּה*), *strife*, is found only in xviii, 19; xxi, 9, 19; xxiii, 29; xxv, 24; xxvi, 21; xxvii, 15. *מְדֻנָּה*, *strife*, xviii, 18; xix, 13; and *מְדֻנָּה*, *strife*, vi, 14, 19; x, 12, are found nowhere else. *דָּלַף טֶרֶד*, *continual dropping*, found only in xix, 13; xxvii, 15. The phrase *חָרַשׁ רָע*, *to devise mischief*, is found only in iii, 29 (*רָעָה*, feminine); vi, 14; xii, 20; xiv, 22. There are other peculiarities common to the different sections, but these are the most important.

The thirtieth chapter is attributed to Agur and the thirty-first to King Lemuel. As the author of the other parts of the book is a real personage, there is no reason for supposing, with some, that they are merely symbolical designations. But they are persons otherwise unknown.

In almost every instance in the book the divine Being is called LORD (Jehovah); in the few exceptions, *Elohim*; but in Agur's prayer *Eloah* is once used (chap. xxx, 5). Keil assigns to Solomon chaps. i-xxix; Agur he regards as a real personage, but Lemuel he thinks is a symbolical name.¹

Ancient Jewish tradition² assigned the collecting of all the proverbs that bear the name of Solomon into our book to the men of King Hezekiah, who were regarded as forming a *literary society or college*. To this society it attributed the additions chaps. xxx, xxxi. It regarded Agur as a symbolical name of a wise man of the time of Solomon, the embodiment of the law and of wisdom; and Lemuel as the symbolic name of King Solomon.

¹ Introduction, vol. i, pp. 472, 477.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, pp. 75-78.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

THIS book (called in Hebrew קהלת, *Kohleth*; Septuagint, Ἐκκλησιαστής; Vulgate, *Ecclesiastes, a preacher*), purporting to be written by the son of David, king of Jerusalem, is a dissertation upon the unsatisfactory nature of all things human, and recommends the enjoyment of the blessings of life. At the same time it earnestly avows the importance of fearing God and keeping his commandments. The language is for the most part poetical and aphoristic, resembling in style the Book of Proverbs, but sometimes it passes over into prose.

The author opens the discussion with the exclamation, "Vanity of vanities," and describes the ceaseless changes in all human affairs (chap. i, 1-11), and then describes his high position, and the various ways in which he sought happiness without finding it (chap. i, 12-ii). He asserts that for everything there is an appointed time, enjoins the doing of good, and the enjoying of the fruits of one's labour, affirming that men and beasts are exposed to the same calamities (chap. iii). He next discusses the miseries of men, the advantages of society, with a few remarks on other matters (chap. iv). After this he gives religious precepts, and discourses on the vanity of riches, and recommends eating and drinking and enjoying the fruit of one's labour (chap. v). Next follow various remarks on the miseries of man, in which is cited the case of one who cannot enjoy his abundant wealth and honour (chap. vi).

In the following chapter (vii) the author gives utterance to proverbs and moral precepts, inculcating moderation, and calling attention to the fact that sometimes the righteous man perisheth in his righteousness, while the wicked man prolongs his life in wickedness. In chap. viii he delivers some moral precepts, and declares that he knows that "it shall be well with them that fear God," but "it shall not be well with the wicked." At the same time he asserts that good men sometimes meet with the fate of bad men, and wicked men attain what is due good men, and recommends that men shall enjoy the good things of this life.

¹ קהלת (from קהל, *to convolve*), *one addressing a public assembly a preacher*. The noun is masculine, with a feminine termination.

In chap. ix he again reiterates the doctrine that things come alike to all, whatever their moral character may be, and "that time and chance happeneth to them all." In chap. x he delivers various proverbs, and in chap. xi precepts, and exhorts the young man to enjoy himself in his youth, but at the same time to remember that for all these things God will bring him into judgment. He closes the book by an exhortation to remember the Creator in the days of one's youth, before the evil days come, and graphically depicts the miseries of old age, and sums up, as the conclusion of all that he has said, "Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." Jerome remarks that the Hebrews say this conclusion of Ecclesiastes saved it from perishing with other writings of Solomon, a fate it would have deserved without it.¹

THE DESIGN OF THE BOOK.

It is clear from the author's conclusion that he has no intention to inculcate Atheism, Epicureanism, or the doctrines afterwards held by the Sadducees. In his discussion there is but little system, and he repeatedly returns to the doctrine that it is best to keep the commandments of God, to enjoy the fruit of one's labour, and that all is vanity in this world, but at the same time asserting man's responsibility to God for his actions.

Schrader gives the following account of the book: It "evidently transports us to a time when the old Hebrew doctrine of retribution, the old faith, in general, had already become a subject of the strongest doubts, and when men, almost despairing of any thing higher, believed that they could find in the enjoyment of earthly things the satisfaction they sought, and the internal harmony they missed. The Book of Ecclesiastes unfolds to us the picture of the discord in the soul of a pious man of this period. It transports us into the very midst of the surging conflict of thoughts fighting each other. The ancient faith appears to struggle with modern doubt for the mastery. But at last we see the former gain the victory over the latter, while the author states the position, as the sum of his discourse, 'Fear God, and keep his commandments.'" The only exception that can be justly made to the foregoing statement is, that we have no reason to suppose that skepticism respecting the doctrine of divine providence and retribution had become common, but, rather, that it was a growing tendency which developed itself afterwards in the doctrine of the Sadducees.

¹ Comment. on Ecclesiastes, *in fin.*

² De Wette—Schrader, p. 541

DATE AND AUTHCRSHIP.

The superscription of the book is, "The Words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem." And in chap. i, 12 the author says, "I, the Preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem." Solomon's name is not found in the book; it might be supposed that Solomon is not necessarily meant, and that the language "son of David" might be used to designate any of his descendants who was king in Jerusalem. But the statement that he was "king over Israel in Jerusalem," and that he was wiser than all those who had preceded him in Jerusalem (chap. i, 16), suits Solomon only.

But here the question arises, Is the author's title, "son of David, king in Jerusalem," a real or assumed one? It was the general opinion of the ancients that Solomon was really the author of Ecclesiastes. "As in antiquity," says Fürst, "a comprehensive wisdom superior to that of all other men is ascribed to Solomon only, it was natural that they should refer this book of an unknown teacher of wisdom to Solomon."¹ "When, at a later period, the view had become established that Solomon was not merely an *assumed* name, but was the real author of the work, the tradition was fixed that the college of Hezekiah edited and arranged the Book of Ecclesiastes, as it had before the Proverbs and Song of Solomon. As we have seen in the case of the Proverbs and the Song of Solomon, the reference here can be to the last days only of this college, in the latest Persian period, before the founding of the Great Council; and, especially, Ecclesiastes appears to be the last book edited."²

The book was treated by Jerome as the work of Solomon, and this was the prevailing opinion in the Christian Church until Grotius († 1645) rejected it as a writing of Solomon, and referred it to a later age on account of the peculiarities of its language. Modern critics, with but few exceptions, regard it as the work of an author who lived after the Babylonian captivity. Professor Stuart remarks with great propriety and truth, "The *diction* of this book differs so widely from that of Solomon in the Book of Proverbs, that it is difficult to believe that both came from the same pen. Chaucer does not differ more from Pope than Ecclesiastes from Proverbs. It seems to me, when I read Coheleth, that it presents one of those cases which leave no room for doubt, so striking and prominent is the discrepancy."³ Hengstenberg and

¹ Ueber den Kanon, pp. 90, 91. Fürst shows that there was a slight departure from this tradition, p. 91.

² Ibid., p. 91.

³ On the Old Testament Canon, p. 130.

The book later in its composition than the time of Solomon.

Believed by the modern critics to be post-Solomonian.

Keil refer the book to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra. Ewald refers it to the last part of the Persian dominion; De Wette¹ and Bleek to the last part of the Persian, or to the beginning of the Greek period; while Kamphausen² fixes upon the third century before Christ as the period in which it was probably written.

We think there can be but little doubt that it is the latest book of the Canon, and could not have been written earlier than the time of the prophet Malachi; but in all probability it was written still later. This is especially evident from the language, and also from the tone of the Book. One of the most striking peculiarities of the language is the frequent use of *š*, abbreviated from *šer*, *who, which*, as a prefix to verbs. This usage was common in the Phœnician language and in the Rabbinical Hebrew, as appears from the Mishna (about A. D. 219³), but rarely occurs in the Old Testament⁴ outside of the Book of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon.

Its Chaldaisms point to a period subsequent to the Babylonian captivity. *אלי*, *if*, vi, 6; *בטל*, *to cease*, xii, 3; *זמן*, *time*, iii, 1; *פתגם*, *sentence*, viii, 11; *כדנה*, *province*, ii, 8; *בשר*, *to prosper*, x, 10; xi, 6; *בשר*, *explanation*, viii, 1; *שלט*, *to rule*, ii, 19; viii, 9; *עלשון*, *ruling over*, viii, 4, 8; *זקן*, *strong, mighty*, vi, 10; *זקן*, *to be made straight*, i, 15; *בכר*, *long ago, formerly*, i, 10; iii, 15. Several of these words are also found in books written after the Babylonian captivity. There are also other words indicating a late period.

In the Proverbs of Solomon Jehovah is the usual name for the divine Being; this word never occurs in Ecclesiastes, but instead thereof Elohim, which is used *forty times*. It would seem that the name Jehovah had at the time of the composition of the book already grown into disuse.

The age of the author of Ecclesiastes was one of despondency, not the flourishing period in which Solomon reigned. It is not at all probable that Solomon would speak of the oppression under the sun, in which the oppressed had no comforter, and that he would say that on the side of the oppressors was power (chap. iv, 1), as this would have been a reflection upon himself. It is evident that when the book was written the Jewish temple had been already rebuilt, for the author gives advice about going to the house of God (chap. v, 1).

While we are compelled on strong internal grounds to decide

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 543.

² Kamphausen's Bleek, p. 648.

³ At this time it received its present form, but it doubtless presents the state of the Hebrew at an earlier period.

⁴ It occurs several times in Psalm cxxxvii, 8, 9, written after the captivity.

against Solomon's being the author of the work, there is no one to whom we can with any probability ascribe it. Professor Douglas, in his additions to Keil's Introduction, makes a vigorous, but yet, we think, unsuccessful effort to show that the book proceeded from Solomon.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

THE Hebrew title of this book is *Song¹ of the Songs, which is Solomon's* (שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה), in which its authorship is clearly ascribed to Solomon and the phrase "Song of Songs" means the most beautiful of songs, i. e., the choicest of the songs, of Solomon.

The book consists of eight chapters, in which the deepest affections of two persons of opposite sex are set forth in the strongest, most beautiful, and often touching language, in the form of dialogues, often accompanied with an exquisitely beautiful description of the scenery in country life.

The book opens with a strong expression of love on the part of a female for a shepherd, to which he replies in affectionate, laudatory language. She answers in endearing words, to which he again replies in terms of praise and appreciation. She then speaks of her own pre-eminence and that of her lover, and he makes his address to her, to which she responds (chaps. i, ii). In the following chapter (chap. iii) she relates her search for her beloved, and the finding of him, after which she describes him, and compares him to Solomon in his glory. Her lover then answers (chap. iv), giving an exquisitely beautiful description of his beloved, to which she makes a brief response. In his dissatisfaction he seeks his beloved in the night, but before she opens to him he withdraws, and while she is in pursuit of him the watchmen smite her. She gives a beautiful description of his person (chap. v). In the following chapter a third person is introduced, asking her where her beloved is gone, to whom she replies. After this he gives a beautiful description of his beloved, in which she is called a Shulamite, and prince's daughter. In replying to this, she invites him to take a walk with her into the fields (chaps. vi, vii). She expresses her deep affection for the object of her love. After this she speaks of a little sister that hath no breasts, and refers to Solomon's vineyard at Baal-hamon, and to her own vineyard, and closes by exhorting her beloved to make haste (chap. viii).

¹Septuagint, ᾠδα ᾠδῶν; Vulgate, *Canticum Canticorum*.

Delitzsch regards the whole book as referring to the ardent affection of two lovers for each other, beginning with their first love, and extending to a period beyond their nuptials. He divides the whole into six acts, and each of these again into two scenes: first, the mutual ardour of the lovers (chaps. i, 2-ii, 7); secondly, their seeking and finding each other (chaps. ii, 8-iii, 5); thirdly, the introduction of the bride, and the wedding (chaps. iii, 9-v, 1); fourthly, the love that was spurned, but again won (chaps. v, 2-vi, 9); fifthly, how the charmingly beautiful Shulamite, even as princess, preserves her simplicity and humility (chaps. vi, 10-viii, 4); sixthly, the visit of Solomon and of the Shulamite to the house of the latter, and the confirmation of their alliance of love (chap. viii, 5-14). "This view," says Bleek, "presents many difficulties and improbabilities."¹ Schrader divides the book, in a somewhat different way, into *five* acts, in which he represents the Shulamite as being in love with a shepherd, and Solomon appearing as his rival, but without gaining her affections.² But this seems inadmissible, and it is better to regard the book as exhibiting the love of but two persons for each other.

DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR.

Respecting the design of the author, the most discordant views have been held. "The men of the Great Council," says Fürst, "and those who lived later in the Greek period, explained the Song of Solomon in a symbolical or allegorical manner, and thus it was saved for the Canon."³ "In the Midrash on the Song of Solomon it is said, on the passage 'Thy cheeks are comely with rows of pearls, thy neck with strings of pearls; we will make for thee golden chains with studs of silver: 'The rows of pearls are the five books of the Law; the strings of pearls are the Prophets; the golden chains are the Hagiographa; and the silver studs are the cantos of the Song of Solomon.' The song is also designated as *the mystical, the excellent scroll*."⁴

The Targum on this book, and many of the Jewish expositors, explain the song as setting forth in an allegorical way the relation existing between God and the Hebrew people, in which the Shulamite maiden represents the people of Israel, while her lover typifies Jehovah. Origen, in his Commentary on this book, remarks: "Understand that the bridegroom is Christ, and that the bride is the Church, without spot or wrinkle." In this method of exposition he is followed

¹ Einleitung, p. 645.

² Ueber den Canon, p. 84.

³ De Wette—Schrader, p. 558.

⁴ Ibid., p. 85.

by most of the ancient Christian expositors, and by many of the moderns.

Respecting the symbolizing of the union of the soul with God by means of the love existing between two persons of different sexes, Professor Stuart remarks, "that extensive usage of a similar nature exists, and has for a long period existed, in the Oriental countries, e. g., among the Persians, the Turks, the Arabians, and the Hindoos. In the Musnavi of Jellaleddin, the poems of Jami, and above all in the Odes of Hafiz are many productions apparently of an amatory nature, which the Persians (there are some dissenters) regard as expressive of the intercourse of the soul with God."¹

Some reasons in Oriental usage for an allegorical interpretation.

Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, gives some specimens of songs sung by the dervishes of Egypt upon the festival of the birth of Mohammed which have considerable resemblance to the Song of Solomon, and are evidently intended to be of a highly devotional character, however different they may seem to be from our taste and sense of propriety. "I cannot entertain any doubt," says he, "as to the design of Solomon's Song."²

According to Keil³ the Song "depicts in dramatico-lyrical responsive songs, under the allegory of the bridal love of Solomon and Shulamith, the loving communion between the Lord and his Church, according to its ideal nature, as it results from the choice of Israel to be the Church of the Lord. According to this, every disturbance of that fellowship, springing out of Israel's infidelity, leads to an ever firmer establishment of the covenant of love by means of Israel's return to the true covenant of God, and this God's unchangeable love."

Delitzsch rejects the allegorical character of the Song, and endeavours to explain it with a reference to the history of the time. "Without Solomon's conscious aim, by the agency of the Holy Spirit it has taken such a form that the mystery of marriage sheds its rays upon us out of its ethereal love, its crystal mirror." Bleek also denies the allegorical meaning, and sees in the book nothing more than the expression of love of persons of different sexes for each other;⁴ and Schrader holds that it sets forth the glorification of true bridal love, exhibiting its real character in every trial; and, inasmuch as this tendency springs from the spirit of the purest morality, it justly entitles the book to a place in the canon without resorting to the allegorical exposition, which he thinks is devoid of all probability.⁵

Critics who doubt the allegorical interpretation.

¹ On the Old Test. Canon, p. 70.

² See his specimens in vol. ii, pp. 195-197.

³ Introd., vol. i, pp. 503, 504.

Einl., p. 643.

⁴ De Wette-Schrader, p. 550

It seems exceedingly improbable that the book would have been admitted into the canon if it had not been deemed to be of an allegorical character, setting forth the intimate relation existing between Jehovah and his chosen people; for it is in no sense historical, didactic, or prophetic. A poem, however beautiful it may be, if it aims at nothing higher than to set forth the mutual love of two persons of different sex, has no place in the canon. In the Old Testament, the intimate relation existing between Jehovah and Israel is typified by the relation existing between husband and wife. But it is true that the Song itself furnishes no key to its solution, and the spiritual sense nowhere crops out.

THE AUTHOR OF THE SONG.

Schrader, while he denies that the poem was written by Solomon, ^{Options of grants that in its original form it was composed perhaps modern critics.} in the *tenth* century before Christ, but was afterwards enriched by additions. He is inclined to think that it had its origin in the northern part of Palestine.¹

Bleek remarks, that "it may be supposed, with great probability, that the book has *one* author, to which supposition the similarity of character, representation, and language pervading the whole of it, and the recurrence of so many individual references, lead. Single passages clearly refer to Solomon and to his affairs in such a way that it scarcely admits of a doubt that they were written in the age and in the neighbourhood of this monarch. But these very passages also make it in the highest degree probable that not Solomon himself is the author, but another poet, in the time and in the neighbourhood of Solomon."² Davidson supposes, that although not written by Solomon, it appeared soon after his death.³

Keil remarks, that the statement of the superscription, that Solomon was the author of the book, "is thoroughly confirmed by the predominant circle of imagery in the poem, and by its references to matters of fact as well as by its language. The multitude of names of plants and animals which occur in it—nuts, aloes, cedar, cypress vine, mandrakes, rose, camphire, frankincense, myrrh, spikenard, cinnamon, lily; and, again, hinds of the field, lions, kids, doves, leopards, mare, she-goats, young roes, gazelles, ewes, foxes, turtle; as well as of other natural objects and products (ivory, marble, sapphires, etc.), favour the belief that he was King Solomon, renowned equally as a prolific composer of songs, and as an eminent naturalist (1 Kings iv, 32, 33)."⁴

¹ De Wette—Schrader, pp. 560, 561.

² Introduction, vol. ii, p. 414.

³ Einleitung, pp. 614, 615.

⁴ Vol. i, pp. 501, 502.

The ancient tradition¹ of the Jews attributed the Song to Solomon, and this has been the prevalent opinion, and there is no good reason for denying that he was the author. It certainly was written in the age of Solomon, to which there are the most evident allusions (chap. s. i, 5; iii, 7-11; viii, 11, 12).

Respecting the language of the book, it is to be observed that it has some affinities with the Book of Proverbs; but at the same time it has in many places the shortened form, ^{In its language like Proverbs} וְ, וְ , from וְנָ, וְנָ , characteristic of late Hebrew, but which was also used sometimes at an earlier period, as we find it twice in the Song of Deborah (Judges v, 7). פָּרַח , *parh*, occurs in iv, 13; but this word is also found in the Sanscrit, and furnishes no probable proof of the late origin of the book.

ITS CANONICITY.

Some of the ancient Jews attributed a very high value to this Song. Rabbi Akibah remarked, "Far be it from us to suppose that any one in Israel ever doubted the holiness of the Song, for the world was not worthy of the day on which the Song was given to Israel. Although all the Hagiographa are holy, this Song is most holy."² In the Targum on this Song it is stated that Solomon uttered it under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

The book is found in the Catalogue of the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament as given by Melito,³ bishop of Sardis, in the latter part of the second century, and also in the catalogues of the early Church. Origen and Jerome, however, following an old tradition of the Jews, did not think the book should be read before one is thirty years of age.⁴

¹ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 86.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 83. Akibah lived in the first part of the second century.

³ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iv, 26.

⁴ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 83.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

THIS small poetical book, containing in the Hebrew Bible the simple inscription *איכה* (*How?*)—so called because the book begins with this word—stands in the English version of the Bible, in the Peshito-Syriac, and in the Vulgate, immediately after the Prophet Jeremiah, from which it is separated in the Septuagint by the Book of Baruch; but in the Hebrew Bible it stands in the Hagiographa just before the Book of Ecclesiastes. We introduce it here on account of its poetical character. In the Septuagint it bears the title, "Lamentations of Jeremiah" (*Θρήνοι Ιερειμίου*), and has the following prefatory remarks: "And it came to pass, after Israel had been led away into captivity, and Jerusalem had been made desolate, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and sung this dirge over Jerusalem, and said." In the Peshito-Syriac it has the inscription, "Lamentation of Jeremiah;" in the Vulgate, "THRENI, that is, THE LAMENTATIONS OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH." It is called by Jerome "CINOTH" (*קינוח*), *Lamentations*.

It consists of five chapters. In the first the author pours forth, in language deeply pathetic, his sorrow for the desolations and miseries of Judah and Jerusalem on account of their sins. This mournful strain he continues in the next chapter, in which he laments the destruction of the temple; and in the third he describes, in deeply touching terms, his own sufferings and sorrows, and at the same time expresses hope and confidence in God. After this he reverts to the calamities that have overtaken Jerusalem, and prays for a restoration to the Divine favour (chaps. iv, v). Although no mention is made of Nebuchadnezzar's having brought these calamities upon the land and the city, yet the notices of the Egyptians and Assyrians, to whom the Jews have submitted (chapter v, 6), and the nature of the calamities, leave no doubt that the dreadful catastrophe was brought upon them by Nebuchadnezzar when he destroyed the city and the temple, and led the people away captive to Babylon.

The arrangement of the verses in the first four chapters is highly artificial. The first two chapters contain each twenty-two verses of about two lines each. The first of these verses in each of the two chapters begins with א (Aleph), the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet; the second with ב (Beth); and

The versification highly artificial.

the other successive verses with the successive letters of the alphabet, ending with ט (Táv). The third consists of sixty-six verses, averaging each about two thirds of a line in length. The first, second, and third verses begin severally with א (Aleph), the next three each with ב (Beth), and so on to the last three, which begin with ט (Táv). The fourth chapter contains twenty-two verses, each something more than a line long, beginning with the successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The fifth chapter contains twenty-two verses, arranged without any reference to the order of the letters in the alphabet.

THE AUTHOR OF LAMENTATIONS.

We have already seen that the Septuagint attributes the book to Jeremiah; so does the Vulgate in nearly the same language. The most ancient Jewish tradition¹ ascribes it to the Prophet Jeremiah, and this has been the almost unanimous opinion. In confirmation of the ancient tradition De Wette remarks, that "we can appeal to its affinity in contents, spirit, tone, and language" with the prophecy of Jeremiah. With this judgment Bleek coincides.² Schrader³ thinks it very improbable, if not impossible, that Jeremiah should have written it, alleging that its author made use of Ezekiel (which statement admits of no proof), and that chap. v, 7 contradicts Jer. xxxi, 29, 30, which is not true. He supposes the book was written during the Babylonian captivity. Josephus evidently refers to this book when, speaking of the death of King Josiah, he observes: "Jeremiah, the prophet, wrote upon him a funereal dirge, which is still extant."⁴ But he is mistaken in supposing that it was composed on the death of that monarch, though it is stated in 2 Chronicles xxxv, 25 that Jeremiah lamented Josiah.

The book has a freshness and vividness clearly showing that it must have been written soon after the events of which it treats. Bleek thinks it was composed before the final catastrophe, in the interval between the surrender of the city and its destruction, while Jeremiah was still in Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix, 14). On this point, however, we are not certain.

¹ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 87.

² De Wette—Schrader, pp. 531, 532.

³ Einleitung, p. 502.

⁴ Antiq., x, 5, 1.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE PROPHETIC BOOKS.

HEBREW PROPHECY.

WHEN Moses warned the children of Israel against false prophets and deceivers, he promised them, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet (נָבִיא) from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken" (Deut. xviii, 15). This promise, although it has its highest fulfillment in Jesus Christ,¹ the greatest of all prophets, yet furnishes the basis of the prophetic office among the Hebrews. Use of the term prophet. In Judges vi, 8, it is said "that the Lord sent a prophet unto the children of Israel"—the only mention of a prophet in this book. The next use of the term prophet occurs in 1 Sam. iii, 20, where it is said that all Israel "knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord." Mention is made of "a company of prophets" in the time of Samuel (1 Sam. x, 10). In the time of David we read of "Nathan the prophet," "Gad the seer," and "Heman the seer." These appellations are used indiscriminately (1 Sam. ix, 9). In the time of Jeroboam we find "Ahijah the prophet" (1 Kings xiv, 2), "Iddo the seer," (2 Chron. ix, 29), and "Shemaiah the prophet" (chaps. xi, 2; xii, 15). Elijah, one of the most distinguished of the Hebrew prophets, flourished during the reign of the wicked Ahab. He was succeeded in the prophetic office by his disciple Elisha, almost as celebrated as his master. The ministry of these two prophets extended from about B. C. 910 to B. C. 838. During their time reference is made to "the sons of the prophets" (1 Kings xx, 35; 2 Kings ii, 3, 5, 7, 15; iv, 1, 38; v, 22; vi, 1; ix, 1), that is, "the disciples of the prophets," who appear to have established schools The prophetic schools. for the training of young men in the law of Moses, and if called of God to the extraordinary prophetic office, that they might be suitable instruments in the hands of Providence for the execution of their great mission. Among these prophets, Samuel, Nathan, Gad (1 Chron. xxix, 29), Shemaiah, Iddo (2 Chron. xii, 15), and Ahijah (2 Chron. ix, 29), were writers. None of their works, however, are extant, unless we except the Books of Samuel, which, in all probability, were, in their present form, composed by Nathan. • Of

¹ Acts iii, 22.

their prophecies we have but fragments in some of the historical books. It is very probable that their prophecies were of a local and fragmentary character.

The most brilliant period of Hebrew prophecy extended from about B. C. 880 to B. C. 430, during which flourished, in order of time,¹ Jonah, Obadiah, Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi. We have extant writings from all of them with the probable exception of Jonah.² It was during this period that the Hebrews came in contact with foreign nations, and their prophets, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, often take a wider range and a loftier flight, and predict the overthrow of the kingdoms hostile to Israel, the judgments or blessings of God upon his chosen people, and the glory of Messiah's reign.

The Hebrew prophets were distinguished by the purity of their lives, self-denial, and zeal for Jehovah, which often brought upon them the wrath and vengeance of wicked and idolatrous kings. As a class, they had no parallel in other nations. They did not belong to any particular tribe or family, but were selected by the Almighty himself as messengers, to whom he communicated his will and purpose, principally in visions. We sometimes find the prophets performing *symbolic* acts, to impress more deeply upon the people their prophecies. Thus Ahijah, in declaring unto Jeroboam that he should have ten tribes of Israel, "caught the new garment that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces: and he said to Jeroboam, Take thee ten pieces: for thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee" (1 Kings xi, 30, 31).

Isaiah, by way of illustrating his prophecy, was directed to call his son "Maher-shalal-hash-baz," *hasting to the prey, speeding to the booty* (chap. viii, 1); and, to set forth God's judgment upon Egypt and Ethiopia he was commanded to walk naked and barefoot, which he did for three years (chap. xx, 2-4).

Jeremiah was sent to the Euphrates to hide a girdle in the hole of a rock, and long afterward he was ordered to get it again; and, having found it marred, it was made to represent the worthless condition of Israel (chap. xiii, 1-11).

For a sign to Israel Ezekiel was ordered to portray, by symbols, the siege of Jerusalem, and to lie upon his left side three hundred and ninety days, to bear the iniquity of the house of Israel; also to

¹ Some of them, however, were contemporary.

² We do not regard Jonah as the author of the book that bears his name.

Characteristics
of the Hebrew
prophets.

Symbolism of
the prophets.

lie upon his right side forty days, to bear the iniquity of the house of Judah (chap. iv, 1-8).

To illustrate the treachery of Israel Hosea was thus commanded: "Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms: for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord" (chap. i, 2). Again: "Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel," etc. (chap. iii, 1).

The question here arises, Were these *symbolic* actions really performed, or were they merely visions? In some instances they were, doubtless, *real* transactions, performed before the eyes of the people; in others, most probably, they were visions. According to Bleek,¹ Kimchi, Aben Ezra, and Moses Maimonides, distinguished rabbies, regarded the *symbolical* acts of the prophets as mere visions.

Respecting the character of the Hebrew prophecy, various opinions have been held. The first view is that of Eichhorn, who regarded nearly all the declarations in our prophetic writings which refer to events in the immediate future as poetical descriptions of events written after they had occurred. The absurdity of this view, Bleek² remarks, is universally acknowledged, and needs no refutation. The *second* view is, that the prophecies are the products of the human wisdom, experience, and judgment of the prophets respecting human affairs—the prediction of the future from the past and present. The *third* view is, that the prophecies are merely the purely human hopes and fears of the prophets, which they uttered when guided by patriotism and poetic imagination, without troubling themselves whether or not they would be fulfilled.

These last two views are prevalent among rationalistic critics, and are utterly at variance with the declarations of the prophets themselves, the teachings of the New Testament, and the wonderful fulfilment of their prophecies, which confirm the evangelical view expressed in the language of Peter: "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i, 21).

Bleek, while not adopting the last two rationalistic views, thinks they have a measure of truth, but not the whole truth, and that it would be utterly false to consider the discourses of the prophets respecting the future as the product of the reflective understanding. "Among the prophecies," says he, "which are preserved, there are many respecting the genuineness of which there can be no doubt, in which single future events are predicted

¹Bleek's view.

¹ Einleitung, p. 427.

²Ibid., p. 431.

with great confidence in such a way that it is clearly seen that in the mind of the prophet no doubt existed respecting the certain and exact fulfilment of his prediction, and that a higher confidence directed him than any human insight and previous calculation could have instilled into him."¹

It has sometimes been objected that some of the prophecies have not been fulfilled. This is, to a certain extent, true; for there are prophecies respecting the universality of Christ's kingdom and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity that have not yet been fulfilled: but their accomplishment lies in the future, the fulness of time having not yet come. It is also true that there are some prophecies, whose fulfilment pertains to the past, which we cannot prove to have been fulfilled, owing to our imperfect knowledge of history.

But, further: it sometimes happens that a prophecy depends for its fulfilment upon the conduct of the persons whose prosperity or punishment is declared beforehand. Thus we find that God announced the severe judgments that he would bring upon Ahab for his wickedness; but Ahab, hearing them, repented in sackcloth; upon which God said, "Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his sons' days," etc. (1 Kings xxi, 21-29).² The most of the prophecies, however, are of an absolute character; all the contingencies are foreseen, and the divine purpose is declared without conditions and limitations. Of such a character is the prophecy respecting the destruction of Babylon (Isa. xiii, 19-22).

From the great number of prophecies which have been accurately fulfilled the inspiration of the prophets is established, and we are authorized in concluding that all those prophecies still unfulfilled will receive their accomplishment in the future; and that those which pertain to the past were fulfilled, even in cases where the incompleteness of history renders us incapable of proving it.

The language of the prophets is often of a sublime character, full of bold imagery, and clothed in a poetic form, and is occasionally obscure from its great condensation and abruptness.

¹ *Einleitung*, p. 435.

² So of Nineveh: "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown;" but the people repented, and the city was saved.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS.

Obadiah prophesied in Judah.....	About B. C.	880
Joel " " " "	" "	870
Jonah " " in the kingdom of Israel and at Nineveh " "	" "	825 ¹
Amos " " chiefly in the kingdom of Israel.....	" "	795
Hosea " "	" "	785-725
Isaiah " " in Judah.....	" "	758-705
Micah " "	" "	750-725
Nahum lived in the kingdom of Israel, and prophesied against Nineveh.....	" "	630
Zephaniah prophesied in Judah.....	" "	630
Habakkuk " "	" "	625
Jeremiah " " chiefly in Judah.....	" "	628-587
Daniel " " in Babylon.....	" "	603-538
Ezekiel " " in Chaldea, among the Jewish captives " "	" "	595-574
Zechariah " " in Judah.....	" "	520-518 ²
Haggai " "	" "	520
Malachi " "	" "	440

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

THIS book is justly placed in the Hebrew Bible at the head of the prophetic writings. Isaiah is the most sublime, versatile, and comprehensive of all the prophets. He rebukes the wicked, hypocritical Jews, exhorts them to repentance, and assures them of pardon. In the boldest and most eloquent language he predicts the overthrow and utter desolation of the great cities of the ancient world, and portrays in the most graphic manner the sufferings and the glory of the future Messiah,¹ the universal extension of his kingdom, and the happiness of mankind under his mild and beneficent sway; and in language of incomparable grandeur he sets forth the attributes and prerogatives of Jehovah. Upon the whole, his prophecy is the most wonderful book of the ancient world.

The character-
istics of Isa-
iah's prophecy.

It bears the inscription: "The vision (חִזְיוֹן, singular for plural, *visions*) of Isaiah (יֵשַׁעְיָהּ, Yeshayahu),² son of Amoz, which he saw

¹ The book, however, which bears his name, was probably not written until a short time before the Babylonian captivity.

² And perhaps also later.

³ Jerome regarded Isaiah not as a prophet only, but also as an evangelist and apostle.—Comment. on Isaiah.

⁴ "Help of Jehovah."

concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah."

Isaiah is mentioned in 2 Kings xix, where he consoles Hezekiah, and assures him of deliverance from the king of Assyria, whose defeat he predicts. He appears, also, in the subsequent history of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx).

This book is referred to as a source for the history of Hezekiah, under the title of "The vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz" (2 Chron. xxxii, 32). In addition to the book of prophecies Isaiah wrote the life of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi, 22). From chaps. vii 3; viii, 3, 18, it appears that he was married, and had several children. He dwelt, it would seem, in Jerusalem, and laboured for the welfare of the people in the capital. Respecting the time and circumstances of his death nothing is known with certainty. The ancient tra- Personal his-
tory of Isaiah.ditions of the Jews, followed by some of the early Christian fathers, state that he was sawed to pieces by the wicked King Manasseh, who made the streets of Jerusalem run with innocent blood (2 Kings xxi, 16).¹ There is nothing improbable in this tradition, and there seems to be a reference to it in the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. xi, 37), where, in speaking of the ancient saints, it is said they "were sawn asunder."

It would seem, from chap. vi, that Isaiah was called to the prophetic office in the last year of Uzziah's reign, to which the vision described in that chapter most probably belongs. His prophetic office, accordingly, extended from about B. C. 758, through the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and at least fourteen years of that of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii, 13, etc.), embracing a period of forty-six years. We have no evidence, except what Jewish tradition affords, that he lived until the time of Manasseh. The reference to Isaiah as a source for the history of Hezekiah can mean no other book than the one we now possess, so that this reference furnishes no proof that Isaiah outlived Hezekiah. But if the Jewish tradition be received as true, his prophetic office was continued for sixty years or upwards.

The time of his prophetic labours embraced monarchs of widely different characters, and periods of varied religious con- The time of
Isaiah's pro-
phetic labours.dition. The long reign of Uzziah was highly prosperous, and his fame spread far and wide (2 Chron. xxvi, 8, 15); but in his last days he was afflicted with leprosy (2 Kings xv, 5; 2 Chron. xxvi, 21). Notwithstanding his pious disposition, the people still burnt incense on the high places (2 Kings xv, 4). Jotham, although an upright monarch, was not especially distinguished for piety, and the people in his reign acted corruptly (2 Chron. xxvii, 2)

¹ See a collection of these traditions in Gesenius' Com. on Isaiah, vol. i, pp. 10-14.

His successor, Ahaz, signalized his reign by abominable idolatries, and the kingdom of Judah was brought low (2 Chron. xxviii). Hezekiah, who succeeded him, was distinguished for piety and zeal in the destruction of idolatry and in the promotion of the worship of God (2 Chron. xxix). In the reign of this latter monarch Sennacherib, king of Assyria, invaded Judah, and took all its fenced cities, and demanded and received tribute from its king.

The book contains sixty-six chapters, and falls naturally into *three* parts. The first (chaps. i-xxxv) consists of rebukes of the children of Judah, earnest exhortations to them, the prophet's call to his sacred office, and prophecies respecting Judah, Israel, Moab, Edom, Damascus, Babylon, Assyria, Tyre, Ethiopia, and Egypt. The second part (chaps. xxxvi-xxxix) contains an account of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, (in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah), the deliverance of Jerusalem, the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah, the visit of the messengers of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, to him after his recovery, and Isaiah's prophecy to him of the Babylonian captivity. The third part (chaps. xl-lxvi) contains long prophetic and hortatory discourses, in which the prophet predicts the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, encourages the people to trust in Jehovah, and consoles them with the sure promises of Divine help. He also describes prophetically the sufferings of the Redeemer and the glory of his kingdom, and at the same time sets forth in lofty language the attributes and prerogatives of Jehovah. This division of Isaiah is called by the Germans "Book of Consolation" (Trostbuch).

ATTACKS ON THE GENUINENESS OF PORTIONS OF ISAIAH.

Respecting the genuineness of the prophecies of this book no doubt was expressed, so far as we know, in the ancient Jewish and Christian Churches. Aben Ezra, a distinguished Spanish rabbi of the twelfth century, was the first to intimate that the prophecies of the last part of the book were written by King Jechoniah at the time of the Babylonian captivity.

No attention, however, was paid to this intimation; but about 1780 J. B. Koppe, Professor at Göttingen, made additions to the German translation of Lowth's Isaiah, in which he opened the attack on the genuineness of a large portion of the prophecies. Gesenius, the distinguished Hebraist of the rationalistic school remarks on Koppe's criticism: "He first called attention to the necessity of rejecting, on historical grounds, as the prophet's, many parts of the collection. But as he went much too far in the separa-

tion of connected wholes, and often proceeded in an arbitrary manner, his criticism lacks a firm support, and the collection appears to him as a loose heap of dis severed fragments of different poets of different ages shuffled like cards in a game. However groundless this appears upon closer examination, it has been implicitly followed by several of the moderns."¹

Since that time rationalistic criticism, with one voice, has denied the genuineness of the last part of Isaiah (chaps. xl-lxvi), and attributed it to an unknown prophet who lived at the time of the Babylonian captivity. It has also assailed the genuineness of single prophecies in other parts of the book. Eichhorn carried the hypothesis of separate documents so far as to divide the book into eighty-five oracles or fragments, which he attributed to very different authors and times. This is an extreme to which the skeptical criticism of the present time does not dare to go.

ANCIENT TESTIMONY TO THE GENUINENESS OF THESE PROPHECIES.

The apocryphal writer Jesus, the son of Sirach, a man of learning and great ability, who flourished in the beginning of the second or third century before Christ, thus bears his testimony to Isaiah and his prophecies: "Isaiah, the great prophet, faithful was he in his vision. In his days the sun went back and prolonged the life of the king. He saw by a mighty spirit the last times, and he comforted those who mourned in Zion. Forever he showed future things, and secret things before they came to pass" (chap. xlviii, 22-25). In this testimony there is an obvious reference to the last great division of Isaiah (chaps. xl-lxvi). In the Septuagint, completed in all probability before the middle of the second century before Christ, all the prophecies of this book stand under the name of Isaiah, and so they do in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Latin Vulgate.

Opinion of Jesus, the son of Sirach.

The distinguished Jewish historian, Josephus, born four years after the crucifixion of Christ, speaking of a temple built in Egypt by the Jew Onias, about B. C. 149, remarks: "The prophet Isaiah had predicted, about six hundred years before, the building of this temple by a Jew"² (Isa. xix, 19). He also states that God, "having moved the soul of Cyrus, caused him to write to all Asia that CYRUS THE KING SAYS: 'Since the supreme God has made me king of the inhabited earth, I am persuaded that he is the being whom the nation of the Israelites worship. For he predicted my name through the prophets, and

Opinion of Josephus.

¹ *Commentar über den Jesaia*, vol. i, p. 136.

² *De Bel. Jud.*, vii, 10, 3.

that I should build his temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judea. These things Cyrus knew from his reading the book which Isaiah left of his prophecies, two hundred and ten years before."¹ The passages referring to Cyrus are chaps. xlv, 28; xlv, 1. So, at least, it is evident that Josephus recognised Isaiah as the author of the last division of the book, as well as of the former part. He appears to have had no suspicion that the latter portion belonged to the Babylonian captivity.

Ancient Jewish tradition² attributed the whole book to Isaiah, and ascribed the editing of it to Hezekiah and his companions.

In the New Testament the whole book is attributed to Isaiah, and we have quotations as the language of Isaiah in various places, e. g., in Matt. iii, 3, from Isa. xl, 3; in Matt. iv, 15, from Isa. ix, 1, 2; in Matt. iv, 16, from Isa. xlii, 7; and in Matt. xiii, 14, our Saviour quotes as the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. vi, 9, 10. Matthew viii, 17, is a reference to Isa. liii, 4; Matt. xii, 17-20, is from Isa. xlii, 1-3; Luke iv, 17-19, from Isa. xli, 1, 2; John i, 23, from Isa. xl, 3; and Acts viii, 28-35, is a reference to Isa. liii, 7, 8. St. Paul also quotes as Isaiah's, in Rom. x, 16, 20, 21, Isa. liii, 1, lxxv, 1, 2.

Jewish history and tradition know no period when any of the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah were attributed to any other prophet; and the very fact that they are collected into one whole, at the head of which stands the name of Isaiah, is a clear proof that the collector—if the prophet himself did not arrange his prophecies—regarded them as belonging to him. There can be no doubt that a book of Isaiah's prophecies existed for more than a century before the Babylonian captivity. This book must have contained at least the greater portion of chaps. i-xxxix. If we are now to suppose that the author of the last part (chaps. xl-lxvi) was not Isaiah, but a prophet who lived at the time of the Babylonian captivity, how could it have come to pass that so great a prophet, who wrote nearly one half of the book, the sublimest portion, should have been wholly unknown, and that his work should have been added to Isaiah, though before the captivity it had no existence? Ezra doubtless made a collection of the canonical books, but how could he have been deceived respecting a book written in, or so near, his age?

The violent improbability, if not impossibility, of the writings of different prophets being blended together and attributed to one author, appears from the fact that the twelve minor prophets, though in ancient times contained in a single book, were carefully separated and distinguished, though

¹ Antiq., liber xi, 1, 1.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, pp. 14-17.

several of them are very small, Obadiah consisting of a single chapter, and Haggai of but two.

There is no reason to doubt that the prophets themselves inscribed their names at the beginning of the books of their prophecies, to give them authority among the people; and it is difficult to suppose that the last part of Isaiah (chaps. xl-lxvi), if it had been written by another prophet, would have been left anonymous.

The position which the book of the prophecies of Isaiah holds—standing at the head of the prophets—was assigned it by the Masorites and the Spanish manuscripts, and also by the Hebrews in the time of Jerome.¹ And David Kimchi, a celebrated rabbi (about A. D. 1200), remarks that in all good manuscripts Isaiah stands before Jeremiah.² Gesenius quotes a passage from the Talmud in which it is stated that the rabbies give the following order of the prophets: “Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve minor prophets.” The ground of this arrangement of the Talmudists is stated to have been that they wished to place Isaiah, which is so full of consolation, immediately after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who predicted so much concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. Vitranga suspected that the arrangers of the canon placed Jeremiah immediately after Kings, because the last part of the latter book has much in common with this prophet. In the German and Gallic manuscripts Isaiah stands after Jeremiah and Ezekiel.³ Upon the whole, no sound argument can be adduced from the position of Isaiah in the canon in favour of the late origin of the last part of the book.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BOOK, AND THE DATE OF THEIR COMPOSITION.

Rationalistic criticism is unable to do justice to the prophecies of Isaiah; for it allows no real divine inspiration, and limits the prophet's vision by the natural horizon. All that transcends this is pronounced spurious. Delitzsch well observes: “Modern criticism finds itself hampered between two prejudices: there is no real prophecy—there is no real miracle. This criticism calls itself free, but upon closer examination it is found in a dilemma. In this dilemma it has two magic words with which it fortifies itself against every impression of historical evidence. As it transforms the histories of miracles into traditions and myths, so it either transforms the prophecies into predictions after the events (*raticinia post eventum*), or brings the predicted events into such

¹ Preface to Samuel and Kings.

² In Fürst, Ueber den Canon, p. 17.

³ See Gesenius' Com. über Jesaja, vol. i, p. 23.

close connexion with the prophet that to foresee them did not require inspiration, but only combination."¹ The Rationalists "know exactly how far a prophet can see, and where he must stand to see so far; but we are not tempted to purchase this omniscience at the cost of the supernatural. We believe in the supernatural reality of prophecy, because history affords us irrefragable proofs of it, and because a supernatural interference (*eingreifen*, grasping into) of God in the interior and outward life of men still to-day occurs, and can be tested. But this interference is of various kinds and degrees, and likewise the distant view of the prophets is in proportion to their gift (*charisma*) of very different degrees."²

The *first twelve chapters* of Isaiah are undoubtedly genuine. Gesenius concedes their genuineness, with the exception of chapter vii, 1-16, and a few other verses. Knobel³ remarks: "All the prophecies contained in them are genuine." De Wette,⁴ also, and Bleek,⁵ concede their genuineness.

The first chapter, which describes the thoughtlessness, hypocrisy, and wickedness of the Jews, and the destruction of their cities and the desolation of their country, seems to have been written by Isaiah in the reign of Hezekiah, after the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, as the condition of things seems especially to suit that period. The prophet seems to have intended it as an introduction to his prophecies. In chap. ii, 2-4 there is a Messianic passage, the same as Micah iv, 1-3. As it stands in Isaiah distinct from the connexion, and forms part of a connected prophecy in Micah, it is, most probably, a quotation in the former from the latter.

At the head of the second chapter stands the inscription, "The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem." Chapters ii-iv contain threatenings of God's judgments upon the people of Judah for idolatry, wickedness, and pride, accompanied with the promise of future blessedness. Gesenius refers these prophecies to the reign of Ahaz, in which he is followed by some critics. Keil refers them to the time of Jotham. And this seems to us the most probable. For if these chapters do not belong to the reign of that monarch, it is difficult to assign any to his time. Chapter v contains a parable of a vineyard, addressed to Judah and Jerusalem, respecting Judah and Israel, and ends with the denunciation of divine judgments upon the wicked. This, also, probably belongs to the time of Jotham. Chapter vi

¹ *Commentar über den Jesaja*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, xxii.

⁴ *De Wette—Schrader*, p. 423.

⁵ *Einleitung*, p. 457. Bleek, however, excepts chap. ii, 2-4, which he thinks was not written by Isaiah.

contains the prophet's call to his holy office, in the last year of Uzziah's reign. Chapter vii states, that in the days of Ahaz the kings of Syria and Israel combined against the king of Judah, and that the prophet predicted their defeat, giving Ahaz a sign, that a virgin should conceive and bear a son who should be called "Immanuel." Isaiah declares the impending judgments of God from the hands of the Assyrians. Chapters viii-ix, 7, contain a prediction of the overthrow of Damascus and Samaria by the Assyrians, and an exhortation to trust in God. They also contain a prediction of the Messiah's kingdom. The prophecy was in all probability delivered in the time of Ahaz. Chapter ix, 8-x, 4 is a prophecy respecting the destruction of Israel, delivered probably in the latter part of the reign of Ahaz. Chapter x, 5-34 predicts the invasion of Judah by the king of Assyria, and was probably written in the last part of the reign of Ahaz. Chapters xi and xii predict the appearance of the Messiah from the stem of Jesse, and his glorious reign over Jews and Gentiles.

PROPHECIES CONCERNING FOREIGN NATIONS (XIII-XXIII)—GENUINENESS OF XIII-XIV, 23.

This section is a prediction of the overthrow and perpetual desolation of Babylon, and the restoration of Israel. These prophecies are denied to be Isaiah's by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Knobel, and Bleek, on the ground that the stand-point of the Babylonian captivity is assumed in them. They attribute them to a prophet living in the last part of the captivity.¹ But the inscription attributes the section to Isaiah: "The burden (*or oracle*) against Babylon which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see" (chap. xiii, 1); and this should not be rejected without the most cogent reasons.

That Isaiah would deliver a prophecy against the Assyrian power, especially against Babylon, was extremely probable, as ^{Reasons for the} that power in his day had captured many cities of Judah, ^{genuineness.} and threatened Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii, 13-xix, 37); and, also, because the prophet had predicted to Hezekiah that the Jewish people, with his treasures, should be carried away captive to Babylon. It was especially proper that he should deliver a prophecy against the oppressor of Israel. This probability is strengthened by the fact that Isaiah delivered predictions against nations and cities far less important than Babylon, and which had not such close relations with the Hebrews. In the early part of Hezekiah's reign the king of Assyria had taken captive the ten tribes, and removed them to

¹ Gesenius and Bleek acknowledge that the prophecy was written before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

his dominions, and colonized their land with his own subjects, partly from Babylon.

In the list of the foreign nations against which Isaiah directs his prophecies, Babylon stands first. Then follow Moab, Damascus, Ethiopia, Egypt, Babylon repeated, and Tyre. The Prophet Micah, a contemporary of Isaiah, predicts that the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall go to Babylon, and there be redeemed from their enemies (Micah iv, 10). In the prophecy of Isaiah respecting Babylon, God threatens to stir up the Medes against Babylon. The Medes were then beginning to attract attention. Their revolt from the Assyrians, soon after which they made Dejoces king, occurred, according to Herodotus (i, 95-102), about B. C. 710, but according to Ctesias, about B. C. 876.

If the prophecy had been written after the time of Cyrus, who captured Babylon, it would have been different, for Cyrus was the king of Persia, and united the Medes to his kingdom. He is always called in Scripture king of Persia (Ezra i, 1; iii, 7, etc.). Babylon, though captured by Cyrus, was not destroyed, but afterward gradually lost its splendour, so that about the time of Christ it had become a great desert (Strabo xvi, 738). It cannot be said that the prophecy was written after the event. The Prophet Jeremiah, about the beginning of the Babylonian captivity, delivers a prophecy in *two very long chapters*, in which he uses some of the very phrases employed by Isaiah. (Compare Jer. i, 39, 40, with Isaiah xiii, 19, 20, etc.).

The prophecy in Isaiah is brief and strong, altogether in the style of Isaiah, and is, doubtless, the earlier one; while that in Jeremiah, from its extended form, is evidently the later.

The genuineness of the prophecy has been defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Keil, Delitzsch, and others.

Chapter xiv, 24-27 is a prophecy against Assyria, the genuineness of which is acknowledged by Gesenius, De Wette, Knobel, and Bleek. Chapter xiv, 28-32 is a prophecy against the Philistines, delivered in the year that Ahaz died, warning them against rejoicing on account of his death. Its genuineness is acknowledged by Gesenius, De Wette, and Knobel. Chapters xv, xvi contain prophecies against Moab, threatening it with destruction. Gesenius thinks that these two chapters were written by a contemporary of Isaiah, or by an older prophet, and that the epilogue (chap. xvi, 13, 14) was written by Isaiah. Bleek thinks the principal prophecy proceeds either from Isaiah, or at least from some one in his time, and that the epilogue was added later. Also Knobel thinks chaps. xv and xvi belong to a prophet older than Isaiah. But there is no good reason for denying their genuineness. Chapter xvii, 1-11 is a prophecy against

Damascus and Samaria, the genuineness of which is conceded by Gesenius, De Wette, and other Rationalists. It belongs, probably, to the first part of Hezekiah's reign. Chapter xvii, 12-14 is a prophecy directed against the enemies of Judah, most probably the Assyrians. It is undoubtedly genuine, and belongs most probably to the first part of Hezekiah's reign. Chapter xviii contains a prophecy against the Ethiopians, the genuineness of which is not denied by Gesenius and De Wette. It belongs unquestionably to the time of Hezekiah. Chapter xix is a prophecy against Egypt. Its genuineness is conceded by Gesenius and De Wette, and Schrader remarks that "there is no good reason for doubting the integrity of the prophecy."¹ Bleek also attributes it to Isaiah.² It belongs to the time of Hezekiah. Chapter xx relates a symbolic action performed by Isaiah in the time of Sargon, king of Assyria, accompanied with a prophecy that the king of Assyria would lead captive the Egyptians and Ethiopians. It is undoubtedly genuine, and belongs to the time of Hezekiah. Chapter xxi, 1-10 is a prophecy against Babylon, which is denied by Gesenius, Knobel, and Bleek to be Isaiah's, and is referred by them to a prophet living at the time of the Babylonian captivity. Gesenius³ and Knobel,⁴ however, acknowledge that it was written before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. But there is no sufficient ground for denying the prophecy to be Isaiah's. Chapter xxi, 11, 12 is an oracle respecting Dumah, an Ishmaelitish tribe in Arabia. Gesenius, Knobel, and Bleek find no reason to deny its genuineness. Chapter xxi, 13-17 is a prophecy concerning Arabia, which Gesenius and Bleek find no good ground for denying to be Isaiah's. Chapter xxii, 1-14 is a prophecy of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, and it appears to have been delivered just before that event. There is no dispute about its genuineness. Chapter xxii, 15-19 is a prophecy against Shebna, who was over the treasury in the middle of Hezekiah's reign. Chapter xxii, 20-25 is a prediction respecting Eliakim, who is to take the place of Shebna. Chapter xxiii predicts the overthrow of Tyre. Rosenmüller and Bleek deny the genuineness of this prophecy, and attribute it to a prophet in the age of Jeremiah. On the other hand, its genuineness is acknowledged by such Rationalists as Gesenius⁵ and Knobel;⁶ and Schrader⁷ declares there are no sufficient reasons for its denial. The prophecy refers either to the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser (Josephus, ix, 14) for five

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 418.

² Einleitung, p. 460.

³ Commentar über Jesaja, pp. 649, 650.

⁴ Der Prophet Jesaja, p. 148.

⁵ Commentar über Jesaja, pp. 707-718.

⁶ Der Prophet Jes., pp. 165-176.

⁷ De Wette—Schrader, p. 419.

years, or to the thirteen years' siege by Nebuchadnezzar (Josephus, *x*, 11.) Chaps. xxiv-xxvii contain prophecies setting forth the judgments of God upon the land, and assurances of Divine favour, and exhortations to trust in God. In them there appear to be references to Messianic times. These chapters are denied to be Isaiah's by Gesenius, Knobel, and Bleek.¹ The first two refer it to the period of the Babylonian captivity, while the latter thinks it probably belongs to the age of King Josiah, or to the one immediately afterward. On the other hand, the genuineness of the prophecy is defended by Rosenmüller,² Hävernicks, Welte, Drechsler, Keil, and Delitzsch. Keil remarks that witness is given "to its genuineness by a multitude of our prophet's peculiar and characteristic images, turns, and expressions." There is nothing in it to indicate an age later than that of Isaiah.

CHAPTERS XXVIII-XXXIII.

Gesenius remarks on these chapters: "The character of Isaiah's ^{Admission of} style is clearly impressed upon the whole, and the peculiar range of thought and manner of representation of this prophet are so clearly found in them, that the reader who gives any attention to the subject, and is not utterly destitute of all perception of the peculiarities of language, cannot at all doubt the identity of the author of these chapters and chapters i-xii."³ The authorship of this section is conceded by De Wette and Bleek, and, so far as we know, it is universally acknowledged to belong to Isaiah.⁴

These chapters are referred by Gesenius to the period from the sixth to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. They treat of the Assyrian invasion. Chapter xxviii is a prophecy against Ephraim and Jerusalem, in which their vices are reproved, and judgment threatened. Chapter xxix is a prophecy against Ariel (Jerusalem), followed by the promise of returning happiness. Chapter xxx contains a prophecy against those who look to Egypt for help against the Assyrians, and it also promises future prosperity. Chapter xxxi is also a prophecy against those who seek help in Egypt against the Assyrians, and contains, likewise, an assurance of deliverance from the Assyrians. Chapters xxxii and xxxiii contain prophecies, judgments, and promises of future prosperity respecting various classes of persons. Chapter xxxiv contains the judgments of God upon the nations of the world, especially upon the Edomites. Chapter xxxv describes the future prosperity of the people of God, and their final

¹ Bleek, however, does not express himself with confidence.

² Scholia in New Test., vol. ii, pp. 370, 371, 2d ed. ³ Com. über Jesaja, p. 885.

⁴ Koppe doubted the genuineness of chap. xxx, 1-27, and Ewald objected to the genuineness of chap. xxxiii.

deliverance from all their foes. Both chapters are denied to be Isaiah's, and are referred to the Babylonian captivity by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Knobel, Bleek, and others. On the other hand, their genuineness has been advocated by Caspari, Keil, Delitzsch, and others. Keil remarks that Caspari "not only gives copious proofs that Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah had read the prophecy against Edom in Isaiah xxxiv, and had adopted thoughts, images, and expressions from it in several of their prophecies; but, also, that he has thoroughly refuted the opinions adopted in opposition, that either the author of Isaiah xxxiv had the chapters of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in question floating before his mind's eye (*Ewald, Umbreit*), or that passages bearing affinity to Isaiah xxxiv had found their way by interpolation into Jeremiah l and li."¹ The two chapters are closely connected, so that whatever establishes the genuineness of one proves also that of the other. They contain much of what is found in Isaiah xxxii, xxxiii, as Ewald concedes; and there is no good reason for denying that they belong to Isaiah.

The *second* division of Isaiah is an historical section (xxxvi-xxxix), containing an account of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, and of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, concluded with a prediction of the Babylonian captivity. The second division of Isaiah historical.

That Isaiah should write an historical section in the midst of his prophecies is in accordance with his usage. We find historical events in chapters vii and xx, and we know from 2 Chron. xxxii, 32, that Isaiah wrote an account of Hezekiah. It is exceedingly improbable that Isaiah would fail to write in his prophecies such an important event as the invasion of Judah and the threatened attack on Jerusalem by Sennacherib, and a prediction of the monarch's defeat. In 2 Kings xviii, 13-xx, 19, we have this same history almost *verbatim*, except that Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving (Isa. xxxviii, 9-20) is wanting. Here the question arises, Was this section in Isaiah taken from the Books of Kings? or is the narrative in Isaiah the original, and that in Kings the borrowed one? or are both drawn from a common source, the basis of the history in the Books of Kings?

Gesenius² regards the narrative in Isaiah as derived from 2 Kings; while Rosenmüller,³ Knobel,⁴ Keil, and others, think both narratives were derived from a common source. Delitzsch holds⁵ that the narrative in Isaiah is the original, which was used in the composition of the Books of Kings. Views of Gesenius and others as to the second section of Isaiah.

¹ Keil's *Introd.* vol. i, pp. 318, 319.

² *Commentar über Jesaja*, pp. 932-936.

³ *Scholia in Old Test.*, pp. 493, 494.

⁴ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, pp. 255-257.

⁵ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, pp. 372-374.

It is evident that the section in Isaiah could not have been derived wholly from the Books of Kings, for Hezekiah's *song of thanksgiving* is wanting in them.

There can be no doubt that Isaiah wrote the four chapters under discussion. In Isaiah xxxvi, 2, it is said that "Rabshakeh stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." This same phrase occurs in chapter vii, 3, showing that they proceeded from the same writer. In chapter xxxvii, 23, occurs the phrase, "the Holy One of Israel," which is found also in the passage, 2 Kings xix, 22, taken from Isaiah. This phrase is used by Isaiah *twenty-five* times from the first to the fifty-fifth chapter. But elsewhere it is found but *five* times in the whole Hebrew Bible, and these in the Book of Psalms and in Jeremiah. Such an expression is foreign to the composer of the Books of Kings, and the prophetic style of the section is inconsistent with his being its author.

Mention is made in Isaiah xxxvi, 22, of Joah, the recorder, in the time of Hezekiah. The history of this king's reign was written down in annals by this officer, and the compiler of the Book of Kings made use of these annals and the history of Hezekiah in our Book of Isaiah, when he narrated the most important events in that monarch's reign. In this way it is easy to explain the deviations in the two accounts. Nor has the account in Kings a decided advantage over that in the prophet. Even if its text were preferable, that fact would not prove its originality, since the last chapter of Jeremiah, evidently taken from 2 Kings xxv, exhibits a better text than the original. In the thirty-ninth chapter the Babylonian captivity is predicted, which forms a connecting link between the former and the latter part of Isaiah.

THE LAST GREAT DIVISION OF ISAIAH. (CHAPTERS XL-LXVI.)

This prophecy is naturally divided into *three* parts. The first embraces chapters xl-xlvi, ending with the verse, "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked." The second includes chapters xlix-lvii, ending with the same words. The third contains chapters lviii-lxvi, ending with language of similar import.

The first division (chaps. xl-xlvi) opens with the most beautiful and cheering words of hope and comfort for Jerusalem, assuring her that her sins are forgiven. The prophet then sets forth, in language of great sublimity, the attributes of the Almighty. At the same time he speaks of the folly of idolatry, and moves forward in his prophetic course to describe God's servant (the Messiah) who shall instruct and redeem men, and be 'a light of the Gentiles' (chaps. xl-xlii.) The prophet continues

Analysis of the
first division of
third section.

in a tone of affection for Israel, promises divine assistance, with bitter sarcasm shows the folly of idolatry, and dwells upon the sovereignty and goodness of God. He predicts the restoration of the cities of Judah, and the rebuilding of the temple, in which connexion he speaks of Cyrus as God's shepherd, and as upheld by him. He dwells upon the sovereignty of God, and his mercy and goodness to his people (chaps. xliii-xlv). He sets forth the foreknowledge of God in declaring the future, and then speaks of the folly of idolatry, especially in reference to Babylon, upon which he announces the judgments of God. He continues to speak of God's revelation of future things from the beginning, in which he remonstrates with his people, and declares his mercies toward them in ancient days. The prophet concludes with the declaration that there is no peace to the wicked (chaps. xlvi-xlviii).

In the second part (chaps. xli-xlvii) the prophet predicts that the Messiah shall be the restorer of Israel and the light of the Gentiles, and assures the people of God's love to them, and that he will gather them from all quarters of the world. He declares the sins of the people to be the ground of their sufferings, and sets forth the providence of God, and promises salvation to the people (chapters xlix-lii, 12). There follows next a prophetic description of the wisdom, sufferings, and death of the Messiah¹ as the servant of the Lord (chaps. lii, 13-liii, 12). The prophet comforts the people of God with the sure promise of divine aid, and consequent prosperity, and exhorts them to seek his favour, that they may live. He also reproves the idolatry of the people, the blind dogs and the dumb watchmen of Israel; yet the mercy of God is promised, while it is declared that there is no peace to the wicked (chaps. liv-lvii).

In the third division (chaps. lviii-lxvi) the prophet expostulates with the people respecting their observance of the outward ordinances of religion and their neglect of the moral law, and promises prosperity if they are obedient. The third division of the last section. He next proceeds to enumerate their transgressions (chaps. lviii-lix). After this he announces the glory of Israel in Messianic times; at the same time he sets forth the judgments of God, combined with a sketch of his kindness to Israel (lx-lxiii). He then expostulates with God in reference to the condition of Israel, the desolation

¹ This section is Messianic, and it is so explained by the ancient Targumist, Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and by many of the ancient Jewish commentators. This is the only consistent view. It is not applicable to the prophets, to the pious Israelites, or to the Jewish nation, none of whom can be *the* servant of the Lord. This servant is "to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel" (chap. xlix, 6). He cannot, therefore, be the same as Israel, nor could a mere prophet do his work.

of Judah and Jerusalem, and the ruins of the temple. He again reminds the people of their wickedness, and predicts the glory of Israel in future times, concluding with a threat of the punishment of the wicked (chaps. lxiv-lxvi).

GENUINENESS OF CHAPTERS XL-LXVI.

We have already remarked that rationalistic critics deny that this division belongs to Isaiah, and that they attribute it to a prophet living at the time of the Babylonian captivity.¹ Its genuineness has been defended by Jahn, Kleinert, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Delitzsch, Alexander, and others. The unity of the division has been established by Gesenius, Hitzig, and De Wette. In respect to the style of this division, it must be confessed that in general it is more flowing, and in some respects different from some of the earlier parts of the prophecies of Isaiah, but not so different as to require a different author. The discourses are generally longer and freer.

On the style of Isaiah, Ewald remarks: "This is the very foundation of Isaiah's greatness, as it is generally one of those things in which he stands out most pre-eminently, that whatever may be demanded by the subject of which he treats, every kind of discourse and every form of representation is ready at command." No man always writes in the same style; still less does one of great genius. But yet the matter and the phraseology of this section bear some striking points of coincidence with the other parts of Isaiah. What a close resemblance there is between the Messianic descriptions in the eleventh chapter—acknowledged to be Isaiah's—and some of the prophecies of the latter part of this section (chaps. lx-lxvi)! The phrase, "the Holy One of Israel," occurs *eleven* times in the first thirty-seven chapters of Isaiah, five times in the first twelve, and *fourteen* times in chaps. xli-lx. But outside of Isaiah it is found but six times, three of which occur in the Psalms, two in Jeremiah, and the remaining one in 2 Kings xix, 22, taken from Isaiah xxxvii, 23. This is very remarkable. Another peculiarity of Isaiah is, that he uses קָרָא, *to call*, or נִקְרָא, *to be called*, for simply *to be*; e. g., chaps. i, 26; ix, 6; xxx, 7; xxxv, 8; xlv, 5; xlvii, 1, 5; xlviii, 8; lvi, 7; lviii, 12; lx, 14, 18; lxi, 3; lxii, 12. In a similar sense יִאָּכֵר, chaps. iv, 3; xix, 18; lxii, 4. These peculiarities, running through the whole book, are explained by Gesenius—who denies the genuineness of about one half of the book—on the supposi-

¹ Bleek supposes that chaps. lvi, 9-lvii, 11 were written before the exile; and this is the view of Ewald, who thinks that chap. liii, 1-12 is from an older prophet, and chaps. lxiii, 7-lxvi, is a later supplement. Knobel seems favourable to the view that this last section is a later addition.

tion that the author of the later portion imitated the style of Isaiah, or, what is more probable, that a later hand gave uniformity to the whole.¹ Both of these suppositions are utterly unfounded, and in the highest degree improbable; but one of them necessarily follows from the denial of the genuineness of a larger portion of the book. Another peculiarity of Isaiah is the use of *אמר*, future of *אמר*, for the present, *says*, in the following passages: chaps. i, 11, 18; x, 8; xxxiii, 10; xl, 1, 25; xli, 6, 21; lxvi, 9. In other passages, however, the present is used, as in other prophets. *אֶצְמַץ*, *shoots, offspring*, occurs in chaps. xxii, 24; xxxiv, 1; xlii, 5; xlii, 3; xlviii, 19; lxi, 9; lxv, 23; but nowhere else in the whole Hebrew Bible, except four times in Job. *תְּצַיֵּץ*, *thorn hedge*, occurs but *twice* in the Hebrew Bible, in the plural, Isaiah vii, 19, and in the singular, Isa. lv, 13; *עֵץ*, *stock*, Isa. xi, 1; xl, 24; once in Job in the sense of *stump*, and found nowhere else; *נְחִלִּים*, *streams of waters*, Isaiah xxx, 25, xlii, 4, and nowhere else in the Bible. There are some other linguistic peculiarities common to the first and last parts of the book, which may be alleged in proof of the unity of the whole, and, consequently, that Isaiah is the author of the whole book. But those we have given are the most striking. The latter part of Isaiah is free from Chaldaisms,² which would not be expected if it were written about the time of the captivity, or still later. That the last division of Isaiah should contain words not found in the other parts, is nothing more than might naturally be expected. It has been alleged that the stand-point of the last section (chaps. xl-lxvi) of Isaiah is the Babylonian captivity. But this is only in part true. For we find reference made to a state of things that does not suit the captivity.

Bleek thinks it in the highest degree probable that the section lvi, 9-lvii, 11, was written before the Babylonian captivity. This is also the view of Ewald. Certainly the state of affairs described in this section belongs to an age earlier than that of the captivity, and may pertain to that of Isaiah. But why should this section be wrested from the great mass of prophecy with which it is connected, and be referred to a different age? Why should it not have great weight in determining the age of the whole division of the book?

¹ Commentar über den Jesaja vol. ii, p. 29.

² The Chaldee colouring appears in Nehemiah, Chronicles, in the prophets Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, in Ecclesiastes, and in some of the later Psalms. Ezra and Daniel are partly in Chaldee. There are some Chaldee words in Jeremiah. *אֶצְמַץ*, Isa. lxiii, 3, is a Syriasm, as Psalm lxxvi, 6, written before the captivity. In chap. liii, 10, *אֶצְמַץ* is also a Syriasm.

Theory of Gesenius as to the style of the last division.

Linguistic peculiarities of Isaiah.

In chap. xl, 9 it is said: "O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!"¹ This verse seems clearly to convey the idea that Jerusalem and the cities of Judah were still in existence, i. e., that the captivity had not yet occurred. In chap. xliii, 22-24, God reproaches Israel for not offering sacrifices to him. But this presupposes that the temple was still standing. In chap. lvi, 4-7, it is promised to the eunuchs that they shall have a place in the house and within the walls of the Lord; and that their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon his altar if they keep the sabbaths and do the Divine will—which shows that the temple was still standing.

In chap. lviii, 6, we find this interrogatory: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" The oppression which the Jews are here represented as exercising is not consistent with a state of captivity at Babylon. Chapter lix describes a state of things scarcely consistent with the time of captivity. This is true, especially of verse 18, which refers to the judgments which God is about to inflict for sins. In chap. lxii, 6 it is said, "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night." This is inconsistent with the supposition that Jerusalem at that time was a waste. In chap. lxvi, 3, 4, we have allusions to sacrifices and to future judgments that scarcely suit the captivity. Nor is it easy to see, if Jerusalem and the temple were in ruins, that it could be said: "A voice of noise from the city, a voice from the temple" (verse 6).

But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there are several passages in which the country and Jerusalem are represented as being desolate, and the sanctuary profaned. "The holy cities are a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, *is destined to be burnt*" (Gesenius, Heb. Lex.), (chap. lxiv, 10, 11). The English version represents the burning as having already occurred. The phrase used, *נִדְּחָה לְשָׂרֵפָה אֵשׁ*, *destined to be burnt with fire*, occurs also in Isaiah ix, 4, but nowhere else. Also in chap. lxiii, 18, it is said: "Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary."

In the first place, it must be observed that Isaiah gives, in the first chapter of his prophecy, a fearful picture of the desolations of Judah,

¹ This is the proper rendering of the passage. The marginal reading in the English version is not admissible.

which were to be brought upon it, or had already been inflicted in the time of Hezekiah by Sennacherib. It is impossible to determine how far the prophet may have reference to these calamities. But, further, it is a peculiarity of the prophetic style that it often represents future events as already present or past. This grew out of the fact that the prophecies were often communicated to the prophets in visions, in which future events passed before their eyes as present realities. We find many passages in illustration of this. In Isaiah iii, 8, it is declared that "Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen." It is not questioned that this was written by Isaiah, and yet its fulfilment was in the prophet's time still in the future. Again, in xxi, 9: "He answered and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." Here, in a prophecy which Gesenius admits was written before the capture of Babylon, the city is represented as already fallen. In a similar way the future Messiah is spoken of as already born (Isaiah ix, 6). So in Isaiah's prophecy of the destruction of Tyre, the city is represented as already laid waste (chap. xxiii, 1).

In Jeremiah viii, 16, the prophet, in predicting the overthrow of Judah and Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, represents their work as already done: "For they are come, and have devoured the land, and all that is in it; the city, and those that dwell therein." Again: "Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name: for they have eaten up Jacob, and devoured him, and consumed him, and made his habitation desolate" (chap. x, 25). Here the prophet calls for vengeance upon men for acts which they are going to perform, which he represents as already done: for the context shows that the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem was still in the future.

In Amos ix, 11, it is predicted: "In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and I will close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." When this prophecy was uttered the tabernacle had not yet fallen, though its restoration is predicted. In Micah iv, 8, it is declared, respecting the daughter of Zion: "Unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem." It could be naturally inferred from this that Judah had no kings, but that the kingdom had been lost. Such, however, was not the case in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, the contemporaries of this prophet. In view of these facts it is evident that the references in Isaiah to some of the events or conditions of the country during the Babylonian captivity can furnish no conclusive proof that the last division of Isaiah was written during that period.

By far the greatest part of the last division of Isaiah is Messianic; at least, it treats especially of the future glory of Israel. Isaiah had already predicted to Hezekiah the Babylonian captivity (Isaiah xxxix, 6, 7; 2 Kings xx, 17, 18). The prophet Micah about the same time foretells the captivity in Babylon and the return of the people: "O daughter of Zion, . . . thou shalt go even to Babylon there shalt thou be delivered; there the Lord shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies" (chap. iv, 10).

If the prophecies of Isaiah had been generally confined to the immediate future, we would expect little or nothing in reference to the deliverance from the captivity. But since he dwells in such glowing language upon the Messiah's kingdom and Israel's future glory, it is but natural to expect the announcement of a return from Babylon. His prediction of the captivity furnishes him the theme upon which he enlarges. And, after all, he says but little about the return from Babylon, but dwells rather upon a greater and higher deliverance. "They shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of *many generations*" (Isa. lxi, 4), cannot be applied with any degree of force to the return from Babylon.

In chaps. xlv, 28; xlv, 1, Cyrus¹ is referred to as the prince who is to rebuild the temple. He is called *Koresh, the sun*, but is not spoken of as the king of any particular country, nor are his lineaments drawn.

We have another instance in which the name of the individual is predicted who is to accomplish a great work. In 1 Kings Prediction by specific names. xiii, 2, it is related that a prophet announced to the idolatrous altar of Jeroboam at Bethel: "O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord, Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name, and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall he burn upon thee." This prophecy was fulfilled by King Josiah about three hundred and fifty years after it was delivered (2 Kings xxiii, 15-20).

In different parts of the last division of Isaiah God represents himself as announcing events before they come to pass (chaps. xli, 22-26; xliii, 9; xlv, 21; xlvi, 10; xlviii, 3-7), as a proof that he alone is the true God. It is evident from this that the prophet regarded himself as revealing the future, and not as simply announcing what was before the eyes of all.

¹ Josephus states that Cyrus read this prophecy in Isaiah respecting himself, and was induced by it to give the Jews permission to return to their own land. Antiq., xi, 1, 2. The decree of Cyrus in favour of the Jews is most easily explained on the supposition that he had read this prophecy of Isaiah.

It is very probable that Zephaniah (about B. C. 625) and Jeremiah (B. C. 629-588) have both quoted the last division of Isaiah. (Comp. Zephaniah ii, 15 with Isaiah xlvii, 8, 10.) Isaiah's quoted by some other prophets. This latter prophet describes with withering sarcasm the folly of idolatry (chaps. xlv, 9-19; xlvi, 1, 7). Jeremiah evidently refers to these descriptions in chapter x, 3-15. Isaiah is, beyond doubt, the great original. There are also other passages in Jeremiah which, from their very character, seem to have been taken from Isaiah (chaps. xl-lxvi).

If there were found a few passages in Isaiah that must of necessity be referred to the time of the Babylonian captivity, we should prefer to regard them as interpolations, rather than to reject the genuineness of the last division of the book. But, happily, we are not driven to this necessity. For we are not authorized to limit the prophetic knowledge of Isaiah, nor have we any *à priori* method of determining how far the Almighty would disclose to him the future, nor how far he would assume the future as already present.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

JEREMIAH was the son of Hilkiah, of the priests in Anathoth, a city in the tribe of Benjamin, about three miles north-east of Jerusalem. He began his prophetic labours while quite young (chap. i, 6), in the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah about B. C. 629), and continued them until the eleventh year of King Zedekiah, when the people of Jerusalem were carried away captive to Babylon—a period of about forty-one years. During the first part of his ministry he lived in Anathoth, as appears from chapter xi, 18-23. Here he purchased a piece of land (chapter xxxii, 6-15). Personal history of Jeremiah. At a later period he seems to have had a permanent residence in Jerusalem, until the city was taken by the Chaldeans. It appears that he was never married, as he gives us no intimation of his having either wife or children; and he was commanded not to take a wife, nor to have sons and daughters in the place, in view of the great calamities that were to befall the land (chap. xvi, 2-4). In the time of Zedekiah he was imprisoned and thrust into a miry dungeon, from which he was liberated by order of the king; though still confined to the court of the prison (chaps. xxxvii and xxxviii).

When at length the city of Jerusalem was captured, Jeremiah, in accordance with the command of Nebuchadnezzar, was released from prison, and kindly treated by Nebuzar-adan, the Chaldean general. Not long after this he went into Egypt, to Tahpanhes, with a company of Jews (chaps. xlii-xliv). As we hear nothing of him, it is uncertain whether he returned to Palestine or not, though it is probable that he did. Of his death we have no record.

The ministry of Jeremiah extended over a period of great corruption and idolatry among the people of Judah. The fifty-five years' reign of the wicked king Manasseh had sapped the foundations of religion and morality. Amon, his successor, reigned two years, and walked in the wicked course of his father. His successor, the pious Josiah, in the thirteenth year of whose reign Jeremiah began to prophesy, manifested great zeal in the service of God, and instituted important reforms: but the good results of his efforts were in a great measure destroyed by the wicked reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, his successors. The three months' reign of Jehoiachin was also wicked, and at its close he and all the chief men of Jerusalem, and the treasures of the city, were carried away captive to Babylon.

Jeremiah's book furnishes us with so much personal history that we have a clearer perception of his character than we possess of any other Hebrew prophet. He is exhibited as a man of great religious zeal, intrepidity, deep sympathies, and great fidelity, and as suffering very harsh treatment from idolatrous princes for his reproofs. His teachings are chiefly of a practical character. He rebukes the vices and crimes of his age, and earnestly preaches repentance. We miss in his book the sublime prophecies of Isaiah, and find but few Messianic passages in it.

The book naturally falls into *four* divisions. In the *first* we have an account of the call of Jeremiah to the prophetic office, of his messages to the people, of his expostulations with them, of his predictions of the divine judgments, a sketch of his ministry among the people, and the capture of Jerusalem (chs. i-xxxix). The *second* division (chs. xl-xlv) contains an account of affairs after the capture of Jerusalem, and states that the leaders of the Jewish people took all those who remained in Judah, with Jeremiah and Baruch, and went down to Tahpanhes, in Egypt. It also gives the prophecies of Jeremiah delivered there. Chapter xlv, however, gives the words addressed by Jeremiah to Baruch in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. The *third* division (chaps. xlv-li) gives the prophecies of Jeremiah respecting Egypt, the Philistines, Tyre and Zidon, the Moabites, the Ammonites, Edom, Damascus, Elam.

and Babylon. The *fourth* division consists of but one chapter (lii), giving an account of the reign of Zedekiah and the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuzar-adan, the treatment which the king received from the Babylonian monarch, and the release of Jehoiachin from imprisonment in Babylon.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH, AND THE DATE OF THEIR DELIVERANCE.

The prophecies of Jeremiah are so interwoven with the events of his life, and bear so strongly the stamp of his age, that the genuineness of but few of them has been questioned. Their genuineness generally admitted. As Jeremiah began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, and continued in the prophetic office through the eighteen remaining years of Josiah, the three months of Jehoahaz (probably the same as Shallum, Jer. xxii, 11), the eleven years of Jehoiakim, the three months of Jehoiachin, and the eleven years of Zedekiah, the question arises, Under what reigns were the different prophecies delivered? In many instances it is stated when they were delivered, in others we have no guide but critical conjecture. We are certainly justified in attributing to the eighteen years during which he prophesied in the time of Josiah a considerable portion of his prophecies.

We think it probable that the first seventeen chapters were delivered in the reign of Josiah. Certainly a large portion of them belongs to this period. The prophet relates in the first chapters the particulars of his call to the prophetic office in the thirteenth year of Josiah. In chap. iii, 6 he states: "The Lord said also unto me in the days of Josiah the king," etc. After this the name of no ruler is mentioned throughout this section, and there is in it nothing unsuitable to the reign of Josiah. In the time of this pious king the prophet had protection even from wicked princes, and the men of Anathoth alone were dangerous foes. This section contains no denunciation of the king, but of the people. In the time of the subsequent wicked monarchs his difficulties with kings and princes begin. In chap. xiii, 18, however, it is said: "Say unto the king and to the queen, Humble yourselves, sit down: for from your heads shall come down even the crown of your glory." This may seem to indicate that the king and queen were to lose their position, and it may seem more applicable to some other rulers than to Josiah and his queen. The prediction might be considered as fulfilled by Josiah's death at Megiddo. The language, however, may be applied not to any individual monarch, but, generally, to the overthrow of the Jewish monarchy.

In these chapters the genuineness of chap. x, 1-16 is denied by De Wette and others, and the verses are attributed to a prophet living during the captivity, whom they suppose to have written the last part of Isaiah. Bleek supposes the section to be genuine, and thinks it belongs to the time of Zedekiah.¹ Verses 6-8, 10, are wanting in the LXX; but this furnishes no ground for their rejection. Verse 11 is in Chaldee, for which it is difficult to assign a good reason. It must be acknowledged that the sixteen verses under discussion strongly resemble the latter part of the prophecies of Isaiah: but this is to be explained by Jeremiah's imitating Isaiah, not by a later prophet's retouching him. In chapter viii nearly all verse 10, and the whole of verses 11 and 12 are omitted in the LXX; but, although Hitzig regards them as superfluous, and as interrupting the connexion, there is no good reason for their rejection. In chap. xi, verse 7, and nearly the whole of 8, are omitted in the LXX, but there is no sufficient reason for their being discarded from the text. Chap. xvii, 1-4, is wanting in the LXX, but Hitzig considers it genuine. Certainly its omission there does not justify us in throwing it out of the Hebrew text. Chapters xviii, xix, contain an account of Jeremiah's being sent down to the potter's house to see a work wrought on the wheels, which was marred, and of Jeremiah's application of it to the house of Israel. Chapter xx contains an account of Pashur's smiting Jeremiah—when he had heard the prophecy—and the incidents that followed it. These three chapters are closely connected, and belong, in all probability, to the time of Jehoiakim. Chapter xxi, 1-10 belongs to the time of Zedekiah. Chapters xxi, 11-xxii, 19 belong to the age of Jehoiakim, for Shallum (Jehoahaz) had already been deposed and carried into Egypt (chap. xxii, 11), and the reigning monarch is exhorted to imitate the virtues of his father (Josiah, evidently), and Jehoiakim is threatened with the burial of an ass—all of which point to the time of this monarch. Chapters xxii, 20-xxiii belong to the time of Jehoiachin (called also Coniah and Jechoniah), for God threatens to deliver him up to the Chaldeans (chap. xxii, 24-28). Chapter xxiv belongs to the first part of Zedekiah's reign, after Jehoiachin had been carried away captive to Babylon. Chapter xxv was delivered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. A part of the 13th and the whole of the 14th verse are wanting in the LXX. After the 13th verse there is no longer a correspondence in the order of chapters between the Hebrew and the LXX. Chapter xxvii is attributed in the Hebrew text to the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, but the contents clearly

Objections of
De Wette and
others.

Times of writing
of Jeremiah's
prophecies.

¹ Einleitung, p. 477.

show that it belongs to the time of Zedekiah, most probably to the early part of his reign.

The Peshito-Syriac reads, "*In the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah*, son of Josiah, king of Judah, came this word to Jeremiah from the Lord." The Septuagint has simply, "Thus saith the Lord." The present reading of the Hebrew¹ is evidently the error of a transcriber, repeating at the head of this chapter the very words with which the preceding chapter begins. In this chapter verses 7, 13, 17 are entirely wanting in the LXX, and the last five verses are found mutilated. Davidson² does not think the seventh verse genuine; he also supposes 16-22 to be spurious, and a *vaticinium ex eventu*. Hitzig³ regards the Hebrew text in general as corrupt in this chapter where it contains more than the LXX. De⁴Wette thinks the chapter revised by a later hand.⁴

We cannot agree with these critics; for the mere fact that some of these verses are wanting in the LXX furnishes no sufficient proof that they were wanting in the Hebrew text before the time of Christ. The Septuagint has abridged the text. There is no ^{Reply to Hitzig and De Wette.} doubt that the LXX sometimes took liberties with the text; but this whole chapter is well connected, and Jeremiah's advice and prophecy are suitable to the occasion. But what motive could a later writer have had to make the additions, some of which enjoin upon the people obedience to Nebuchadnezzar? Certainly this monarch, who overthrew the Jewish Commonwealth, was not very popular with the Jews. Nor is there anything in this chapter inconsistent with the style of Jeremiah.

Chapter xxviii belongs to the fourth year of Zedekiah, and xxix to the first year of that monarch's reign. In chapter xxix nearly the whole of verse 14, and all of 16-20, are omitted in the LXX. It is true that verses 16-19 do not seem to be suitable in a letter to the captives in Babylon, as they refer to the king (Zedekiah) and people still remaining in Judah, for Nebuchadnezzar had not yet completed the captivity of the Jews. But yet there were, perhaps, good reasons for the insertion of these verses in the letter of Jeremiah; for the captives in Babylon declared that God was raising up for them prophets in that city (verse 15). These false prophets,⁵ no doubt, proclaimed that God would restore the captives to their native land. Jeremiah, in reply to them, states that so far is this from being true,

¹ In Kennicott and De Rossi's Hebrew Bible, MS. 224 has the reading Zedekiah, and in MS. 180 Jehoiakim is wanting.

² Introduction, vol. iii, pp. 99, 100.

³ Der Proph. Jer., pp. 211-212.

⁴ De Wette—Schrader, p. 431.

⁵ In illustration of this see Jeremiah xxviii, 10, 11.

that Zedekiah and those who remain in Judah will be also brought to Babylon. It is very probable that the verses under consideration were omitted by the LXX on account of their supposed irrelevancy.

De Wette argues that chapters xxvii-xxix were revised by a later hand, from the use of the short form of several proper names in them: ירמיה (Jeremiah), יכניה (Jechoniah), זרקיה (Zedekiah), without the ending, י. But no solid argument can be drawn from this in favour of a revisal of the chapters. A short form for Jehoiachin (יכניה, *Coniah*) is found in Jer. xxii, 24, 28. It is true that the shorter form for Jeremiah is used in the later books of the Hebrew Bible, though the longer form occurs in 1 Chron. xii, 13. For Zedekiah, the long form is used in this very section in chapter xxix, 21, and is found in a later author, 2 Chron. xviii, 10. We have no reason to suppose that Jeremiah always wrote his name in the same way; but even if he did, we do not know that copyists would do so. Dr. Davidson thinks there are some interpolations in the twenty-seventh chapter; but on chapters xxviii and xxix he remarks: "A regular glossing or working over of the text either by the Deutero-Isaiah, or any other such person, is hardly perceptible except to the eye of hypercriticism."¹

Chapters xxx, xxxi predict the restoration of Israel, and in chap. xxxi, 31-34 there is a reference to the New Testament dispensation. They were written, in all probability, about the time Zedekiah was carried away captive to Babylon. Chapter xxx, 10, 11 is wanting in the LXX. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the passage. Chapter xxxii belongs to the tenth year of the reign of Zedekiah, when the king of Babylon besieged Jerusalem. The next chapter (xxxiii) belongs to the same period. It contains a Messianic passage (verses 15, 16). Verses 14-26 are wanting in the LXX.

De Wette² thinks chapters xxx, xxxi, xxxiii were revised by a later writer, who, he imagines, wrote the second part of Isaiah. But Dr. Davidson supposes that the "Deutero-Isaiah had Jeremiah's prophecies in view in different places, and copied various expressions." It is difficult to see what purpose a later writer would have in retouching Jeremiah. Nor is it at all probable that the learned Jews would have made so free with the writings of the great prophet. There is a considerable number of passages in Jeremiah which strongly resemble Isaiah, especially in the three chapters under discussion. And the question arises, Which is the original? This must be conceded to Isaiah, for the passages in Jeremiah that bear such close affinity with the last part of Isaiah are not in Jeremiah's style.

¹Isaiah the original in parallel passages.

¹Introduction, vol. iii, p. 101.

²De Wette-Schrader, p. 429.

Chapter xxxiv belongs to the last part of the reign of Zedekiah when Jerusalem was besieged. Chapter xxxv pertains to the reign of Jehoiakim, but the year is not named; and the following chapter, xxxvi, records transactions that pertain to the fourth year of that monarch's reign.

Chapters xxxvii, xxxviii relate events, especially those with which Jeremiah was connected, in the last part of the reign of Zedekiah. Chapter xxxix gives an account of the capture of Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and incidents following it. Verses 4-13 are wanting in the LXX. Chapters xl-xliv relate the events in Judah after the capture of Jerusalem, and the migration of the chief men, and all the remnant of the Jews in Judah, accompanied by Jeremiah, to Tahpanhes in Egypt. They also contain the prophecies there delivered by Jeremiah. Chapter xlv contains words of consolation to Baruch, delivered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Chapter xlvi, 1-12 contains a prophecy against Egypt and the army of Pharaoh-necho, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Chapter xlvi, 13-26 is also a prophecy against Egypt, to which are added words of consolation to Israel (verses 27, 28), delivered also, it would seem, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

Chapter xlvii is a brief prophecy against the Philistines. It was delivered, the superscription states, "before that Pharaoh smote Gaza"—words which are wanting in the LXX. De Wette supposes the inscription to be false, because the prophet threatens the Philistines with destruction from the north, not from Egypt¹ (verse 2). It is very probable that the Philistines were threatened with destruction from the Chaldeans, and not from the Egyptians. The statement of the superscription, Before that Pharaoh smote *Gaza* the prophecy came to Jeremiah, is not false. Gaza, Askelon, and all the Philistines were to be ruined; hence it is evident that Pharaoh's smiting Gaza has nothing to do with the fulfilment of the prophecy. Chapter xlviii contains a prophecy against Moab, in which a very accurate knowledge of the geography of the country is shown. Verses 45-47 are wanting in the LXX. Chap. xlix contains prophecies respecting the Ammonites, the Edomites, Damascus, Kedar, and Hazor (verses 1-33), and against Elam (verses 34-39). With the exception of this last prophecy against Elam, belonging to the first part of Zedekiah's reign, it is impossible to determine in what reign Jeremiah delivered the prophecies in the last two chapters. Chapters l, li contain a very long and, in some respects, minute prophecy against Babylon, in which her utter desolation is predicted, and to be effected chiefly by the Medes. In chapter li, verses 45-48

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 428.

are wanting in the LXX. This prophecy was written in a book, and sent, in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah, to Babylon by Seraiah, who was commanded by Jeremiah to read it there, and then to bind a stone to it, and to cast it into the midst of the Euphrates, and to declare, "Thus shall Babylon sink and rise no more" (chapter li, 59-64).

The genuineness of the prophecy in these two chapters has been ~~objections to~~ ^{assailed} by Eichhorn, Gramberg, Knobel, Ewald, and ~~genuineness.~~ ^{others.} Davidson is inclined to think that it was not composed by Jeremiah. But Hitzig remarks on this prophecy: "It exhibits many traces of its genuineness and grounds for it. The use of language (chapters l, 16; li, 1, 3, 7, 14, 45, 55) and the circle of images (chapter li, 7, 8, 34, 37), as well as the style, especially in turns like chapter li, 2, in the form of conclusion (chapter li, 57), and in the informal dialogue (chapter li, 51), unmistakably betray Jeremiah. This result is confirmed by chronological data. Assyria has fallen (chap. l, 18). Foreigners, the Chaldeans, have made an invasion into the land of Judah which especially endangered the temple (chaps. l, 11, li, 51); the land has been pillaged, people have been carried away from it (chap. li, 34), but Jerusalem is still inhabited (chap. li, 35); and, what historically cannot now be otherwise, the present king at Babylon is still Nebuchadnezzar" (chapter l, 17). He, however, thinks the prophecy has been somewhat altered. De Wette finds in the prophecy expressions and turns of thought characteristic of Jeremiah, along with the peculiarities that belong to the second part of Isaiah; so that he suspects that a later author, who, he supposes, wrote the second part of Isaiah, revised this prophecy of Jeremiah.¹ Why should he not rather have supposed that Jeremiah imitated Isaiah?

Bleek remarks on the prophecy, that if it is not genuine we must suppose that some one "composed it in the name of Jeremiah, and added the epilogue, that the prophecy might pass for that prophet's—which, in itself, is not probable. But in the contents themselves are found indications that the prophecy was composed in Judea itself, as the sanctuary still exists on Zion (chaps. l, 5, li, 50), as well as the city of Jerusalem (chap. li, 35). To the same effect do the words (chap. li, 51), 'For strangers have forced themselves into the sanctuaries of the Lord's house,' suit well the given date in Zedekiah's time, as then, after Jehoiachin's captivity, Nebuchadnezzar had plundered the temple. But the words would not be applicable after it had been entirely destroyed."² The expression, "vengeance

¹ Der Prophet Jeremia, p. 391.

² De Wette—Schrader, pp. 425, 429.

³ Einleitung, pp. 478, 479.

of his temple" (chapters i, 28, li, 11), refers to the plundering of the temple when Jehoiachin was led into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv, 11-13).

We have, accordingly, all the proof of the genuineness and integrity of this prophecy that we can reasonably demand—^{Satisfactory proof of genuineness and integrity.} the positive statement that it was written by Jeremiah (chap. li, 60), and numerous internal marks peculiar to Jeremiah, and allusions to a state of affairs in that prophet's time which no longer existed a few years subsequently. It is difficult to see how the prophecy could have been revised by a later hand without obliterating many of the traces of Jeremiah's style and times, and without introducing evidences of a later period.

The last chapter of Jeremiah (lii) describes the reign of Zedekiah, the capture of Jerusalem and the events connected with it, and the deliverance of Jehoiachin from imprisonment in Babylon. This chapter, we hold, was not written by Jeremiah, both on account of the words with which the preceding chapter closes, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah,"¹ and the statement that Jehoiachin was released from prison in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, and treated kindly all the days of his life. Had this been written by Jeremiah he would have been ninety years old, or more; but it is not probable that he reached such an age. The chapter was added by a later hand.

THE COLLECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

We find that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the Lord commanded Jeremiah to take a roll of a book, and to write in it all the words that he had spoken unto him against Judah and against all the nations up to that time. Baruch then wrote in a book the words from Jeremiah, and read them to the people, after which the king burnt up the book. Baruch took another roll, and wrote all the words of the first roll, to which many similar words were added (chapter xxxvi).

In this same year (fourth of Jehoiakim) mention is made of the prophecies, "even all that is written in this book," which is followed by a list of the nations concerning which Jeremiah prophesied (chap. xxv, 13). Some of these prophecies were delivered at a later period, but are here named in order to give a complete view. Reference is again made in chapter xlv, 1 to Baruch's having "written these words in a book at the mouth of Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim." But this book contained none of the prophecies written

¹ These words are omitted in the LXX.

after the fourth year of that monarch. The long prophecy against Babylon was written by Jeremiah himself (chap. li, 60) in a separate book, and sent to Babylon. Baruch may have also written for Jeremiah the last of his prophecies, as we find that he accompanied the prophet into Egypt (chapter xliii, 6).

It seems rather singular that the prophecies of Jeremiah— with the exception of the first twenty chapters— are not all ways arranged in the order of time in which they are delivered. Nor is the arrangement in the LXX, which differs from the Hebrew text after chapter xxiv, in the order of time. But, after all, there is not much disorder in the arrangement of the prophecies and the events. Chapters xxiv–xxxix, with the exception of chapters xxv, xxvi, xxxv, xxxvi, contain the prophecies delivered and the events that occurred in the reign of Zedekiah. They end with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in the eleventh year of that monarch's reign, and are almost invariably arranged according to the order of time. But it is not easy to determine why the four chapters last named, belonging to the reign of Jehoiakim, were inserted among those pertaining to the reign of Zedekiah. Perhaps in the judgment of the arranger the matter which they contain rendered their present position suitable.

Chapters xl–xliv, treating of affairs subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem, stand in the right place. Chapter xlv, containing words of consolation for Baruch, was added as an appendage to the prophecies and history respecting the Jews. Though belonging to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, it was judged better to put it here, rather than to omit it altogether. The prophecies respecting *foreign* nations (chaps. xli–li) are arranged together, and placed at the end of Jeremiah's writings, as having no special relation to the events of his times. Chapter lii was added as an appendix by a later hand.

We have already seen that in several instances passages are found in the Hebrew text that are wanting in the LXX. It is not easy to explain this phenomenon. It would, indeed, seem probable that the translators of the Hebrew text must have had before them a Hebrew manuscript, which was somewhat different from our present masoretic text. But, at the same time, we are not sure that they did not take liberties with the text. On the other hand, we cannot doubt that when the canon was formed by Nehemiah, our present Hebrew text of Jeremiah made a part of it. If it could be supposed with any reason that Jeremiah published *two* editions of his prophecies, one at Tahpanhes, in Egypt, and that he returned to Jerusalem and published a *second* and enlarged one, the basis of our present Hebrew text, and that the Greek version

was made from the former in Egypt, the difficulty would be in great part removed. But even in that case it would seem singular that the translators should not have obtained a Hebrew manuscript from Jerusalem, the seat of Jewish authority and learning. Yet it is in the highest degree probable that such manuscripts as were in authority at Jerusalem were used by Hebrews in Egypt B. C. 200-150, during which the Greek version of Jeremiah was probably made.

Movers, and some other critics, have a decided preference for the text of the LXX, which Bleek,¹ upon the whole, favours. So, also, does De Wette in the later editions of his Introduction. Hävernicks and Keil most decidedly prefer the Hebrew text. Ewald and Schrader,² while acknowledging that the Hebrew text is, in the main, the more correct, yet think that in some instances the LXX has the better reading.

For ourselves, we adhere to the Hebrew text, from which we see no good reason to depart. Neither can it be done with safety.

CHAPTER L.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHECY OF EZEKIEL.

THE PERSON OF THE PROPHET.

THE Prophet Ezekiel³ lived and prophesied among the Jews who had been brought from Judea, in the captivity of Jehoiachin, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and dispersed in different parts of his dominions. He was dwelling in the land of the Chaldeans, among the captive Jews, near the river Chebar,⁴ when, in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, the heavens were opened to him, and he saw visions of God, and the divine word was communicated to him. His prophetic office continued about twenty-two years. At least, his written prophecies extend over that period, as we find that a divine communication was made to him as late as the twenty-seventh year of the captivity (chap. xxix, 17).

But little is known of his personal history. His father was Buzi,

¹ Einleitung, p. 489.

² De Wette—Schrader, p. 435.

³ יְחִזְקִיָּהּ, *whom God makes strong.*

⁴ צְבַר, *Chebar*, is, doubtless, the same as צְבֹר, *Chabor*, in 2 Kings xvii, 6, whither the king of Assyria transported some of the Israelites; the Chaboras of the Greeks called Aborrhias by Strabo. It is a large river in Mesopotamia, flowing into the Euphrates at the ancient Circesium (Carchemish), the modern Kerkesiah. The river is now called Khabûr. It is about 180 miles from Babylon. Nöldeke and Schrader suppose Chebar to be a stream or canal of the Euphrates, not far from Babylon.

a priest, who is otherwise unknown to us. He was married, as mention is made of the death of his wife (chap. xxiv, 18), who died in the ninth year of the captivity. He had a house of his own in the land of his captivity (chaps. iii, 24; viii, 1). He probably began his prophetic duties in the thirtieth year of his age¹ (chap. i, 1). We have no account of his death.

The book may be divided into *five* parts. The *first* (chapters i-xxiv) contains prophecies respecting the children of Israel. The *second* (chaps. xxv-xxxii) contains prophecies respecting foreign nations. The *third* (chaps. xxxiii-xxxvii) embraces oracles, principally respecting Israel. The *fourth* (chaps. xxxviii, xxxix) **Five divisions.** gives the predictions of the prophet against Gog and Magog. The *fifth* (chaps. xl-xlvi) describes the measuring of Jerusalem and the temple, the sacrificial offerings, the divisions of the land among the different tribes of Israel, and kindred matters, which were revealed to the prophet in vision.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PROPHECIES OF EZEKIEL.

The book of this prophet is of such a uniform and well-connected character, and contains so many traces of the age of the prophet, that the genuineness of the whole of it is acknowledged by all critics, with scarcely an exception.

"Ezekiel's prominent peculiarity," says De Wette, "is impressed upon the book from beginning to end." Again he remarks: "That Ezekiel, who generally speaks of himself in the first person, wrote down every thing himself, is subject to no doubt; he, nevertheless, appears not to have done this until late. Even the collecting of the prophecies can be referred to him, especially as they are arranged according to a definite plan."² Gesenius likewise gives his testimony to the genuineness of the whole book when he says: "The Book of Ezekiel belongs to that not very numerous class which from the beginning to the end maintain a unity of tone, which is evinced by favourite expressions and peculiar phrases; and by this, were there nothing else, every suspicion that particular sections may be spurious ought to be averted."³ The learned sceptical Jew, Dr. Zunz,⁴ stands alone in calling in question the age of these prophecies, and in referring them to a period bur-

¹ This seems to us to be the meaning of the words, "And it came to pass in the thirtieth year," the same as in English, "in my thirtieth year," expressed by the LXX, ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει. The supposition that some unknown era is referred to from which the thirtieth year is reckoned, is untenable.

² De Wette—Schrader, pp. 444, 446.

³ In Keil, vol. i, p. 362.

⁴ Gottesdienst. Vorträge der Juden, pp. 157-162.

dering on the time of the Persian Dominion. Definite special prophecies are an offense to him. As his objections to the age of these prophecies have found no response, it is unnecessary to enter into a refutation of them.

In the arrangement of these prophecies the order of time is observed, except in two instances, namely, the prophecy against Egypt in the tenth year (chap. xxix, 1), and that against the same land in the twenty-seventh year (chap. xxix, 17-20). There is no reason whatever for supposing that the prophecies of Ezekiel are historical events thrown into the prophetic form. They bear every mark of being genuine prophecies. "In the person of Ezekiel," says Keil, "we meet with a character very decided and sharply marked, of genuine priestly turn of mind, with rich endowments, with uncommon imagination, with imposing energy, with a noble creative imagination, and with powerful, burning eloquence."¹

The language of Ezekiel abounds in Chaldaisms, and he is often careless in his grammatical forms. His prophetic style and imagery were, no doubt, more or less modified by his new surroundings in the land of Chaldea. He makes frequent use of the Pentateuch, and in some instances imitates Jeremiah.² A large part of his prophecies are presented in visions; and as he almost invariably gives the date of these wonderful scenes, and the circumstances connected with them, it is evident that he intended that they should be understood as real events. We have no reason to question their truth.

In respect to the *symbolical actions* which the prophet in several instances was ordered to perform, it is probable that they were *really* performed by him in an outward way, in most cases as signs to the people. We cannot doubt that the death of the wife of the prophet was a *reality*, at which the prophet, as a sign to the people, was ordered not to weep, that they, too, should not weep at the loss of dear relatives (chap. xxiv, 15-24). So the symbolical acts in chaps. iv, v, xii, xxi, 6, 7, must be understood, in all probability, as having been performed in the presence of Israelites in the captivity.³ "Ancient tradition," says Fürst, "relates that the men of the great assembly, i. e., the great Council of State, collected, arranged, and edited the prophecies of Ezekiel. . . . The prophecies had for a long time been collected, brought into chronological order, and reduced

¹ Introduction, vol. i, p. 355, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

² Compare chap. xviii, 2 with Jer. xxxi, 29; chap. xxxiii, 7 with Jer. vi, 17, etc.

³ Bleek thinks that *symbolical acts* were not really performed by the prophet, as they could not have been witnessed by those for whom they were intended. *Einkleitung*, pp. 514, 515. This is not altogether true, for they were witnessed by a *part* of the community. No symbolical act is ever witnessed by *all* the people for whom it is intended.

to a whole. More than three hundred years passed away, during ^{Rabbinic views} which Ezekiel was regarded as a holy book, belonging ^{of Ezekiel.} to the national writings. Then it was discovered, upon closer examination, that its legal contents in the regulations of the priests do not stand in harmony with the arrangements in the Pentateuch, and it was determined in the schools to withdraw the book, as apocryphal, from public reading. Then came forward Chania, the son of Hezekiah, the son of Garon, a younger contemporary of Hillel's, about the birth of Christ, and devoted himself most industriously to the removal of the difficulty, until he succeeded."¹

CHAPTER LI.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

IN the Hebrew Bible this book stands in the Hagiographa between Esther and Ezra. It derives its name from its author, Daniel, who is its chief historical character, and whose prophecies it contains. The author was carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, and continued to occupy various positions of honour, and to receive divine communications, until the third year of Cyrus (chap x, 1), after which we hear no more of him. The time of his death is uncertain.

The book is naturally divided into two parts: first, *the historical*, giving an account of important events at Babylon in the author's time (chaps. i-vi); second, *the prophetic*, containing prophecies respecting future empires, the Messiah's kingdom, and the resurrection of the dead (chaps. vii-xii).

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK.

Eichhorn held that the book was composed by two authors, one of whom wrote chaps. ii, 4-vi, and the other chaps. vii-xii with i-ii, 3. Berthold was of the opinion that the different sections were written at different times by nine authors. But the theory of a plurality of authorship is now universally abandoned.

In chapters i-vii, 1, Daniel speaks of himself in the *third* person, but in the rest of the book in the *first*. The reason for ^{Unity of au-} this difference of persons is obvious. The first part is ^{thorship.} *historical*, in which it was necessary for the author to keep his subjectivity out of sight, and to consider himself as one of the actors

¹ Ueber den Kanon, pp. 21, 24.

in the scene. In the last six chapters he speaks of himself in the first person, because his prophecy is not historical. He describes visions that appeared to himself alone. Here individuality and subjectivity are conspicuous, and therefore the first person is altogether appropriate.

It is true that the book is written partly in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee, but this does not militate against unity of authorship. The Chaldee begins in chapter ii, 4, with the address that the Chaldeans make to the king, and ends with chapter vii. But the first person is used in this seventh (Chaldee) chapter and in the remaining chapters, which are Hebrew. It is extremely improbable that a second author, in taking up the first six chapters of the first part, should add an additional chapter in Chaldee, and then finish the book in Hebrew. The second part of the book is, to a great extent, an enlargement of some of the prophecies in the first, and refers to them. The character of Daniel is the same throughout the whole book.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE BOOK.

It was the universal belief of the ancient Jewish and Christian Churches that the book was written by Daniel, who lived during the captivity at Babylon. Porphyry, a heathen philosopher belonging to the school of the New-Platonists († about A. D. 305), devoted the whole of the twelfth book of his fifteen against Christianity, in the attempt to show that this book is spurious, and that it was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (B. C. 175-164). Jerome remarks on Porphyry, that he asserted that the author of the book "did not so much predict the future as narrate the past; that whatever he said up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes contained true history, but that his statements in reference to affairs beyond that period, because he was ignorant of the future, are false. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in three books, Apollinarius, also, in one large book, and before these, in part, Methodius, have answered him in a very ingenious manner."¹

From the time of Porphyry we hear of no objections to the genuineness of the book until Spinoza, a Dutch Jew of the seventeenth century, gave expression to a suspicion that a writer later than Daniel wrote the first seven chapters from the Chaldean annals. In the first part of the eighteenth century a violent and elaborate attack was made on the genuineness of the book by Anthony Collins,² an English Deist. In the latter part

The objections of Spinoza and Collins.

¹ Preface to his Commentary on Daniel.

² In *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered*. London, 1727. See Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*, vol. i, p. 123.

of the same century the book was attacked by Corrodi, in which he was followed by Eichhorn and Bertholdt, about the beginning of the present century. These attacks have been continued by De Wette, Bleek, Ewald, Lengerke, Hitzig, Bunsen, Davidson,¹ and others. On the other hand, it has been vigorously defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Herbst, Keil, Delitzsch, Auberlen, Stuart, and others.

THE EXISTENCE, AGE, AND COUNTRY OF DANIEL.

Before discussing the genuineness of the book, it is proper to inquire into the *existence*, *age*, and *country* of Daniel. And here we must observe that there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Daniel is a mythical or poetical character. If a book is forged in the name of a person, it shows that at the time of the forgery not only was there no doubt of the existence of that person, but also that he was a man of great reputation. Otherwise, there would be no object in assuming his name. And to ascribe to him a different character, or to locate him in a country or in an age different from what tradition assigned him, would render the reception of the book quite impossible.

We need not, however, rely wholly upon an *à priori* argument in proof of his existence and reputation, for the prophet Ezekiel, who lived in the first part of the Babylonian captivity, refers to him in the following passages: "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God" (Ezek. xiv, 14). Again he says ^{Ezekiel's reference to Daniel.} (verse 20): "Though Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it," etc. The placing of Daniel along with Noah and Job would indicate that he lived in a time of great trial, and was distinguished for fidelity and righteousness, as were Noah and Job. There is no reason for supposing that in the order of their names there is necessarily a reference to the order of time in which they lived. It was natural that Noah, their ancestor, distinguished for righteousness, should stand first. Daniel stands next, not because he preceded Job in time, but *because he was Ezekiel's own countryman*; and Job was put last because he was a *foreigner*. In Ezekiel xxviii, 3, in the midst of a long prophecy against Tyre, the following occurs: "Behold, *thou art wiser than Daniel*; there is no secret that they can hide from thee." When Ezekiel used this language, Daniel, according to the book that bears his name, had been already in Babylon *eighteen* years, and had obtained the highest celebrity. His fame may have reached to Tyre when Ezekiel made the references; but there is nothing in the language indicating, in the slightest de-

¹ In Introduction, 1863.

gree, that Daniel was known in Tyre. Nor does the allusion require it, as Ezekiel did not read his prophecy in that city; at all events, the fame of Daniel would reach that city as soon as the prophecy would. Further, there was appropriateness in comparing the wisdom of Tyre with that of some *living* person. At the time when Ezekiel spoke of the righteousness of Noah, Daniel, and Job, Daniel had been already in Babylon *twelve* years, and had become renowned for piety and wisdom. The passages cited from Ezekiel show that Daniel was a man of great piety and wisdom, and well known to Ezekiel's contemporaries. Now, if Daniel did not live during the Babylonian captivity, to what period can we assign his history? We have a connected history of the Jews from the calling of Abraham to the captivity at Babylon, and there is nowhere mentioned a man of any eminence by the name of Daniel; *he must, therefore, have lived during the captivity*. Ewald and Bunsen, however, suppose that the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel was, perhaps, a descendant of the kingdom of the ten tribes, who lived at the heathen court in Nineveh, and to whom prophecies respecting the kingdoms of the world were attributed in a book written in the time of Alexander the Great, or soon afterwards; and that this book was used by the author of the present Book of Daniel. Bleek justly rejects such a view as ungrounded and improbable, and as increasing the difficulty of explaining the origin of the book far more than diminishing it.¹ But Bleek's own hypothesis is just as improbable. He supposes that Bleek's hypothesis "Ezekiel was acquainted with an older writing which ^{exists} treated of a Daniel as a man distinguished by legal piety and deep wisdom, but in such a way that nothing definite appeared respecting the age in which he lived. This book was, perhaps, lost at an early period, during the Babylonian captivity or immediately afterwards; at least, it was no longer in existence at the time of the composition of our Book of Daniel, [which Bleek thinks was written about B. C. 165]; and thus nothing more definite than what was afforded by the passages in Ezekiel was known to the author of our book and his contemporaries."² He thinks this left the author of the book what we may call a *carte blanche*, on which he could write whatever suited his purposes respecting Daniel.

But it is in the highest degree improbable that, if there had existed among the Hebrews prior to the captivity a man so distinguished as Ezekiel represents Daniel to be, there would have been no mention made of him in the historical books treating of the affairs of the Jews before the captivity. Nor is it probable that, if the biography of such a man had been written, it would have been lost, as that

¹ Einleitung, p. 613.

² Ibid., p. 612.

biography was the only history of the man. Memoirs and biographies in Jewish history were lost because the substance of them was incorporated into permanent historical works, or because they were of but little importance. Bleek acknowledges that the most of those learned men who refer the composition of the book to a later age, and do not accept its statements of particulars, assume that Daniel and his three companions were historical persons, who distinguished themselves through piety and wisdom in Babylon, and obtained favour and consideration with the rulers of the land.¹

There is a Daniel mentioned in Ezra viii, 2; and in Nehemiah x he is named with Hananiah and Azariah, though they do not stand together. In Nehemiah viii, 4 Mishael occurs. But in Nehemiah x we have Jeremiah, and Baruch, and Anathoth (which was also the name of the town where Jeremiah lived). The occurrence of the names of Jeremiah, and Baruch his secretary, and Anathoth, is just as singular as that of Daniel and two of his companions. But, in fact, there is nothing remarkable in it. For Nehemiah x contains more than *eighty* names, among which there is no improbability that the names of Daniel and some of his friends would be found. It is very probable, indeed, that a considerable number of persons would be named after Daniel and his companions, who were so distinguished in Babylon. The suspicion of Bleek is utterly groundless, that the author of the Book of Daniel borrowed the names of Daniel and his companions—who lived more than a hundred years earlier—from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. And Davidson supposes that the author of Daniel had learned some particulars about these four persons, who returned from Babylon in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Not only did the ancient Jewish rabbies never doubt the existence of Daniel, but they compared him even to Moses.²

Before presenting the arguments in favour of the genuineness and authenticity of the book, we shall consider the

OBJECTIONS TO ITS GENUINENESS.

I. ITS POSITION IN THE CANON.

The Book of Daniel does not stand in the *third* division of the Hebrew Bible, embracing the later prophets, but in the *fourth* division, the *Hagiographa*, in which it forms the *ninth* book, and stands between Esther and Ezra. Now, the opponents of its genuineness hold that if the book had been written when the later prophets were arranged, it would have been placed along with them in the *third*

¹ Einleitung, p. 611. Davidson regards Daniel as "partly historical."

² Fürst. Ueber den Canon, p. 103.

division of the sacred canon, and not in the fourth; and its position, therefore, must be owing to the lateness of its composition.

But here the question arises, whether the arrangement of the books in the Hebrew Bible is the same now that it was when the canon was originally formed in the time of Nehemiah, or possibly soon after. We must answer this question in the negative. For example—in the time of Jerome the Book of Ruth was placed immediately after the Judges, and the Lamentations were joined to Jeremiah, though both of these books now stand in the Hagiographa, which is the third division. Jerome, however, adds, that some put them among the Hagiographa. In the time of Jerome the Hagiographa began with the Book of Job and ended with Esther; now it begins with Psalms and ends with Chronicles. In the time of Origen (first half of the third century) Ruth was joined to Judges, and Lamentations to Jeremiah, and Daniel stood between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Origen gives the books, he tells us, according to the Hebrews.¹

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the last half of the second century, tells us that he went to the East, where the history in the Old Testament was transacted, and that he carefully ascertained the number of the books of the Old Testament, and the order in which they were arranged. In this catalogue he places Daniel between the minor prophets and Ezekiel.²

Josephus³ distributes the sacred books into three divisions: the *Five Books of Moses*; the *writings of the Prophets, in thirteen books*; and the *remaining four* (of the twenty-two), *containing praises to God and the practical duties of men*. It is evident, then, that in his time the *Book of Daniel stood among the Prophets*. And this is confirmed by Josephus' calling him *Daniel the Prophet*.⁴ Daniel is also called a *prophet* in Matt. xxiv, 15, which may be considered, at least, a proof that he was so regarded by Jews at the time of Christ. It would seem, then, to be quite certain that in the interval between Josephus (who died about A. D. 100) and Jerome (born about A. D. 345), the learned rabbies of the school of Tiberias *re-arranged* the books of the canon, and removed Daniel from the second division (of the Prophets) and put him into the Hagiographa. Accordingly, in the Talmudic tradition,⁵ the visions of Daniel are not regarded as prophecies, and in the Midrasch it is said "Daniel was no prophet, but one who saw visions and revelations." At the same time rabbinical tradition⁶ declared that "respecting the seventy year-weeks, the ful-

¹ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, cap. 25.

² Ibid., lib. iv, cap. 26.

³ Against Apion, i, 8.

⁴ Antiq., book. x, 1.

⁵ Ueber den Kanon, p. 101.

⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

filment of the ancient prophecies concerning the end of time, and other things, he erred, and effected nothing."

The rejection of the Messiah by the Jews led them to declare the seventy year-weeks of Daniel, which were to end with the cutting off of the Messiah, as unfulfilled, and that Daniel had made a mistake. It is not strange, under these circumstances, that they degraded Daniel from the prophetic rank, and put his book into the Hagiographa.

But suppose the book had been written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (about B. C. 165), and received by the Jewish Sanhedrin as a genuine work of Daniel, they would have immediately inserted it with the other prophets, as belonging to them, if they regarded Daniel as a real prophet. But if Daniel was not regarded by the arrangers of the canon in the time of Nehemiah as a prophet in the sense in which they held the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, they would, probably, have put it into the Hagiographa, though acknowledging the book to be genuine. But if Daniel had been written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, it could not have been admitted into the Hagiographa, for that division was already closed.

2. ALLEGED GREEK WORDS IN DANIEL.

In chap. iii, 5¹ occur the following names of musical instruments, which are alleged to be of Greek origin: קִיֹּתְרוֹס, *gaythros*; סַבְבָּכָא, *sabbeka*; פֶּסַנְתֵּרִין, *pesanterin*; סִמְפֹּנְיָה, *sumponayah*. On the hypothesis of their Greek origin, the opponents of the genuineness of the book allege that at the time of the Babylonian captivity it is unlikely that musical instruments with Greek names were found in Babylon; and consequently that the book must be referred to a period subsequent to Alexander the Great, when Grecian learning was widely diffused in the East.

The word קִיֹּתְרוֹס is generally regarded as the Greek *κitharis* (or *κιθάρα*), *cithara*, or *harp*, which was in use at a very early period among the Greeks, and is found as the name of a musical instrument in Homer. It is very probably Greek, although Strabo represents some one as saying, "beating the *Asiatic cithara*."²

סַבְבָּכָא is supposed by some to be from the Greek *σαμβύκη*, but without reason. Fürst remarks that the word is "from the Aramæan, as a Syrian invented it" (Heb. Lex). Liddell and Scott remark on the Greek word *σαμβύκη*: "of barbarian origin, being, in fact, the Syrian *sabka* with *m* inserted, as in *ambubaia* (from Syriac *abbābo*, a pipe)." Gesenius offers no objection to its Oriental origin (Heb.

¹ In verses 7 and 10 occurs the same list.

² Lib. x, 471

Lex.). Strabo¹ speaks of the word as of foreign (i. e., Oriental) origin. The next word, פְּסַלְתֵּרִיּוֹן, has been generally supposed to be derived from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*, by changing the Greek λ into the Hebrew נ. Our translators render it *psaltery*. Pusey remarks: "The psaltery, as described by St. Augustine, corresponds with the 'santour,' as recognized by Layard on the bass-relief of Babylon." The word in Daniel and this "santour" were both probably derived from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*. The last of these four words, תְּזַמְזִיז, is generally supposed to be from the Greek *συμφωνία*, *symphony*, used in Plato in the sense of *musical concord*, and in Aristotle for music, and in the same sense in Luke xv, 25. In Polybius (who died about B. C. 122) the word is used, in all probability, for a *concert of musicians*, in liber xxxi, 4. In the same author, liber xxvi, 10, the word also occurs, but whether in the sense of a *band of music* or an instrument it is not easy to determine. This latter passage, however, belongs to a lost book, and is taken from a late writer who gives the substance of the remarks of Polybius on the conduct of a certain individual. The fact that Luke uses it for *music in general*, or a *concert of musicians*, renders it extremely improbable, in connexion with other facts, that the word was used by the ancients for a musical instrument until some centuries after Christ. The form *symphonia* occurs in late Latin.

Gesenius regards the word as of Greek origin; but Fürst (Heb. Lex.) gives the definition, *Aram, fem., a double pipe, a bag-pipe*. As the Greeks, says he, themselves did not name the instrument so (*συμφωνία*), it may perhaps be Semitic, and come from בָּבֶל, a *bag*, Talm., בָּבֶל, a *reed*. Or it may come, also, from בָּבֶל, *reed*. Bonomi² expresses the conviction that the word under discussion is a genuine Chaldee word, which he derives from בָּבֶל, *to lay, or lean*.

There are, then, but two or three words at most that can, with any probability, be referred to a Greek origin. Nor is it Greek names for musical instruments in Babylon. surprising that there should be found at Babylon two or three musical instruments bearing Greek names as early as about six hundred years before Christ; for the Greeks at a very early period displayed their inventive genius in music, as well as in other departments, and it is easy to see how their instruments of music might find their way to Babylon.

"Long before the Greeks began to write history," says Brandis "they had, as friends and foes, come into manifold contact with the empire of the Assyrians. . . . The battle and victory of Sennacherib in the eighth century B. C. over a Greek army which had penetrated

¹ Lib. x, 471.

² Nineveh and its Palaces, p. 408.

into Cilicia is fully attested by a relation out of the Babylonian history of Berosus. On the other hand, the extensive commerce of Greek colonies must not unfrequently have led Greek merchants into Assyrian territory."¹ "The name of Javan, or Greece, occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon [B. C. 722-705] among those from whom he received tribute. We know that articles of luxury formed part of the tribute to Assyria."² "In the monuments even of Sennacherib 'the Assyrian generals,' says Layard, are represented 'as welcomed by bands of men and women, dancing, singing, and playing upon instruments of music. First came five men; three carried harps of many strings, which they struck with both hands; a fourth played on the double pipes, such as are seen on the monuments of Egypt, and were used by the Greeks and Romans. . . . The fifth musician carried an instrument not unlike the modern santour of the East.'"³

Bonomi⁴ gives various cuts representing the musical instruments of the Ninevites, and compares them with those mentioned in the Book of Daniel. He derives the names of the latter wholly from the Semitic language.

De Wette acknowledges that, "of course, it is possible that Greek instruments and their names could be known to the Babylonians."⁵ And Rosenmüller remarks: "Nothing prevents musical instruments invented by the Greeks having been used among the Babylonians."⁶

In Genesis, in several places, there occurs the word *פִּלְגֶשֶׁת*, *pilleghesh*, Greek words in *a concubine*, which, in all probability, was derived from Genesis. the Greek, *παλλακίς*, *παλλάκη*, *πάλλαξ*, as Fürst believes, and which Gesenius thinks may be true, as there is no word in the Semitic from which to derive it. In Genesis xv, 17, we have *לֶפֶד*, *lappid*, a torch, equivalent to the Greek *λαμπάς*. There is no verb in the Hebrew language from which to derive *לֶפֶד*, and it has but one cognate word. But the Greek *λαμπάς*, *λαμπάδος*, a lamp, from *λάμπω*, to shine, has a great number of cognate words, showing that the Greek is the primitive; and the Hebrew word the derived, not *vice versa*, as Gesenius and Fürst think.

Now, will any one contend that, on account of one or two Greek words in Genesis, this book was not composed until long after the Babylonian captivity? Some think the word *קַרְטָלֹס* (Ezra i, 9) comes from the Greek *κάρταλλος*. If this could be established, would it prove that Ezra was not written until after the time of Alexander the Great? Why, then, should two or three Greek words in

¹ In Pusey on Daniel, p. 31.

² Ibid., p. 32.

³ Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

⁴ Nineveh and its Palaces, London, 1857, pp. 405-409.

⁵ Fourth edition of his Einleit.

⁶ Scholia in Daniel.

Daniel, the names of musical instruments, which would travel with the instruments themselves, be thought to indicate that the book was written long after the Babylonian captivity? There is no Greek colouring in the book, as we might have expected had it been written in the time of the Maccabees.

3. THE SILENCE OF JESUS SIRACH.

The omission of Daniel in the list of the great men among the Jews (chaps. xliv-l) given by the son of Sirach, has been urged by some as an argument against the Book of Daniel being known to him. But the argument *a silentio* is in many cases very delusive. If applied either to sacred or profane history, it often leads to the most fallacious results. If a writer professes to give a catalogue of *all* the men who have distinguished themselves in any particular department, then the omission of any distinguished name in that department may be considered as a *probable* proof that, in the judgment of the writer, no such character existed. It would not be a *positive* proof, at all events, for there might be a lapse of memory only. But this is not the case here, for the son of Sirach does not profess to give a list of all the distinguished men of Israel. He begins in the following manner: "Let us praise distinguished men, even our fathers in their generation" (chap. xliv, 1). Enoch is the first name in his list. Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses, Joshua, and a few others of the early ages, follow. He altogether omits Jephthah, Gideon, and Samson, all of whom were distinguished men. He makes no mention of such later eminent Jews as Ezra or Mordecai, and passes over Esther in silence, while he gives us Zorobabel and Nehemiah. The remark of Bleek, that Ezra, perhaps, would not have been passed over if his book at that time (about B. C. 200-180) had formed a part of the canon, is entirely groundless, as there can be no doubt that the Book of Ezra was already in the canon, and that its author stood high. The history of Mordecai and Esther must have been well known to the son of Sirach. In chap. xlix, 10, the son of Sirach mentions the twelve (minor) prophets. Bretschneider, Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and some others, regard this passage as spurious. The passage certainly interrupts the connexion, and makes the construction difficult. But we do not feel authorized to pronounce it spurious. The son of Sirach, before he finishes his list, goes back, and takes up Enoch again, and adds to his list Shem, Seth, and Adam. The reason assigned by some for the omission of Daniel is, that he lived at the Babylonian court, and did not labour among the Jewish people.

Omission by
the son of
Sirach.

But, further, some of the men in the list of the son of Sirach never wrote anything. It is not their *books* that he is praising, but their *deeds*. If Daniel was a man of any eminence he could with propriety have been placed in the catalogue though he had left no writings. The omission of his name, therefore, on the part of the son of Sirach, proves that no such character ever existed (if it proves anything), in clear contradiction to Ezekiel. Suppose the son of Sirach had praised Daniel without naming his book; this would have been another testimony to his existence and character only—not a confirmation of the genuineness of his book.

4. ALLEGED HISTORICAL ERRORS.

It is contended by the impugnors of the genuineness of the book that it contains historical errors. If this charge were true, we are not sure that it would prove the spuriousness of the book, though it would prove that the author was not in *every* thing inspired, and did not possess accurate knowledge on all the points of the history which he wrote. We shall, however, show that the charge of historical errors is unfounded. In Dan. i, 1, 2 we read, "In the *third* year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand." In Jer. xxv, 1 we read, "The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim, . . . that was the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon." According to the latter passage, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar corresponds, in part at least, with the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim; and yet in the *third* year of Jehoiakim Nebuchadnezzar is called king in our book, evidently before he had mounted the throne. Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Stuart pursue nearly the same method in removing the discrepancy; and, as it seems to us quite satisfactory, we will adopt it. Berosus, the Chaldean historian (quoted by Josephus, lib. x, cap. xi), states that when Nebuchadnezzar's father, Nabuchodonosor, [Nabopolassar], heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the places about Coele-Syria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, he committed to Nebuchadnezzar his son some parts of his army, and sent them against him. Nebuchadnezzar gave him battle, defeated him, and recovered the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his kingdom. About this time Nebuchadnezzar heard that his father was dead, and, having settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, as also those that concerned the *captive Jews* and Phœnicians, and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends

he went himself hastily with a few others over the desert to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom, which had been kept for him by one that was principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed that, when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia.¹ The beginning of this expedition was probably in the end of the third year of Jehoiakim (the same as Dan. i, 1). In Jer. xlv, 2 it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, smote the army of Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates, in Carchemish. We may suppose that some months intervened between the setting out of the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar and the defeat of the Egyptian army at Carchemish. Now, since Jehoiakim had been set on the throne by the king of Egypt, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that before attacking the Egyptian army at Carchemish he besieged Jerusalem and carried away captives in the third year of Jehoiakim. This must have been one or two years before he became king. And Berosus makes mention of conquests made in Syria, and Jews taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar before he became king, which confirms the date in Dan. i, 1. The remark of Bleek² is entirely false, that, according to Jer. xxxvi, 9, 29, in the fifth year of Jehoiakim the Chaldeans had not yet come to Jerusalem. For in verse 29 the reference to the coming of the king of Babylon is not to his first appearance in Jerusalem, when Jehoiakim submitted to him, but to his entire overthrow of the country: "*The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast.*" This refers to the reigns of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah. It is not strange that Nebuchadnezzar is called king in the lifetime of his father. He may have been a co-regent with him; but even if he were not, the title of king could have been given to him by anticipation. We can speak of *General* Washington's accompanying Braddock in his expedition to Fort Du Quesne, though in fact he had not then attained the rank of general. In the same way we could speak of *President* Grant's campaign in the Wilderness.

And thus arises the apparent contradiction between Dan. ii, 1 and i, 5, 18. In the first of these passages it is stated that the dream of Nebuchadnezzar which Daniel interpreted occurred in the *second*³ year of the reign of that monarch. But according to the other passages Daniel was not brought in to appear before the king till the

¹ This is the substance of the passage. We have omitted some words not relevant to our purpose.

² Einleitung, p. 601.

³ Ewald supposes we should read *twelfth* instead of *second*.

end of *three* years. As Nebuchadnezzar is called king in chap. i, 1 by way of anticipation, the three years of Daniel's preparation to appear before the king begin one or two years before the full sovereignty of Nebuchadnezzar.

In Dan. v, 31, after the death of Belshazzar, it is stated that Darius the Median took the kingdom when he was about threescore and two years old. Some have denied the existence of such a monarch. But Gesenius well remarks on this monarch: "This was apparently Cyaxares II., the son and successor of Astyages, and uncle of Cyrus, who held the empire of Media between Astyages and Cyrus, yet so that Cyrus was his colleague and viceroy; on which account he alone is mentioned by Herodotus" (Heb. ^{Proof of exist-}_{ence of Darius.} Lex.). Xenophon¹ represents Cyaxares as succeeding Astyages. There is no reason for supposing that this king is a fiction of Xenophon. The passage in Æschylus (*Persæ*, 765-768) contains no probable reference to Darius.

Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Polyænus, know nothing of a king between Astyages and Cyrus. But, if the book of Daniel be genuine—and, in discussing this subject, no one has a right to *assume* the contrary—his testimony is worth more than all these historians put together; and that he possessed accurate knowledge of Babylonian affairs we shall show in another place. The testimony of one credible eye-witness weighs more than that of a dozen men who write from rumour. Daniel was upon the spot; those historians were remote.

But if no such king as Darius the Median ever existed, can we believe that the author of the Book of Daniel, supposing it to have been forged in the Maccabean times, would have introduced him? Is it characteristic of the writers of history, or even of novelists, to introduce men as historical who, in the judgment of mankind, never existed? What would we think of even a novelist who should insert a king of England between James II. and William, Prince of Orange? The fame of Cyrus, as the conqueror of Babylon, completely eclipsed that of his predecessor, Darius; for it spread all over the East and the West. Daniel gives even the age of Darius upon his accession to the kingdom, which, if it is not an attempt, without any assignable purpose, to deceive, is a mark of intimate acquaintance with the monarch, or, at least, with his history. In the apocryphal addition to Daniel, written probably about the time of the Maccabees, we have this statement: "King Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom." Had Daniel been

¹ Cyropædia, book i. Hengstenberg finds mention of this Darius in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius.

written in that age, it would, doubtless, have contained a very similar statement.

The account, in the third chapter, of Nebuchadnezzar's setting up a golden image, and commanding every body to worship it, has been severely criticised. The image is stated to have been sixty cubits (about ninety feet) high, and its breadth six cubits (about nine feet). These proportions, on the supposition that it was the Nebuchadnezzar's image. figure of a human being, have been pronounced monstrous. It should have been at least fifteen or twenty feet in breadth. But we know not what it was intended to represent. The image may have stood upon a pedestal, and the whole height may have been ninety feet, on which supposition all difficulty respecting the harmonious proportions of the figure vanishes. Nor is there any reason for supposing that the image was of solid gold. Wooden altars covered with gold are called golden by Moses. Comp. Exod. xxxvii, 25 with xxxix, 38, etc. The conduct, too, of Nebuchadnezzar, in requiring the Hebrew children to worship the image, has been thought to be inconsistent with the toleration which at that time was allowed all religions. But it must be borne in mind that the king, while willing to tolerate the religion of the Jews, expected from them an acknowledgment of his own. It was the *exclusiveness* of their religion that excited his hatred. Judaism admitted of no compromise. Other religions, without any sacrifice of their principles, could acknowledge the claims of other gods, and combine their worship with that of their own deities. It was the same spirit of exclusiveness that brought upon Christianity so much persecution in its early history.

The truth of the account of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity has been called in question by some critics, especially on the Nebuchadnezzar's insanity. ground of the silence of ancient history respecting it. But this silence can be easily explained. None of the other books of the Old Testament make any mention of the latter part of the life of Nebuchadnezzar. The historical books (with the exception of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, which treat of Jewish affairs in the Persian dominion) extend only to the captivity. There was no occasion, therefore, for these writers to refer to this event in the king's life. The oldest of the Greek historians, Herodotus, does not give us the history of Nebuchadnezzar at all. Of the Chaldean historians from whom we may expect any information about this occurrence there remain only Abydenus and Berosus. In Abydenus there is a passage in which Nebuchadnezzar is represented as ascending to the roof of his palace, where he becomes inspired by some god, and delivers a prophecy, in which he announces calamity to his country

from the coming Persian mule.¹ From the language he uses he seems to refer to his own madness and wanderings. Abydenus finishes the statement by saying, "Having predicted these things he disappeared."² In the judgment of the ancients, there was a close connexion between a prophetic spirit and madness. Respecting the Chaldean historians, it must be observed that they had a natural propensity to embellishment. It is not likely, therefore, that they would relate anything that would detract from the greatness of their kings. The remark of Rawlinson is appropriate here: "In the entire range of the Assyrian annals there is no case where a monarch admits a disaster, or even a check, to have happened to himself or his generals."³

Nebuchadnezzar's disease was lycanthropy, of which several instances are recorded in history. In the description of the king's madness strong expressions are used, in accordance with the custom of the Orientals; but there is nothing to warrant us in believing that he was metamorphosed into a brute.

The decree of Darius, that no man should ask a petition of any god or man, except of the king, for thirty days (Dan. vi, 7, 12), is considered by some as very improbable, since it would be a suspension of religious duties for the time. It has, however, been shown that the kings of the Medes and Persians were worshipped as representations and incarnations of Ormuzd; and Heeren remarks: "The person of the king in Asiatic kingdoms is the centre about which every thing moves. He is regarded not merely as ruler, but rather as proprietor of land and people." Plutarch relates that it was a custom among the Persians "to honour the king, and to worship the image of God, the preserver of all things." Curtius also says, "The Persians worship their kings among the gods." That the Assyrians⁴ really regarded their kings as incarnations of their divinity Ormuzd is proved from the monuments of Nineveh discovered by Layard.

5. THE ALLEGED CLEARNESS OF ITS PROPHECIES OF EVENTS UNTIL THE TIME OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND THE OBSCURITY OF THOSE RESPECTING SUBSEQUENT ONES.

The prophecies of the Book of Daniel are represented by its opponents as being remarkably definite respecting events until the close of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B. C. 164), after which they are quite obscure. If this allegation were true, it would be very far from proving what they allege, that the book was written

¹ Evidently Cyrus.

² In Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.*, liber ix, 41.

³ *Hist. Illus. Old Testament*, p. 144.

⁴ That Nineveh and Babylon were closely related in religious views will not be denied; and what is true of Nineveh may be generally affirmed of Babylon.

about the close of the life of that monarch. For we may state, in reply, that Daniel's prophecies respecting events until the end of the reign of Antiochus are not more definite than those of some other prophets. Jeremiah predicted that the Babylonian captivity should last *seventy years* (chaps. xxv, 11, 12; xxix, 10). What more definite than this? Also, in reference to the destruction of Babylon he is very definite, describing the manner of the capture of the city by the drying up of the Euphrates while her men were drunk (chaps. i, 38; li, 36, 39). With the exception of a few Messianic passages, there is nothing definite after the times of the captivity. Isaiah, too, is very definite respecting Babylon (chap. xiii, 19-22). Also respecting Ephraim he is explicit: "Within *threescore and five years* shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people" (chap. vii, 8). He also predicts the destruction of Moab in the most precise language: "Within *three years*, as the years of a hireling," etc. (chap. xvi, 14); the addition, "*as the years of a hireling*," is to show that it shall be neither more nor less. And in chaps. lii, 13-14, he foretells our Saviour's history with great exactness.

But, further, the prophecies of Daniel extend beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and some of them are very definite. Daniel predicts the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom during the fourth empire (the Roman) (chap. ^{Definiteness later than Antiochus Epiphanes.} ii, 44); that, after *seventy weeks (of years)*, the vision and the prophecy should be sealed up, (completed), reconciliation made for iniquity, everlasting righteousness brought in, and the Most Holy anointed; and that, from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem to Prince Messiah,¹ the time should be sixty-nine weeks (483 years). Could the Roman empire, in all its grandeur and its wide dominion, and the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom at a definite time during its existence, have been foreseen by human wisdom even in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes?

PROOFS OF ITS GENUINENESS.

I. ITS ADMISSION INTO THE CANON.

It is an acknowledged fact that the Book of Daniel has been received by the Jews as a part of Holy Scripture ever since the time of Christ. Of this we have historical proof. According to Josephus the canon of Scripture was closed in the reign of Artaxerxes. He says, "From the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after

¹ On these prophecies see especially Pusey on Daniel.

Moses wrote what was done in their time in thirteen books. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, *but hath not been esteemed of like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time.*"¹ Now, if the Book of Daniel had not been written until about B. C. 164, *four hundred* years after the age of Daniel, supposing him to have lived during the captivity, how could it have found its way into the canon? "The Wisdom of Sirach," written in Hebrew not later than about 190 or 180 B. C., is a work of great merit, and stood high with the rabbies, but was never admitted into the canon, "because," as Fürst himself acknowledges, "the canon at that time was already closed."² The First Book of Maccabees, written also in Hebrew originally, about B. C. 120, a work of merit and reliability, and the Book of Tobit, written earlier, were excluded from the canon. What was it, then, that gave Daniel its reception into the canon? Evidently the belief that it was written by Daniel, who flourished in the Babylonian captivity. The book professes to have been written by him: "As for me Daniel," etc., chap. vii, 28; "A vision appeared unto me, Daniel," chap. viii, 1; "I Daniel fainted," etc., chap. viii, 27. If the book was not written by Daniel it is a forgery, a downright fraud, in which the author lies for God, pretending to have received revelations from God which he never received, and to have seen visions that he never witnessed. In the eyes of the Jews, and with all who have any moral sense, this was a great crime. The Mosaic law is very severe upon this point: "The prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak, . . . even that prophet shall die" (Deut. xviii, 20). It is evident that the whole Jewish people—Sanhedrim and all—were deceived in the book if it be not genuine. But how could they believe that the book had existed as a canonical work for *four hundred years*, when it had just been forged? "The age of the Maccabees," says Hävernicks, "was one in which Scripture learning already flourished." Not only does I. Maccabees mention *the assembly of the scribes* (συνάγωγη γραμματέων) chap. vii, 12, but, also, the Book of Sirach praises the wisdom of the scribe (σοφία γραμματέως), xxxviii, 24. How could these men be deceived in such a plain case, if the book were a forgery? According to Bleek's view,³ the book was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, to encourage the Jews to resist that tyrant, and to obey the law of Moses, by the example of Daniel and his friends. But how a book forged at that time, of which they had heard nothing before

¹ Against Apion book i, sec. 8.

² Ueber den Canon, p. 130.

³ Einleitung, pp. 604, 605.

could have nerved them to face death, is not easy to see. Martyrs are not made by fairy tales.

Nowhere in the traditions of the Jews, as delivered by the Talmudists, is there any intimation that even a doubt had been raised about the book among their ancestors. Had doubts existed upon the subject we should have heard of them, especially if the book had originated in an age so late as that of the Maccabees.

2. THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS.

In reference to one's being anxious respecting the knowledge of the future, Josephus says: "Let him be diligent in the reading of the Book of Daniel, *which he will find among the sacred writings.*"¹ And he says further, respecting his writings: "From them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of the future, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment." Again, in reference to certain calamities, he affirms: "Our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what *he wrote many years before they came to pass.* In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. This man left in writing all these things, as God had showed them to him; insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel, and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in error who cast providence out of human life."² He also states that Alexander the Great, after capturing Gaza, went up to Jerusalem, where he sacrificed to God, and *was shown the Book of Daniel*, in which he predicted that one of the Greeks should overturn the kingdom of Persia. Josephus also states that when Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre,³ he sent to the high priest of the Jews, requesting him to send him an auxiliary force, and also provisions, which the high priest refused to do, on the ground of sworn allegiance to Darius. Arrian, who, about A. D. 150, wrote the history of Alexander the Great, chiefly from documents written by the monarch's contemporaries, says, in speaking of Alexander's determination to make an expedition into Egypt, that "already the other parts of Syria, called *Palestine*, had submitted to him,"⁴ except Gaza, which he took by siege. Arrian, indeed, says nothing of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, and of his offering sacrifice to God there, which, though true, he

¹ Antiq., book x, chap. x, sec. 4. He was born A. D. 37.

² Ibid., book x, chap. xi, sec. 7. ³ Ibid., book xi, chap. viii, sec. 3-5.

⁴ Lib. ii, cap. xxv.

may have omitted to mention from hatred of the Jews.¹ It is in itself very probable that Alexander offered sacrifice at Jerusalem, for it was his custom to offer sacrifice to all the gods to whose temples he could get access. He made war upon the Tyrians because they refused to admit him to sacrifice to Hercules.² But whether the prophecies of Daniel were shown to Alexander or not, the passage in Josephus furnishes a proof that the Jews believed that at that time the book was already in existence, and, what is important, was not kept secret.

3. THE LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK.

The language of the Book of Daniel exactly represents his age and position. About two fifths of the book are Hebrew; the remaining three fifths are Chaldee. Its Hebrew is as pure as that of almost any book of that age and of the immediately succeeding one. There is no blending of the two languages. The first chapter, and the first three verses of the second, are Hebrew. The Chaldee begins at the fourth verse, where the Chaldeans are represented as speaking in Aramaic (Chaldee), and ends with the seventh chapter. The remaining five chapters are Hebrew. Now, if the book had been written in the time of the Maccabees, nearly four hundred years after the captivity, would its Hebrew have been so pure? The Hebrew language disappeared from general use a short time—perhaps something less than a century—before the birth of Christ. In the age of the Maccabees the Hebrew language was on the point of being supplanted by the Chaldee, into which it gradually passed over. But the Hebrew of Daniel contains no indications of its being in a transition state. Also, the Chaldee of Daniel

Purity of Daniel's Hebrew and Chaldee.

is as pure as that of Ezra. The language of the book is inexplicable on the supposition that it was written in the Maccabean age; but on the supposition that Daniel wrote the book in the captivity at Babylon all is easy. He had acquired a knowledge of Hebrew before he was carried away to Babylon, where he became master of the Chaldee. We have in Ezra iv, 8-vi, 18, and vii, 12-26, Chaldee sections—chiefly decrees of Persian kings from Cyrus to Artaxerxes—the last not later than a hundred years after Daniel wrote. With this Chaldee of the Persian court can be compared that found in Daniel, which, if genuine, was used at the same court about the same time. The result of the comparison is a striking proof that the Chaldee of Daniel must belong to the same age with that of Ezra, and, consequently, that the author of Daniel

¹ As Arrian was a Pagan, and as Christianity and Judaism were objects of hatred to him, it is not surprising that he should pass over a recognition of Jehovah by Alexander.

² Lib. ii, cap. xvi.

must have lived somewhere near Babylon during the captivity, or, at least, not long after it. This is made still stronger by comparing the Chaldee of Daniel with that of the Targums (Chaldee translations) of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel, written about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years¹ after the time of the Maccabees.

Respecting the peculiarities of the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra, and how it differs from that of the Targums, Dr. Pusey gives the following excellent *resumé* of a critical discussion of this subject by the Rev. Mr. M'Gill:²—

“1. In the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra the stronger aspirate *h* is used, where in the Chaldee of the Targums it is nearly effaced. This occurs so manifoldly as evidently to involve a principle of language. It is found in the characteristic letter of three conjugations; in verbs, whose last letter it is; in infinitives of derived conjugations; in the feminine of participles always in Daniel; in adjectives usually; in the emphatic form which in Chaldee represents the article; in the pronoun *I*, and three particles. All these peculiarities occur in Ezra as well as Daniel, and with the remarkable agree-
M'Gill on the Chaldee of Ezra and Daniel.
 ment in both, that, although in a lesser degree, they do use the later forms also. The language, then, was apparently still in an unfixed state. They are not Hebraisms, because many of the forms do not belong to Hebrew; all occur in Samaritan. It is a law of all languages, that gutturals weaken as time goes on.

“2. Two conjugations, which still existed in the time of Daniel and Ezra, were, the one mostly, the other wholly, effaced; and a conjugation was formed unknown to biblical Chaldee.

“3. A fuller orthography, implying a more prolonged pronunciation of vowels (Daveed for David), has long been recognized as belonging to the later Hebrew of the Old Testament. The same difference, though more extensive, is observed between the biblical Chaldee and the Targums.

“4. There are forms in biblical Chaldee, common with Syriac, which show that, at the time when it was written, the dialects of Assyria and Syria, East and West Aramaic, were not so much separated as in the time of the Targums. It is like the fusion of dialects in Homer. Here, too, the Eastern Aramaic became softer in the time of the Targums.

“5. This correspondence of the biblical Chaldee with the Syriac best explains a form of the substantive verb (לְהָיָה, ל instead of ה in the future) found only in biblical Chaldee, alike in Daniel and Ezra, yet insulated from all other Semitic forms.

¹ Onkelos and Jonathan flourished about the birth of Christ.

² In *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1861.

"6 Daniel and Ezra use unabridged, and so older, forms.

"7. The biblical Chaldee has pronominal forms nearer the original Semitic pronoun, and Daniel the older form of the two.

"8. Other pronouns or particles are used in a form which ceased to be used in the Targums.

"9. In regard to the use of *n*, in the biblical Chaldee the older uncontracted forms prevail; in the older Targums, the later contracted forms; but there is considerable variety. In part, the biblical agrees with the Samaritan Chaldee.

"10. In one word, *haddabar*, 'councillor,' there is probably a trace of the article in its Hebrew form. . . .

"11. The Hebrew plural ending, *im* for *in*, occurs in two words in Daniel, and in a third in Ezra. . . .

"12. According to the punctuation, there was a dual at the time of the biblical Chaldee, which existed also in the Samaritan Chaldee, but was lost in the time of the Targums.

"13. There is a correspondence in other vowels between the biblical Chaldee and the Hebrew, as distinct from the Targums, inexplicable except on the ground of a real, accurate tradition.

"14. A letter (*sh*) seems to have, at least, become less used, between the times of biblical Chaldee and the Targums.

"It may be added, that even in the space of these six chapters of Daniel there are a certain number of words which do not occur in the Targums or Gemara; quite as many, or more, probably, than would be found in any six chapters of any of the Hebrew historical scriptures. They are not technical words, which there might not be occasion to use elsewhere (as offices or dress or instruments, the names of which were disused with the things); but ordinary words of the language."¹

The phrase *שִׁים טָעַם*, *to publish a decree*, is common to Daniel and Ezra; *טָעַם*, *to counsel*, occurs in both books; likewise the Chaldee form *הַטָּעַם*, *they*. The forms *נִילִי* in Ezra, and *נִילִי* in Daniel, meaning *a dunghill*, are very similar. That sagacious critic, J. D. Michaelis, regarded the peculiar Chaldee forms, which he considered Hebraisms, found in Daniel and Ezra, but wanting in even the oldest Targums, as a proof of the genuineness of both these biblical books.²

Nor can it be shown that the author of Daniel imitated Ezra: for some of their forms are different. Also between Daniel and Ezekiel there are points of resemblance; e. g., *חַיִּיב*, in *Piel*, *to make guilty*

¹ Daniel the Prophet, pp. 45-52. Dr. Pusey gives long notes, confirming and illustrating these statements.

² Chaldee Grammar, p. 25.

is found only in Dan. i, 10, and in the form חֹב, *a debt*, only in Ezek xviii, 7; קָלִיל, *smooth*, is found only in Ezek. i, 7 and in Dan. x, 6; and לְבוּשׁ חֲבָרִים, *clothed in linen*, in Dan. xii, 6, 7, and in Ezek. ix, 11, x, 2, etc.; and in no other biblical writer.

Resemblances
between Daniel
and Ezekiel.

We may conclude this part of our subject with a summary of the linguistic argument: 1. The purity of the Hebrew of Daniel, which shows that the language could not belong to an age long posterior to the captivity; 2. The correspondence of the Chaldee portion of the book with the Chaldee of Ezra, which indicates its proximity to the age of the captivity.

4. THE AUTHOR'S EXACT HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE.

If the Book of Daniel was composed in the Maccabean age, we may expect to find in it many historical errors. On the contrary, we find an exact knowledge of history, and an acquaintance with Persian customs and manners, which show the proximity of the author to the events he relates.

It appears from Dan. v, 30, that Belshazzar was king in Babylon when the city was captured by Cyrus. This statement, which was formerly an objection to the historical veracity of the author of the book, has proved to be a remarkable proof of his accuracy. For the king of Babylon, Nabonidus, is represented as being shut up in the city Borsippus¹ when Cyrus captured Babylon. But a cylinder has been discovered in Babylon, from which it is clear that Nabonidus (or Labynetus, according to Herodotus) associated with himself his son, Belshazzar, in the government.² This latter king was slain while Nabonidus was in Borsippus. Accordingly, Smith,³ in his list of Babylonian kings, puts: "Belsaruzur (Belshazzar), son of Nabonidus, associated with his father on the throne." Nebuchadnezzar is called Belshazzar's father by the queen of Babylon; but this need create no difficulty, as the word father is used in such an indefinite way as to express ancestor, author, or great officer.

In the account of Belshazzar's feast (chap. v, 1-4) it is stated that the king commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels taken from the temple at Jerusalem, that he and "his princes, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein." In confirmation of this usage of the Persians, different from that of the Greeks, we have the following in Herodotus, v, 18: "It is customary with us Persians, whenever we make a great feast, to bring in our concubines and our wives to sit beside us." In chap. v, 30, Belshazzar is said to have

¹ According to Berosus, in Eusebius' *Præpar. Evang.*, lib. ix, 40.

² See Rawlinson's *Illustrations of Old Testament*, p. 181.

³ *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 445, made in 1873 and 1874.

been slain during the very night of the festivities. That the Babylonians would indulge in such festivities is not improbable, from the statement of Herodotus that they had laid up provisions for many

Confirmation of Daniel's statement by independent authorities.

years, and took no account of the siege (lib. i, 190, 191). According to Xenophon, Babylon was captured, and the king slain, in the night.¹ In chap. vi, 8, 12, 15, mention is made of the law of the *Medes and Persians*; but in the Book of Esther, written at a later period, and in reference to later events, the phraseology is *Persians* and *Medes*—Persians standing first, which is in accordance with the statement that Darius the *Mede* was king during the events which Daniel relates, and with the fact that in the time of Esther the Persians were the ruling power.

In Daniel vi, 1, it is said that it pleased Darius to set over the kingdom one hundred and twenty princes (satraps). Xenophon states that while Cyrus was in Babylon "he determined to send satraps to the conquered nations."² What Daniel attributes to Darius, the vicegerent of Cyrus, was suggested by Cyrus himself, in all probability, as the sovereign, or was their joint determination.

The account of the Magi could have been written only by one most intimately acquainted with Persian affairs, as was the case with Daniel. *Indefiniteness* respecting the classes, sects, and customs of a country is always characteristic of those who write at a remote distance, either in *time* or *space*, from the objects of their description. Daniel gives us, in chapter ii, 2, four classes of the Magi caste: חֲכָמִים, *sacred scribes*; אֲשָׁפִים, *magicians*; כַּכְשָׁפִים, *sorcerers*; כְּשָׁרִים, *Chaldeans*. In chap. ii, 27 we have also חֲכִימִין, *wise men*; and נְזִירִין, *diviners* (astrologers). The investigations of Lenormant, the great Assyriologist, have remarkably confirmed Daniel on the classes of Magi.

No mention of prostration before the king when addressing him is made by Daniel. According to Arrian,³ Cyrus was the first king who was honoured in that way. As the Persians regarded their kings as the incarnation of Ormuzd, there was nothing strange in worshipping them. In the Maccabean age, prostration before kings had long been the custom. Could we have expected such exact historical knowledge in a writer of that age?

In Dan. ii, 5; iii, 29, Nebuchadnezzar threatens to make the houses of those who do not comply with his demands *dunghills* (*sinks*). The houses of Babylon were built of *unburnt brick*, and when demolished and made wet with rain they became *miry sinks*.

In Dan. iii, 6, Nebuchadnezzar declares that those who refuse to

¹ Cyropædia, liber vii.

² Ibid. liber viii.

³ Exped. Alexand., liber iv. 11

worship his golden image "shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning *fiery furnace*." In Jer. xxix, 22, we have a clear instance of the same kind of punishment: "The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, *whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire*." Now, the Persians were *fire-worshippers*, and never punished criminals in this way; and we accordingly find that, as soon as the government of Babylon passed into the hands of the Medes and Persians, casting into a den of lions is substituted for it (Dan. vi, 7). Here is an historical discrimination which, in all probability, would not have been found in a writer of the Maccabean age, or even in any writer who was not personally acquainted with the transactions. Even the ancient Greek historian, Herodotus,¹ represents Cyrus the Great, a Persian *fire-worshipper*, as *burning* Cræsus—a gross error, that has been ridiculed by the critics.

In Daniel iv, 30, Nebuchadnezzar says: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Nebuchadnezzar built a new palace of great dimensions and beauty. To this palace, with its environs, he here refers. The ruins of this second Babylon have been discovered by Layard.² This is another instance of historical accuracy. There is a remarkable correspondence between Herodotus (lib. i, 195) and Daniel (iii, 21) in reference to Babylonian dress. The former mentions garments reaching to the feet (trousers), a linen over-tunic, and a cloak; the latter mentions trousers, a tunic, and a cloak. (The English version is here defective).

The author of the book shows an acquaintance with the religion of Zoroaster. He represents Nebuchadnezzar as speaking (chap. iv, 13, 17, 23) of *watchers* exercising a superintendence in the affairs of the world. In the Bun-Dehesh, a commentary on the Zend-Avesta, a passage is quoted from the latter in reference to the watchers: "Ormuzd has set four watchers in the four quarters of the heavens." Could we have expected this allusion from a forger in Palestine in a later age?

But to place the argument in proof of the genuineness of Daniel drawn from its historical accuracy, in a clear light, it is necessary to compare it with the writings of the Maccabean age. The absurdities of the Book of Tobit are

Daniel corroborated by local usages and worship.

Daniel compared with the Maccabean writings.

¹ Liber i, 86.

² The name of Nebuchadnezzar has been found upon the brick (Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. ii, p. 138). Layard, in his second expedition to Nineveh and Babylon, says, in reference to the bricks of the latter place, "They record the building of the city by Nebuchadnezzar."—P. 532.

known to every reader of the Apocrypha. No one would for a moment compare this book with the Book of Daniel. Nor is the Book of Judith much better. The great power ascribed in the Book of Daniel to the Babylonian kings agrees remarkably well with what we know of Oriental nations; but in the *apocryphal addition* to Daniel, the Babylonians, in the affair of Bel and the Dragon, are represented as rising up against the king, and threatening him with death if he does not deliver up to them Daniel, and thereupon he accedes to their demand. The second and third Books of Maccabees are of little historical value. The first Book of Maccabees is of great value as an authentic history of the times of which it treats. It is not, however, free from some gross errors. For example, in chap. i, 6 it states that Alexander the Great, upon his death, had called to him the most distinguished of his servants, and divided his kingdom among them, which we know to be false. In chap. viii, 7 it states that the Romans took Antiochus the Great alive; but, in fact, they never captured him at all. In chap. viii, 8 it is said they took from him India, which, however, he never possessed. In chap. viii, 16 it is stated that the Romans entrust their government to *one* man annually, who rules over the whole country, and everybody obeys him. It is well known that they elected *two* consuls annually. We need not cite other errors. Now, if an author about the time of the Maccabees, writing of events that occurred and of customs that existed in his own age and in the ages immediately preceding, has committed such errors, what would he have done had he attempted to describe *Babylonian* history and customs?

5. OTHER ARGUMENTS IN PROOF OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE BOOK.

The symbolic form of Daniel's prophecies suits well the place of their delivery. In chaps. viii, 2, and x, 4, he represents river banks as the scenes of his visions. This was very appropriate for a prophet in Babylon, but not for one in Palestine. Daniel was familiar with the Euphrates, Tigris, and other streams, either in the vicinity of Babylon or not very remote; and we find that the Deity usually adapts himself to the conceptions and positions of the prophets in his revelations to them. The imagery of Daniel's vision in the seventh chapter is nearly the same as that found on monuments in the ruins of Nineveh. Daniel speaks of a lion that had *eagle's wings*, and of a leopard that had four *wings*. Here we are strongly reminded of the *winged bull* and other figures excavated by Layard. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image is in exact accordance with Babylonian taste, for the Babylonians were remarkably fond of the grotesque and the rude. "In his [Daniel's] strains," remarks Schlosser,

who is no friend to Scripture, "a Chaldean and Babylonian style is so conspicuous that it strongly expresses the character of the times in which he lived."

The character of Daniel's prophecies suits his position. He was engaged in the State affairs of the greatest nation of the age. It is therefore very probable that he would be deeply anxious to know what would be the fate of this kingdom especially in relation to the influence it would have upon the chosen people. Further, it is probable, unless we deny all prophecy, that God would make known to him the future, and choose him for the office which the history ascribes to him.

Agreement between Daniel's circumstances and his work.

The *Messianic* character of the book is remarkable. Poverty of ideas and want of comprehensive views of the Messiah's kingdom mark the apocryphal writings. Daniel describes the four great kingdoms of the ancient world, and in his lofty flight passes rapidly to the fifth kingdom, that of the Messiah, which should break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and stand forever. In his description of the *Ancient of Days* he employs the most sublime imagery, and represents myriads as gathered before him for judgment. Are these lofty and pious conceptions consistent with base imposture?

In 1 Maccabees ii, 49-60, it is stated that Mattathias, when about to die, exhorted his sons to steadfastness in the law, by referring them to many distinguished examples of obedience to God in time of trial in different ages of the world. He names Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah. Immediately following these worthies, and in the same list, are the following, found in the Book of Daniel: "Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael, by believing, were saved from the flame. Daniel in his simplicity [innocency] was saved from the mouth of the lions." Now, since the other names in this list are selected from the *written history* of the Jews, it is very probable that these last are also the names of distinguished Jews occurring in *written history*. If it had been a floating tradition, it is very improbable that it would have been cited. Mattathias died about B. C. 166, and the first Book of Maccabees was written probably forty years later. Even if Mattathias did not use the examples in Daniel attributed to him, the writer must have believed that the Book of Daniel was then in existence, which is an important point.

Between B. C. 285 and 140 the entire Old Testament was translated into Greek. In this version (the LXX), Daniel was included. The phrase, *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, *abomination of desolation*, 1 Macc. i, 54, was, in all probability, taken from Dan. ix, 27, in the LXX. These facts themselves make it probable that the Book of Daniel existed before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the third book of the

Sibylline Oracles, composed for the most part by an Alexandrian Jew of the Maccabean age, according to the recent critical investigations, there is an evident imitation of the Book of Daniel in several points. This is another probable proof of the existence of our book before the Maccabean age.

There is a striking difference between the book of Daniel and the apocryphal writings in a point we think worthy of notice—*its freedom from prayers in the midst of narratives*. Tobit, 1 Maccabees, Judith, and, indeed, *all* the apocryphal books—we know of no exception—abound with prayers and ejaculations. The Book of Esther, in Hebrew, contains no prayers; but there is no want of them in the Greek version. In Daniel not a word of prayer is mentioned as having been uttered by the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace. In the Greek version, however, prayers are put into their mouths. No prayers are ascribed to Daniel in the lions' den. Had Daniel¹ been written in the age of the apocryphal writers, it would, in all probability, have abounded in prayers and pious ejaculations. It is difficult to explain how the book could have arisen in the age of such writers, at the time the Greek version was made, and yet be wanting in the very additions characteristic of the times. In several places in chap. ix Daniel uses the name יהוה, *Jehovah*; but there can be no doubt that already, before the age of the Maccabees, the Jews had ceased to use that name, through a superstitious reverence.

If the Book of Daniel was not written about the time of the captivity, then we have no authentic history of that period. But if any events of importance occurred during that period—any events of the character of those in the book of Daniel—they would, in all probability, have been written about that time. The history in Daniel shows that God had not abandoned his people during the captivity, and that the Divine interposition in their behalf prepared the way for their return to their native land.

But we must not overlook the testimony of our Saviour and his apostles to the book. He calls Daniel *the prophet*, and refers to his prophecy concerning the abomination of desolation (Matt. xxiv, 15). The appellation our Saviour gives himself, "Son of man," is taken from Dan. vii, 13. The imagery in the Book of Revelation is partly borrowed from it; and Paul's description of the man of sin (2 Thess. ii) seems to have been partly derived from it. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace and to Daniel in the lions' den (chap. xi, 33, 34).

¹The prayer of Daniel in chap. ix is required by the circumstances.

APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF DANIEL.

In the LXX we find several long additions to the Hebrew and Chaldee text of Daniel. They consist of the *Story of Susanna* (sixty-four verses), prefixed to the book, the *Prayer of Asariah*, and the *Thanksgiving Hymn* of the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace (sixty-seven verses), inserted between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of chapter iii; and the *Story of Bel and the Dragon* (forty-two verses), placed at the end of the book. Fürst remarks that these additions are found also in the Talmuds and in the Midrash. From this he infers that they existed in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic and Greek, and that to suppose that the Greek was their original language is more than doubtful.¹ But it seems evident that the *Story of Susanna* was originally written in Greek from the *paronomasia* on *σῆλον* and *σῆλοι*, and *πῆλον* and *πῆλοι*. These additions to the book of Daniel are totally destitute of authority.

CHAPTER LII.

THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS.

THE twelve minor prophets are Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Their works are small books, and, all combined, do not fill as many pages as the Prophet Ezekiel. Several of them contain each but two or three chapters; and one of them, Obadiah, but a single one. They stand in the *third* division of the Hebrew Bible, embracing later prophets, immediately after Ezekiel, in the order in which they stand in the English version. If the passage in Jesus Sirach² be genuine, they formed in his time one collection. It is evident that in the time of Josephus they made one book. In the canon of Melito³ and Jerome⁴ they formed *one* book. The ancient tradition of the Jews⁵ relates that they were united into *one* volume, because otherwise they might have been lost on account of their being so small. For the most part they are arranged in the order of time.

THE PROPHET HOSEA.⁶

This prophet exercised his ministry in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam.

¹ Ueber den Kanon, pp. 102, 103. ² xlix, 10. ³ In Euseb., Hist. Eccl., iv, 26

⁴ Preface to Samuel and Kings. ⁵ Fürst, p. 28. ⁶ Hebrew, *חֹשֶׁה*. *Deliverances*

the son of Joash, king of Israel—a period of not less than sixty years. Nothing is known of his personal history. It is stated simply that he was the son of Beerī. According to a tradition¹ of the Jews he was a Reubenite, from beyond the Jordan. His prophecies were directed principally to Ephraim and Samaria, and but occasionally to Judah. He doubtless spent most of his time among the ten tribes, and he speaks of “our king” when referring to one of these princes (chapter vii, 5). It is not improbable that he was born in that kingdom.

The book may be appropriately divided into two parts: First, the symbolical actions of the prophet in entering upon his ministry (chaps. i–iii); and, secondly, the prophecies respecting the ten tribes chiefly, but also, in some instances, Judah (chaps. iv–xiv).

DATE OF COMPOSITION.

It cannot be certainly determined whether the prophecies were all written at the same time, or at different periods during the reign of the several monarchs whose names stand at the beginning of the book. Yet it is probable that they contain the substance of what the prophet at various times delivered orally, and that they were written down in their present form near the close of his life. From the many exhortations addressed to the ten tribes, and from the prophecy of the desolation of Samaria, the book bears internal evidence of having been written before the fall of Samaria (B. C. 721). It is evident that the *first* chapter was delivered, and in all probability written, before the death of Zachariah (about B. C. 772), the last king of the line of Jehu; for in chap. i, 4, Jehovah says, “I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu.”

Nowhere in the book is there any intimation that the house of Jehu had already fallen, or that Samaria had been taken by the Assyrian king. In chap. x, 14, it is said, “All thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle.” But this passage throws no light upon the time of the composition of the book, for it is not certain that Shalman is the same as Shalmaneser, and if it were we do not know which one is meant, as *three Shalmanesers* reigned between B. C. 860 and B. C. 722. The Beth arbel²

¹ Jotham reigned sixteen years, and Ahaz sixteen; and from the death of Jeroboam II. to the death of Uzziah and the beginning of Jotham's reign, there were twenty-five years; which, added together, make a total of fifty-seven; and, by allowing one or two years in the reign of Jeroboam, and one or two in that of Hezekiah, we have about sixty years.

² Ueber den Kanon, p. 29

³ Fürst supposes this to be Arbela in Persia; while Gesenius thinks it is probably Arbela in Galilee.

spoken of is probably Arbela, near Gaugamela, in Persia. It is probable that Hosea left the kingdom of the ten tribes, and came to Judah, with his book of prophecies, some time before the capture of Samaria. Hence it was preserved, and put among the other prophets.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECIES OF HOSEA.

"The style of Hosea," says Keil, "is highly poetical, rich in bold and powerful imagery, full of vigorous thinking and beautiful delineation, yet often abrupt, bounding from one image to another, and by no means free from difficulties and obscurities. The language has many peculiar words and unusual constructions."¹ He is also distinguished for directness, and for the practical character of his teachings.

THE PROPHET JOEL.²

Nothing is known of the personal history of this prophet. He is simply called the son of Pethuel (chap. i, 1). His prophecies are directed to Judah and Jerusalem (chapters ii, 1, 15, 17, 23, 32; iii, 1, 6, 8, 16-21), and, in all probability, he dwelt in Jerusalem.

The book is naturally divided into *two* parts. The *first*, embracing chaps. i, ii, 1-17, contains a description of the plagues that have come upon the land of Judah, especially the plague of locusts, and also an announcement of the judgments of the Almighty that are about to overtake the people. The *second* part, embracing chaps. ii, 18-iii, contains promises of deliverance and prosperity to Judah, and announces the blessings and judgments of God in Messianic times.

Two questions arise respecting the plague of locusts: Does the prophet predict the plague, or does he describe it as Questions concerning the plague of locusts. already existing? Is the plague of locusts to be understood literally, or allegorically, for great armies of men? Bleek remarks that Luther, Calvin, and most of the recent expositors, regard it as a description of a present plague, and that most recent interpreters understand it of *'real'* locusts. Hengstenberg regards it as prophetic and allegorical, as a "poetical description, and not one of natural history;" a representation of destructive invading armies, under the figure of devouring locusts.

The language used in the very beginning of the description indicates that it is something already present: "Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath this been in your

¹ Introduction, vol. i, p. 371, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

² Hebrew, *לִיכֹלֵל*, *To whom Jehovah is God.*

days, or even in the days of your fathers? Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation. That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten," etc. (chap. i, 2-4). If it be conceded that the plague is described as something present, it will follow that the description is literal; for no one would think of representing an army of men who were laying waste the country and *slaughtering* human beings as a swarm of locusts *destroying all the vegetation, and climbing up upon the houses, and entering in at the windows*. But on the supposition that the description is prophetic and allegorical, there arises this difficulty, that it is too minute. Parables and allegories never admit of minute application, and are expressed in general terms. From chapter i, 20, it appears that a drought at the same time had come upon the land. This must be taken literally, and furnishes presumptive proof that the other is literal also. Some of the verbs in the description are in the future tense; but the Hebrew often uses this tense for the present. The locusts are called a *nation* ('ג), but this word is used in various passages for "flights or troops of animals" (Gesenius). In chapter ii, 17, the priests are exhorted to pray to the Lord to spare his heritage, that the heathen may not use a song of derision against them. In chap. ii, 19, God promises to send corn, wine, and oil to his people, and no more to make them a reproach among the heathen. It is obvious that the destruction of the country by the locusts would furnish the heathen an occasion to revile the Israelites as being abandoned of God, or to assert that he was unable to save them.

THE DATE OF THE PROPHECY OF JOEL.

There is nothing definite in the book respecting the age to which it belongs. From the way in which Judah and Jerusalem are named, it is clear that it was written after the separation of the ten tribes from the house of David and while the temple was still standing (chapter ii, 17). Bunsen places it as early as B. C. 950; and Hilgenfeld subsequently to the return of the Jews from Babylon. These are the two extremes. Schrader decides in favour of B. C. 870 as the date of the prophecy. He fixes upon this date for the following reasons: first, there is no mention made either of the Syrians (and, therefore, the prophecy is earlier than 2 Kings xii, 17), or of the Assyrians (for this reason it is previous to Amos), but simply of Phœnicians and Philistines (chap. iii, 4; compare 2 Chron. xxi, 16), Egyptians and Edomites (chapter iii, 19; compare 2 Kings viii, 20-22; xiv, 7), as people hostile to Israel; secondly, the institutions of the Mosaic law are presupposed;

Written after
the revolt of
the ten tribes.

and, finally, Joel is imitated by Amos (compare Amos i, 2 with Joel iii, 16).¹ On very similar grounds Keil² decides in favour of a date between B. C. 877 and B. C. 847.

But it must be observed that it is impossible to determine on internal grounds whether Amos has quoted Joel or Joel Amos; and the fact that Joel does not speak of the Assyrians among the enemies of Judah does not compel us to place him earlier than about the middle of the eighth century before Christ, when the Assyrians appeared as the enemies of Israel. In chapter iii, 4-8, the prophet remonstrates with Tyre and Zidon and the coasts of Palestine (Philistines), because they "have taken away my silver and my gold," and carried into their temples "my goodly, pleasant things;" "The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians," etc. It is in the highest degree probable that the prophet here refers to an irruption of the Philistines and others, who broke into the house of King Jehoram and carried away all its substance, "and his sons, also, and his wives" (2 Chron. xxi, 16, 17). This was about B. C. 887. It seems that at the same time the Philistines damaged the temple in Jerusalem, as not many years afterwards mention is made of breaches in the house of the Lord (2 Kings xii, 4-16). We may conclude that the book was written about B. C. 870. Bleek,³ from certain resemblances it bears to Amos, places it about B. C. 800. Fürst places it B. C. 885.⁴

CHARACTER OF HIS PROPHECY.

On this point Bleek well remarks: "In a literary, *poetical* point of view, Joel's prophecy belongs to the finest productions of Hebrew literature. In florid, vivid description it is unsurpassed. Also in respect to its prophetic, *Messianic* character it is important; although, of course, in this it stands somewhat behind the predictions of many other prophets."

THE PROPHET AMOS.⁵

Of this prophet we know nothing more than what is derived from his own writings. He informs us in the beginning of his prophecy that he was one of the herdmen of Tekoa,⁶ and that in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, and in those of Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake, he received the oracles

¹ De Wette--Schrader, p. 454.

² Introd., i, p. 376, in Clark's For. Theo. Lib.

³ Einleitung, p. 530.

⁴ Ueber den Kanon, p. 30.

⁵ Einleitung, p. 531.

⁶ Hebrew, תְּקוֹא, *Borne*.

⁷ A town about twelve miles south of Jerusalem, on the borders of the Desert of Judea.

concerning Israel. He further tells us that he was no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but "a herdman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit; and the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel" (chapter vii, 14, 15). While engaged in the prophetic office at Bethel, Amaziah, priest of that place, sent a message to Jeroboam, king of Israel, that Amos was conspiring against him; at the same time he exhorted the prophet to flee into the land of Judea and prophesy (chap. vii, 10-13). It is probable that he soon afterward left for the kingdom of Judah, where he doubtless wrote this book. Of his prophecies only the passages chaps. ii, 4, 5, vi, 1, concern Judah and Jerusalem, his special mission being to the ten tribes.

This book may be divided into two parts: the *first* (chaps. i-vi) containing prophecies against various nations, and reproofs and exhortations to Israel; the *second* (chapters vii-ix) containing *visions*, setting forth the divine judgments upon Israel, and also *Messianic* prophecies.

THE DATE OF THE PROPHECIES OF AMOS.

Amos states in the first verse that he received his oracles in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel, and in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, two years before the earthquake. From this it appears that he received his commission that year, but we are unable to determine from it how long his ministry among the ten tribes lasted, though it is probable that it was completed in that single year. Jeroboam reigned from B. C. 825 to B. C. 784, and Uzziah from B. C. 810 to B. C. 758. Internal evidence confirms the superscription, for reference is made in chapter vii, 10 to Jeroboam as a contemporary. In Zechariah xiv, 5 reference is made to the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah. According to the tradition of the Jews,¹ the earthquake occurred in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Uzziah (about B. C. 783). As Jeroboam's reign ended B. C. 784, it is obvious that we cannot place Amos later than that date. Could we rest upon the Jewish tradition respecting the year of the earthquake, the date of the prophecy could be fixed with great accuracy at B. C. 785; but in the uncertainty of the tradition we may place it about B. C. 795.

CHARACTER OF HIS PROPHECY.

Respecting the literary character of Amos, Bleek remarks: "His language is poetical, even in narrating visions, but upon the whole it is very plain, calm, measured. In general it is pure." "Nowhere

¹ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, pp. 30, 31.

² Einleitung, p. 535.

else,' says Ewald, "in the prophets do we meet with images from country life in such pure originality and loveliness, and in such inexhaustible fulness."

THE PROPHET OBADIAH.¹

Nothing of a personal character is known of this prophet. According to a tradition in the Talmud he was an Idumean who, at a later period passed over to Judaism and became Ahab's steward, and because he protected and supported a hundred prophets received the prophetic gift.² This tradition seems to us to be of little value. It is evident from his prophecy that he was a Jew, living in Judah.

The prophecy consists of but a single chapter of twenty-one verses, and is the smallest of the prophetic books. It is chiefly of a threatening character, and is directed against the Edomites on account of their violence toward the children of Judah in the day of calamity, when Jerusalem was captured. At the same time judgment is declared against all the heathen; but salvation and restoration are promised to the house of Jacob. Jacob and Joseph are to consume Esau as stubble; the children of Israel that have been led away captive are to return, and deliverers shall stand on Zion to judge the mount of Esau.

DATE OF THE PROPHECY.

It is difficult to fix the date of this prophecy, as we have to rely altogether upon internal evidence of an obscure character; and hence the greatest diversity of opinion respecting it exists among biblical critics. In determining the age of Obadiah's prophecy, it is necessary to consider what relation it bears to a very similar one in Jer. xlix, 7-22, against Edom. From an examination of the prophecy in both of these prophets it is evident that one of them has copied the other. Which, then, is the original? If Jeremiah is to be so regarded, we have the singular spectacle of a prophet making his appearance with a single chapter of matter, called a *vision*, principally borrowed from a great prophet living just before him! What place could there be for him! On the other hand, if Obadiah is the original, there is nothing strange in Jeremiah's borrowing from him in his own great prophetic book, just as he has borrowed from Isaiah. Eichnorn, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Caspari, Keil, Kleinert, and others, are in favour of the originality of Oba-

¹ Hebrew, עֲבַדְיָהוּ, *Worshipper of Jehovah*.

² Fürst, *Ueber den Kanon*, p. 32.

diah, while Bertholdt, Knobel, Hitzig, Bleek, and others, favour that of Jeremiah.

The capture of Jerusalem to which Obadiah refers cannot be that made by Nebuchadnezzar, for he carried away the people of Jerusalem to Babylon. The language of the prophet refers to a very different captivity: "The captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south" (ver 20). This most probably refers to the capture of the city in the reign of Jehoram (about B. C. 887), when the Philistines and the Arabians made an irruption into Judah and Jerusalem, and took captives, and carried off valuable property (2 Chron. xxi, 16, 17). To this Joel seems to refer (chap. iii, 4-6). He represents the children of Judah and Jerusalem as sold to the Grecians. The captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad (Obadiah 20)—a district in or about Asia Minor—seems to be that of a part of the people carried away at that time.

It seems best, then, to refer the plundering of Jerusalem, to which reference is made in Obadiah, to the reign of Jehoram, and the prophecy to the time immediately subsequent, or about B. C. 880. If it be conceded that Jeremiah quotes Obadiah, it will confirm this date. Hoffman and Delitzsch hold that Obadiah prophesied under Jehoram, and he is placed by Keil¹ in the same age (about B. C. 889-884). Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and others, place him in the reign of Uzziah. Aben Ezra, Luther, and many recent writers, including Bleek, hold that Obadiah prophesied immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

THE BOOK OF JONAH.²

It is stated in the beginning of this book that "the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amittai." He is evidently the same as "Jonah the son of Amittai the prophet, . . . of Gath-hepher,"³ who is mentioned in 2 Kings xiv, 25, in which it is stated that Jeroboam II. (B. C. 825-784) restored the coast of Israel according to the word of the Lord by this prophet. With the exception of this statement, all that we know about him depends on the book that bears his name.

This prophecy contains an account of Jonah's being sent by the Lord to preach to the Ninevites, his refusal to go, his taking ship for Tarshish, the storm, his being thrown overboard by the sailors to assuage it, his being swallowed by a sea monster, his restoration to land, his obedience to the second summons to declare to the Nin-

¹ Introduction, vol. i, pp. 390, 391.

² Hebrew, יוֹנָתָן, *A dove*.

³ The same as Gittah-hepher (J^{eh}. xix, 13), a city of Zebulun.

evites that in forty days their city should be overthrown, their repentance, and Jonah's anger.

CHARACTER AND DESIGN OF THE BOOK.

This book is wholly unlike any other book of the Old Testament in its history, and in the singularity of Jonah's mission; and it is accordingly not at all strange that it should give offence even to critics who are not especially skeptical, and that the most widely diverging views have been taken of it. Some few skeptics have produced two heathen myths, those of Hesione and Andromeda, as parallels to the account of Jonah being preserved in the belly of a fish, and have supposed that some connexion exists between them and this event in the life of Jonah. One of these is found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xi, 211-220, and in Diodorus Siculus, iv, 42. The other in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iv, 670-739, and is, perhaps, nothing more than a variation of the preceding. But it is difficult to see what connexion these myths have with the history of Jonah. The idea that a Jewish writer would work up a heathen myth is so improbable that it should be rejected at once.

Nor should the idea that the Book of Jonah is pure fiction find much favour; as it was utterly foreign to the spirit of the ancient Hebrews to invent such histories. De Wette¹ observes, that "it is probable that the material of the book was derived from the traditions among the people and the prophets; for the narratives of that kind in antiquity were not pure inventions. But whether real facts, and what ones out of the history of Jonah, lie at the foundation of the book, cannot be shown either from the thanksgiving hymn, chap. ii, 3, *f.*, and from Tobit xiv, 4, or ascertained by an arbitrary dissection of the materials."

Bunsen supposed that the thanksgiving hymn of Jonah (chapter ii, 2-10) was a genuine production of that prophet, who composed it upon his being saved from the sea; and that this hymn, being misunderstood, furnished the occasion for representing the history of Jonah in the form in which we find it. Upon the basis of this song Bunsen attempted to restore what he deemed to be the real facts, though, as Bleek thinks, unsuccessfully. This latter writer, while admitting that the author of the book may possibly have found something in tradition which he followed, yet, in denying that the book has an historical aim, though a purely didactic one, seems to deprive it of all historical foundation whatever.²

"It is possible," says Davidson,³ "that a true prophetic tradition

¹ De Wette—Schrader, p. 462.

² Einleitung, pp. 569-579.

³ Introduction, vol. iii, 279, 280.

The opinion of Davidson. may lie at the foundation of the book. Jonah may have prophesied to the Ninevites, and various particulars respecting his mission may either have been written by himself or handed down orally. . . . We consider the much greater part of the book fictitious. A historical germ formed the foundation on which the writer worked."

The book has been held to be a didactic fiction by Semler, Herder, Michaelis, Stäudlin, and others. Hermann Van der Hardt, Less, and others, regard the book as a historical allegory; while Jahn and Pareau consider it a parable, and Gramberg and F. C. Baur, a poetical myth; and Abarbanel, in the fifteenth century, "relying upon what is said of Jonah's falling asleep in the ship, wished the narrative about the fish that swallowed him to be taken for a dream." On the other hand, the book has been earnestly defended by Lilienthal, Hess, Lüderwald, Piper, Steudel, Sack, Hävernicks, Baumgarten, Stuart, Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Keil, and others.

Keil expresses himself strongly in favour of the historical character of the book. "Its contents," says he, "are neither pure fiction, allegory, nor myth; nor yet a prophetic legend, wrought up poetically with a moral or didactic aim, embellished into a miraculous story, and mingled with mythical elements; but, with all its miracles, it is to be taken for a true history of deep prophetic-symbolic and typical significance."¹ Delitzsch characterizes the book

Defenders of
the authentic-
ity of Jonah.

as "a confession of sin written down by the corrected prophet under a deep feeling of shame and godly self-denial, as he was moved by the Holy Spirit, which is incorporated with the prophetic writings for this reason, that Jonah, prophesying there in a manner contrary to his own wishes, was a type of Christ who was to come, in and through whom alone believers, even of the Old Testament age (Jonah iii, 5), have a share in grace."²

The book was regarded by the ancient Jews and Christians as real history. In the Book of Tobit, which was, in all probability, written some centuries before Christ, and evidently in Hebrew, Tobit declares that he believes "what the Prophet Jonah said concerning Nineveh, that it shall be destroyed" (chap. xiv, 4); and again, respecting this city, "that certainly those things will come to pass which Jonah the Prophet spoke" (chap. xiv, 8).

In the Targum of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel³ on the Prophet Nahum, it is said that Jonah the Prophet, the son of Amittai, prophesied against Nineveh. Josephus⁴ gives an account of Jonah, taken almost exclusively from this book, and adds: "I have narrated the account

¹ Introduction, vol i, p. 395, in Clark's For. Theol. Lib.

² Ibid., p. 398.

³ Made about the time of Christ.

⁴ Antiq., ix, 10.

concerning him as I have found it written." In the time of the 'Talmudists' the book was regarded as historical.

The book does not profess to be written by Jonah. The first person is nowhere used except in the psalm of thanksgiving. The language of the book seems to belong to a quite late period. The use of *שָׁל* for *אֲשֶׁר*, *which*, in the phrase *בְּשַׁלְמִי*, *because of whom* (chap. i, 7), and in *בְּשַׁלִּי*, *on my account*, belongs to late Hebrew. *מִצְוָה*, *mandate, decree* (Jonah iii, 7), is from the Chaldee; *סִפִּינָה*, *ship*, is the same as Syriac and Arabic; *וְנִשְׁבַּר*, *to suffer shipwreck* (chap. i, 4), is found elsewhere in this sense (Ezekiel xxvii, 34; 2 Chronicles xx, 37); *הִקְבִּיר*, in the sense *to remove* (chap. iii, 6), belongs to late Hebrew. *כְּהִלָּךְ*, *a walk, way* (chap. iii, 3, 4), is also a late Hebrew word; and *הִתְקַעַשׂת*, *to think upon* (chap. i, 6), is the same as the Chaldee. But if the book was written by Jonah, it was composed at least as early as about B. C. 825. The language seems altogether inconsistent with such an early date, and would indicate a period just before, or very soon after, the Babylonian captivity. Respecting Jewish tradition in reference to the author of the book, Fürst remarks: "Since, with the exception of the inserted prayer, nothing indicates that the prophet himself composed it—as it for the most part is only a narrative respecting Jonah—in the Talmudic period the question respecting its author was left altogether undecided."²

Peculiarities of the language of this book.

The writer's aim seems to be *didactic*: to show, first of all, the folly of disobeying God when one is called to perform important work; but especially to set forth in a conspicuous manner the greatness of the Divine mercy to all men who repent of their sins, though they may not be of the covenant people. In contrast with this, the purpose is to show in a striking way the narrowness of the soul of the prophet, who preferred that all the inhabitants of this great city, the innocent with the guilty, should be cut off, rather than that a doubt should be cast upon the reality of his prophetic mission.

The tone of the book stands out in marked contrast with the narrow and exclusive spirit of the Jews, and approximates the liberality of Christianity. It is difficult to see how the history of such a mission³ to Nineveh could have arisen had it not been based upon a well-authenticated fact. Nor would the book have been admitted among the prophets if there had been any serious doubts about the truth of that mission. We have still other grounds for holding fas⁴

² Ueber den Kanon, p. 33.

³ Ibid. p. 33.

⁴ In Ezek. iii, 5, 6 there is a not improbable reference to this mission
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to the reality of the mission of Jonah to the Ninevites. Christ refers to this in such a way that he must have regarded it as a fact. "The men of Nineveh," says he, "shall rise in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here."¹ He says further: "As Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation."² Or, as it stands in Matthew xii, 39, 40. "There shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonah: for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's (*κῆτος, shark, whale, etc.*) belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."³

THE PROPHET MICAH.⁴

This prophet was a native of Moresheth, a town in Judah, about thirty miles south-west from Jerusalem. He prophesied concerning Samaria and Jerusalem in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. He seems to have spent his time for the most part in Judah, but must have also visited the ten tribes when he delivered his prophecy respecting them. He is mentioned in Jeremiah xxvi, 18 as "Micah the Morasthite," who prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, respecting the utter desolation of Jerusalem.

Chapters i-iii contain prophecies directed to Samaria and Judah, threatening them with the judgments of God on account of the sins of the people. Chapters iv, v refer chiefly to the Messiah, and to the prosperity of Israel under his reign. Chapters vi, vii describe true religion, rebuke the wickedness of the people, and, at the same time, encourage them to look to God for pardon.

THE DATE OF HIS PROPHECY.

Although Micah states that the word of the Lord came to him in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, it is not to be supposed

¹Matt. xii, 41. Luke xi, 32 has the same passage.

²Luke xi, 30.

³The passage in which mention is made of Jonah being in the whale's belly is found only in Matt. xii, 40. In the allusion to Jonah it is omitted by Luke (xi, 30-32.) Neander thinks that the reference in Matt. xii, 40 to the *resurrection* of Christ "is quite foreign to the original sense and connexion of the passage," and that "the verse in question is a commentary by a later hand."—*Life of Christ*, pp. 245, 246, M'Clintock and Blumenthal's Trans. It is true that the verse seems out of place but we have no sufficient authority for its rejection.

⁴מִיכָה, *Who as Jehovah?*

that the prophecies were written down at various times during a period of twenty-five or thirty years, but rather that his book gives the substance of the prophecies which he delivered at different times and afterward wrote down. Thus the question is, When did he compose the book? It must have been before the capture of Samaria and the removal of the ten tribes; for we find in chap. vi, 16 the complaint that "the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab." From the whole tone of the book it is evident that at the time of its composition Samaria was not yet captured. But this event occurred in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, B. C. 721. According to Jeremiah xxvi, 18 the prophecy contained in Micah iii, 12, respecting the utter desolation of Jerusalem, was delivered in the time of Hezekiah. The book, therefore, must have been composed between the first and sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, B. C. 727-721.

Respecting the character of his prophetic style, Keil says: "The prophetic discourse of Micah is like Isaiah's in the boldness and loftiness of the thought; in the rounding off, the clearness and the liveliness of the representation; in the wealth of imagery and comparisons (chaps. i, 8, 16; ii, 12, 13; iv, 9, 10, etc.), and other rhetorical figures, such as individualizing, dialogue (chaps. vi, 1-8; vii, 7-20), paronomasia, and play upon words (specially accumulated at chap. i, 10-15). Yet he is distinguished from him by quick and sudden changes from threatening to promise, and the reverse (chapters ii, 12, 13; iv, 9-14; vii, 11, *ff.*), which remind us of Hosea. The diction soars poetically, and is rhythmically rounded off; and the language is classically pure."¹

THE PROPHET NAHUM.²

The book bears the inscription, "The oracle respecting Nineveh; the book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite." Apart from his prophecy nothing is known of him, and there has been a dispute even respecting the place, Elkosh, where he was born; some regarding it as a town of Galilee; others as the village *El-kash*, near Mosul. Jerome³ mentions the ruins of a village in Galilee by the name of *Elcesi* (עלְסֵי), pointed out to him by a guide. Fürst⁴ remarks that

¹ Introduction, vol. i, p. 405, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

² נְחֻמִּים, *Consolation*.

³ Preface to Nahum. He also remarks that some think that his father was *Elasus*, who, according to the Hebrew tradition, was himself a prophet

⁴ Ueber den Kanon, p. 36.

the tradition that his birth-place, Elkosh, was Elcesi in Galilee, and not Elkesh on the eastern bank of the Tigris, has much in its favour; and that his abode was probably Capernaum (Kefar-Nachum), named after the prophet.

The prophecy refers to *one* subject, the ruin of Nineveh. In preparing the way for the prediction of its overthrow the prophet dwells upon the attributes of God—that he is zealous and avengeth, reserving wrath for his enemies; irresistible in power; slow to anger, good; and a stronghold in the day of trouble. After this he proceeds to describe the wickedness and corruption of Nineveh, and the dreadful fate that awaits her on account of her wickedness (chaps. i–iii).

DATE OF COMPOSITION.

It is clear from the language of the book that when it was composed Nineveh was still standing. This great city, according to Herodotus, was captured by Cyaxares and the Medes (chap. i, 106). The following account of the capture and destruction of Nineveh is given by George Smith: "A coalition of Necho, king of Egypt, Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, was formed against Assyria, and the Medes and Babylonians, after defeating the Assyrian forces, laid siege to Nineveh. The lofty walls of the city long resisted their efforts, but after two years there happened a great overflow of the Tigris, which swept away part of the wall of the city. Through the breach the besiegers entered, on the subsiding of the flood, and captured the city. The last king of Assyria, finding his city was taken, made a pile of all his valuables in the palace, and, setting fire to it, perished himself in the flames. The city was now plundered and at once destroyed; it did not gradually decay, like Babylon, but from the time of its capture it ceased to have any political importance, and its site became almost forgotten."¹ This was about B. C. 607, as the reign of the last king of Nineveh, as given by Smith, is B. C. 620–607.²

As the date of the prophecy cannot be later than B. C. 607, it cannot be earlier than about B. C. 665. It is clear from Nahum iii, 8–11 that Thebes (No) was already led away captive. In Smith's translation³ of the history of Assurbanipal from the columns of Nineveh, this monarch states that in his second expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia "the spoil, great and unnumbered, I carried off from the midst of Thebes." His history is recorded from B. C. 671 to

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1873, 1874. pp. 93, 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 447.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

B. C. 645; and as he made many expeditions to different nations, this second expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia was in all probability about five years, or something more, from the beginning of his reign.

THE PROPHEPIC STYLE OF THE BOOK.

It is distinguished for beauty, originality, regularity and purity of diction, and belongs to the very best class of the prophetic writings.

THE PROPHET HABAKKUK.¹

The title of the book is, "The Oracle which Habakkuk the Prophet saw." Nothing is known of the personal history of this prophet, and his name nowhere occurs in Jewish history² outside of his book. In his prophecy he gives us no information respecting himself.

The book consists of two parts—a prophecy, and a prayer, or psalm. The prophetic part is in the form of a dialogue between Jehovah and the prophet, in which the wickedness of men and the holiness of God are discussed. In this prophecy the Jews are threatened with destruction from the Chaldeans (chaps. i, ii). The prayer or psalm is a sublime description of the exhibition of divine power in the exodus of the Israelites (chap. iii). In its grandeur and beauty it is surpassed by nothing in the Old Testament.

THE DATE OF THE DELIVERY OF THE PROPHECY.

As Habakkuk announces that the Chaldeans are to be raised up against the Jewish people—an event which was so strange as to be incredible—it is clear that at the time of this announcement the Chaldean power was not at all threatening, and that Babylon was a secondary power in the Assyrian dominion. Since the Chaldeans were to be raised up in the lifetime³ of the prophet's contemporaries, the prophecy was probably written twenty or thirty years before the captivity of Jehoiachin, about B. C. 620 or 630. Fürst remarks that the Talmudic tradition placed the beginning of the

¹חֲבַקּוּק, *Embrace.*

²In the superscription to the Apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon, in the Codex Chisi of the LXX, and in the Syrian-hexapla version made from it, it is stated that Habakkuk was of the tribe of Levi. In this Apocryphal story an angel is represented as taking Habakkuk by the hair of his head, and transporting him to Babylon, to aid Daniel. All of these statements are equally unfounded.

³This must be the meaning of the expression, "I will work a work in your days."

prophecies of Habakkuk in the latter part of Manasseh's reign (B. C. 645-641).¹ Bleek² refers the prophecy to the reign of Jehoiakim (B. C. 610-599). He thinks the last chapter may have been written somewhat later than the prophecy. De Wette³ thinks that chapter i, 5, etc., points certainly to the reign of Jehoiakim, and that chapter iii does not demand a later date. We see no good reason for supposing that chapter iii was written at a later period than chapters i and ii.

THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH.⁴

This prophet delivered his oracles, as he himself informs us, in the days of Josiah, son of Ammon, king of Judah, whose reign falls B. C. 641-610. He was the great-grandson of Amariah, who was the son of Hezekiah (chap. i, 1). According to a Jewish⁵ tradition this Hezekiah was no other than the distinguished Jewish king. And this would seem probable from the fact that the name stands back as far as the fourth generation. There is no reason for this except the hypothesis that this ancestor was a man of distinction. Certainly he belonged to the tribe of Judah, and most probably lived in Jerusalem.

The prophecy opens with the denunciation of terrible judgments from God upon Judah and Jerusalem for idolatry and universal wickedness (chaps. i, ii, 3). Severe judgments are next denounced upon the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Ethiopians, and Assyria and Nineveh (chap. ii, 4-15). After this the prophet returns to Jerusalem, and describes the wickedness of the people, prophets and priests and closes with promises of happiness to Israel in the future, in which he evidently refers to Messianic times (chap. iii).

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PROPHECY.

According to a tradition of the Jews,⁶ Zephaniah prophesied in the time between B. C. 627, before the reform of divine worship had been made by Josiah, when the book of the law was discovered in the temple, and B. C. 621, when that reformation of worship was completed. De Wette⁷ refers the prophecy to the first years of Josiah's reign. Bleek thinks that it was composed probably before the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, as there is no mention in it of the reforms instituted by him.⁸

¹ Ueber den Kanon, p. 30.

² In De Wette—Schrader, p. 470.

³ In Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 38.

⁴ Page 472.

⁵ Einleitung, p. 545.

⁶ צִמְחָה, *Whom Jehovah protects.*

⁷ Fürst, p. 38.

⁸ Page 548.

According to 2 Chron. xxxiv, 3, Josiah began his reforms in his twelfth year. And it would seem from chap. i, 4, where it is stated, "I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place," that Josiah had already begun his reforms. In chap. i, 8 it is said, "I will punish the king's children." This, in all probability, refers to the sons of the reigning monarch, and to them as already born. But as Josiah was only eight years old when he began to reign, it is not probable that he had sons before he was more than twenty years of age. Upon the whole, we think the prophecy was written some time before the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, or about B. C. 630. It is evident from the prophecy of the destruction of Nineveh that that city was still standing. But Nineveh was destroyed B. C. 607.¹

CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECY.

It is by no means distinguished for boldness and originality. In the prophecy of the desolation of Nineveh Nahum had already led the way. Some of Zephaniah's descriptions, as chapters ii, 14, 15, iii, 16, 17, are borrowed from, or based on, Isaiah. It occasionally contains paronomasias. Its language, however, is pure. Bleek remarks that the prophecy is remarkable for containing a prediction of the conversion of the heathen nations, even of those who execute the divine judgments upon Israel.²

THE PROPHET HAGGAI.³

This prophet states very definitely that the word of the Lord came to him on the first day of the sixth month of the second year of the reign of Darius (Hystaspes), B. C. 520. All the other dates which he gives for the divine communications belong also to the second year of the reign of Darius. Apart from this book, our prophet is mentioned in Ezra v, 1, 2 as prophesying to the Jews while they were rebuilding the temple, after the return from Babylon in the second year of Darius, and as helping Zerubbabel and Joshua in their work.

The book consists of four communications made by the prophet in the second year of Darius; the first to the people, declaring that the failure of their crops is owing to their having failed to rebuild the house of the Lord, and that the pleasure and presence of Jehovah will attend them in performing this work. The second

¹ The last king of Nineveh, Assurebil-ili, reigned from B. C. 620-607. See Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1873, 1874, p. 447.

² *Einkitung*, p. 549.

³ *חגיגה*, *Festive*.

communication, made likewise to the whole people, in which they are assured that this second temple, though inferior in splendour to the first, shall have greater glory than it, and that Jehovah will shake all nations, and the most excellent of the nations¹ shall come (to it), and the house shall be filled with glory. The third communication is addressed to the priests, in which it is declared that the uncleanness of the people is the ground of the failure of their crops. The fourth communication is made to Zerubbabel, in which God declares that he will overthrow the kingdoms of the earth, but promises that Zerubbabel shall be made as a signet, by which the Jewish governor seems to be a type of Christ.

THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.²

This prophet calls himself the son of Barachiah, the son of Iddo. It is clear from Neh. xii, 16 that he was a priest, and that he went up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. In Ezra v, 1, 2 he is mentioned as prophesying along with Haggai, and aiding in the rebuilding of the temple. In this passage he is called simply the son of Iddo. This is done either for brevity, or, what is more probable, because his father was already dead when Ezra wrote, and his grandfather was his nearest living ancestor. He states in the beginning of his prophecy that the word of the Lord came unto him in the eighth month of the second year of Darius. Besides this, he gives two other dates of divine communications—the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, in the same year (chap. i, 7), and the fourth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius (chap. vii, 1). He was a young man (נָעַר) when called to the prophetic office (chap. ii, 4).

This book may be appropriately divided into *four* sections. The *first* (chaps. i-vi) contains eight visions, setting forth the providence of God and his special care over Israel. The design here is, to encourage the Jewish people to rebuild the temple and Jerusalem, and to inspire them with hope for the future. The *second* section (chaps. vii, viii) contains no visions, but abounds in exhortations to perform the practical duties of religion, and gives promises of future happiness and prosperity to the Jews. The *third* section (chaps. ix-xi) contains prophecies pertaining chiefly to Israel. In chap. ix, 9, 10 the Messiah is promised. The *fourth* section (chap. xii-xiv) con-

¹ The English version of Hag. ii, 7, is not borne out by the Hebrew, which is literally, "And they shall come, the excellent of the nations." There seems to be no direct reference to the Messiah in this passage.

² זְכַרְיָה. *Whom Jehovah remembers.*

tains prophecies respecting Judah and Jerusalem and the Messiah's kingdom, and the judgments that shall overtake the enemies of Jerusalem.

GENUINENESS OF CHAPTERS IX-XIV.

In modern times the genuineness of chapters ix-xiv has been violently assailed, and they have been attributed by the most of their impugnors to two different writers, living at different periods before the Babylonian captivity. Some, indeed, have placed them in the time of Alexander, others in that of the Maccabees.

The first doubt, so far as we know, about the genuineness of chapters ix-xi was expressed by an Englishman, Joseph Mede, in the seventeenth century, on the ground that the passage in chap. xi, 11, 12 is quoted in Matt. xxvii, 9, 10 as the language of Jeremiah, and because the three chapters out of which the quotation is made are closely connected. He accordingly attributed them to Jeremiah. In the next century Whiston and other Englishmen followed him; and they in turn were succeeded by Döderlein, who attributed the six chapters (ix-xiv) to that prophet. Since that time many German scholars, relying upon internal grounds, have refused to attribute these last six chapters to Zechariah. Among these may be named Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, Bunsen, Bleek, and Schrader. On the other hand, the genuineness of these chapters has been defended by Köster, Jahn, Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Keil, Stähelin, and others. De Wette, in the first three editions of his "Introduction," denied their genuineness, but in the fourth and subsequent editions he acknowledged it. Schrader holds that chaps ix-xi belong to a prophet in the first half of the eighth century B. C., and that chaps. xii-xiv fall in the period immediately preceding the Babylonian captivity. To about the same periods they are assigned by Bleek and others.

*Objections of
Mede, Whiston,
and others.*

In respect to chaps. ix-xi, it is urged that they must have been composed when both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel still existed in contiguity as parts of the covenant people,¹ and when the people still stood under the dominion of kings; and that chap. xi, 8 seems to refer to times of anarchy following the death of Jeroboam II. in Israel. In chap. ix, 13 it is said, "When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim," etc.; and in chap. x, 6, 7, "I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph. They of Ephraim shall be like a mighty man," etc.; and in chap. xi, 14, "Then I cut asunder mine other staff, even Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel." But it

¹So Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 559.

cannot be shown from these references to Judah and Israel that the prophecy was written before the ten tribes were carried away into captivity (B. C. 721); for there is no reference to these tribes as being in Palestine, or to their capital, Samaria. On the contrary, it would appear from chap. x, 6 that the house of Joseph had already gone into captivity; and the same may be said respecting Ephraim in the following verses (7, 8). In the passage, "I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem" (chap. ix, 10), reference is made to the peaceable reign of the Messiah, whose kingdom shall extend "from the river to the ends of the earth." The other reference to Judah and Ephraim (chap. ix, 13) is also prophetic.

Jeremiah uses the following language: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man," etc. (chap. xxxi, 27); and, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah" (chap. xxxi, 31). But notwithstanding these references to the house of Israel, the ten tribes, had gone into captivity more than a hundred years before this. In Jer. xxxi, 18-20 there is a still clearer illustration of the passages in Zechariah under discussion: "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself . . . Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child?" In spite of this, he had long since gone into captivity.

In Obadiah 18 it is said: "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame." Notwithstanding
Internal evidence of genuineness. this reference to the "house of Joseph," Bleek and Schrader think that Obadiah was written after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The reference to Judah and Israel, in chap. xi, 14, refers apparently to a historical fact. In chap. ix, 5 it is said, "the king shall perish from Gaza;" but this does not imply a period preceding the Babylonian captivity, for when Alexander the Great laid siege to Gaza, about two hundred years after the time of Zechariah, the city was governed by a eunuch named Batis.¹ The Hebrew word מֶלֶךְ, *king*, often means the ruler of a single city, a satrap, or a petty despot.

Hamath is also mentioned in chap. ix, 2, and although it may have been destroyed centuries before the time of Zechariah (Isa. xxxvi, 19), yet it is evident that it was afterward rebuilt, for it is mentioned by Jeremiah (chap. xlix, 23) as being inhabited in his time. In chap. xi, 8 it is said, "Three shepherds also I cut off in one month" Bleek supposes the reference here to be to three kings: Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam II., who reigned six months; Shallum, who reigned one full month (2 Kings xv, 8-15); and some unknown

¹ Arrian's Expedition of Alexander, lib. ii, 25.

usurper, who may have maintained his authority for only a few weeks. But it could not be well said that *three* were cut off in one month, for Menahem, who succeeded Shallum, reigned *ten* years, and we have no right to interpolate another king without a particle of proof of his existence. The three shepherds may not have been kings at all, but prophets—which Gesenius seems to prefer. Bleek's argument from this passage in favour of the composition of chapters ix-xi in the time of King Menahem¹ is utterly groundless.

Respecting chapters xii-xiv, it is conceded by Bleek and Schrader that they were composed after the death of king Josiah (B. C. 610), to whose death there is a clear reference in chap. xii, 11: "In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." In illustration of this see 2 Kings xxxiii, 29, 30; 2 Chron. xxxv, 24.

It is clear, then, that we cannot place the last three chapters of the book earlier than about B. C. 600, or near the beginning of the Babylonian captivity. But it is difficult to believe that these chapters were written then, for there is no mention made of the Chaldeans, who were on the point of destroying Jerusalem. The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah is full of predictions belonging to that time respecting the destruction of the city by the Chaldeans. It is next to impossible to believe that these chapters synchronize with any of those belonging to Jeremiah. Nor can we suppose that they were written during the Babylonian exile, or that they could have been written long posterior to the captivity. Consequently, the age of Zechariah, or that immediately succeeding, is the only one to which the chapters in question belong.

It is true that we find in the last division certain predictions respecting the captivity of Jerusalem. But the entire description is totally unsuitable to the destruction and captivity of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; for it refers to times long subsequent to that event, and is closely connected with the advent of the Messiah.

If this last section belongs to Zechariah, it will be difficult to believe that chapters ix-xi belong to an earlier author, and have been interpolated into the book of Zechariah's prophecies. In the disputed sections of these prophecies there is no mention of a king as ruling over Judah; on the contrary, the reference is either to a prince of Judah (chap. ix, 7), or to governors of Judah (chap. xii, 5, 6); from which the probable inference is, that when the prophecies were composed there was no king in Judah.

It has been objected that the style of the second part (chaps. ix-xiv) is different from that of the first (chaps. i-viii). Symbols, it is

¹ Einleitung, p. 559.

true, are used in chaps. i-v, but not in chaps. vi, vii—which shows there is not uniformity in the first part. But from the very nature of the case, we are not to expect the same kind of style in the first part,

Difference in style easily accounted for. in which the people are personally addressed, and in the second, which is for the most part prophetic. The

prophet was a young man when he wrote the first part (chap. ii, 4), but the latter portion may have been written at a late period in life, when his style had greatly changed.

There are, indeed, certain peculiarities common to both the acknowledged and the disputed parts of the book. The phrase *כְּעָבַר וּבָשָׁב*, *from passing over and returning*, is found both in chaps vii, 14 and ix, 8. It occurs nowhere else, except in Ezek. xxxv, 7, where it wants the *mem* (כ), *from*. The eye, as the symbol of divine providence, is used in chap. iv, 10 and chap. ix, 1, "*Jehovah's eye is upon men, and upon all the tribes of Israel*" (Gesenius). Not very different is, "I have seen with my eyes" (chap. ix, 8), with reference to Jehovah. In chap. ii, 10, "Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion," occurs, and in chap. ix, 9 the very similar language, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! shout, O daughter of Jerusalem!" is found.

The external evidence for the genuineness of the whole book is exceedingly strong. It is attributed to Zechariah in the Septuagint and in the Peshito-Syriac, as well as in the Hebrew Bible; and it is very difficult to see how these chapters (ix-xiv) could have been attributed to Zechariah—as the canon was formed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah—if they had not been written by him; for it is probable that not more than *eighty* years intervened between the time of the composition of chapters i-ix and the formation of the canon; and as Zechariah was a young man when he wrote these chapters (see chap. ii, 4), it is likely that he lived until within forty or fifty years of the time when the collection was made. How, under such circumstances, could prophecies written from one to three centuries earlier than the time of Zechariah have been attributed to him? It would be the patching of a piece of old cloth on a new garment.

Nor does the ancient tradition of the Jews give us the slightest hint that a doubt had been raised respecting the genuineness of the chapters now disputed. Respecting them Fürst remarks: "The Talmudic period did not recognise these six chapters as different from the first, although the peculiarity in language and turns of expression, and the absence of visions and symbols, clearly enough pointed to it. On the contrary, the peculiarity of this part was described as a prophecy delivered after the exile, referring to Messianic times. Holding fast the conviction that also this part, in form and contents

so different, had proceeded from our Zechariah, they referred its contents partly to the affairs of the Jews during the first rulers after Alexander, and partly to a still later Messianic time, as the prophetic foresight was never doubted. This Talmudic method of exposition the better national expositors at that time followed."¹

CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECY.

This prophet, although charged by Schrader² with "a want of originality of thought and freshness and power of diction," has, in fact, a great deal of originality, both in his conceptions and manner of representation. The last six chapters contain many Messianic passages. The ancient rabbies complained of the obscurities of his visions;³ and it must be acknowledged that the complaint is not without ground. "The language," however, "is formed upon good classical models, and is almost free of Chaldaisms."

THE PROPHET MALACHI.

This is the last of the prophets of the Old Testament. Nothing is known of him apart from his book of prophecies. The name מלאכי, *Malachi*, according to Gesenius, is apocopated from מַלְאֲכֵי, "Messenger of Jehovah." In the LXX the book bears the title, "*Μαλαχίας*;" but in the text, instead of "by the hand of Malachi," it is "by the hand of his angel" (or messenger). In the Peshito-Syriac the inscription is, "The prophecy of Malachi the prophet," and the name is retained in the first verse. In the Vulgate it stands, "The prophecy of Malachi," and in the text the proper name is retained, "by the hand of Malachi." In the Targum of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel it is said, "by the hand of Malachi, by which name Ezra the scribe is called." Accordingly, Jerome⁴ remarks: "The Hebrews think that Malachi is Ezra the priest." On this prophet Fürst⁵ remarks: "Tradition had related so little of his personality that at one time he was identified with Mordecai, at another with Ezra; nevertheless, the general judgment was that Malachi was not to be taken as an appellation (or title), but as a proper name, . . . and that he prophesied at the same time with Haggai and Zechariah in the second year of the reign of Darius, B. C. 464."

There is no reason to doubt that Malachi was the real name of the prophet; and this is the view, as Bleek observes, of by far the greater number of expositors. It is true the book gives nothing

¹ Ueber den Kanon, p. 45.

² De Wette—Schrader, p. 476.

³ Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, p. 43.

⁴ Prologue to Malachi.

⁵ Ueber den Kanon, p. 17.

but his bare name. But the same is also true of the prophecies of Obadiah and Habakkuk, whose books give us their names simply. But this is no ground for doubting that they are real names.

The book may be divided into *six*¹ sections. The *first* (chapter i, 2-5) declares God's love of Jacob and hatred of Esau. The *second* (chaps. i, 6-ii, 9) censures the priests for their bad conduct. The *third* (chap. ii, 10-16) rebukes those who separated themselves from their Israelitish wives, and formed matrimonial alliances with heathen women. The *fourth* (chaps. ii, 17-iii, 6) declares that God will send the Messenger of the Covenant to purify the sons of Levi, and that he himself will judge the wicked. The *fifth* (chap. iii, 7-12) rebukes the people for not bringing the tithes appointed by the law, and promises them a blessing if they bring them. The *sixth* (chaps. iii, 13-iv, 6) rebukes the people for asserting that it is useless to serve God, and declares that God will certainly reward the righteous and punish the wicked, and exhorts the people to obey the law of Moses. God promises to send Elijah the prophet to restore affection between parents and children, that the earth may not be cursed.

DATE OF COMPOSITION.

It is evident from various passages (chaps. i, 7, 10; ii, 13; iii, 1, 10) that the temple was already rebuilt and divine worship established when the book was written. It is assigned by Schrader to the interval between the first and second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem, between B. C. 433 and 424. It is placed in the time of Nehemiah's second visit by Vitringa, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil. By Davidson it is referred to the interval between B. C. 460 and B. C. 450. Ewald places it shortly after the labours of Ezra.

The ancient common tradition of the Jews related that Malachi was a contemporary of Zechariah and Haggai; but there was also an old tradition that he was the latest of the prophets, and that when he prophesied the temple had been already for a long time restored. With Malachi, Zechariah, and Haggai, it was held that the prophetic spirit departed from Israel.²

Bleek remarks: "It is probable that the book was written during the governorship of a predecessor of Nehemiah. As, in all probability, Nehemiah made the collection of the prophets, our book can in no event fall in a later period; on the contrary, on account

¹ De Wette and Hengstenberg divide it into *six* sections; Bleek into *five*; Ewald, Hävernicks, and Keil into *three*.

² Fürst, Ueber den Kanon, pp. 47, 48.

of its reception into the collection it is probable that it was composed somewhat earlier."¹

The principal reasons for referring the book to the age of Nehemiah are the following: Malachi censures the same abuses that Nehemiah does in his thirteenth chapter, in which he relates his administration of affairs on his second visit to Jerusalem (about B. C. 434). The abuses consisted of neglect of payment of tithes for the support of the priests and Levites (Mal. iii, 8-10; Neh. xiii, 10-12); matrimonial alliances of the Jews, especially of the priests, with foreign women (Mal. ii, 10, 11; Neh. xiii, 23-30), etc. As these abuses were corrected by Nehemiah, B. C. 434, it seems best, upon the whole to refer the composition of the book to about B. C. 440.

CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECY.

Malachi is distinguished by a practical spirit, that strives to meet the wants of the times and to correct abuses rather than to soar aloft in magnificent descriptions of the Divine Majesty and in glowing pictures of the future. He abounds in dialogue, and is by no means devoid of force. De Wette, notwithstanding his unfavourable remarks, acknowledges that "in delivery, rhythm, and images, Malachi does not quite unsuccessfully emulate the old prophets."²

¹ *Einführung*, p. 567.

² *De Wette—Schrader*, p. 485.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

THE Old Testament, with its sublime Monotheism, was the possession of the Jewish people alone, whose mission it was to preserve the knowledge of the true God in the midst of pagan darkness, to announce through their prophets the advent of the Messiah, and to prepare the way before him. The fundamental truths of Judaism are eternal, and suited to man in all conditions, in all stages of development, and in every part of the earth, while its civil and ceremonial laws, being, to a large extent, of a local¹ character, cannot be ob-
Judaism necessarily local. served among all nations; and on this ground alone Judaism can never become a universal religion.² For this reason it was necessary that the system of Judaism should be modified, enlarged, and adapted to the wants of all men. This was done by our Lord Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, who appeared among the Jewish people in the fullness of time, and became the author of a New Covenant, in the provisions of which all nations are embraced. If our Saviour had been a legislator, in the strict sense of the word, it would have been proper, and even necessary, that he, like Moses, should have himself given to men a written system. But our Lord's mission was *to redeem* men rather than to legislate for them; in short, he was the beginning of a new moral creation—the spiritual life of the world.

But, further, the system of Christianity was not completed until Christ rose from the dead and ascended to heaven; and before these events the history could not be fully written. Our Saviour, for the establishing of his divine mission and unfolding his system, selected the apostles as the witnesses of his wondrous life, his death, resur-

¹The precept in Exodus xxiii, 17, and especially in Deut. xvi, 16, "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose," cannot be observed by all men everywhere.

²Jews are found in almost every part of the world, but it is a well-known fact that there are parts of the Mosaic system which they do not and cannot keep.

rection, and ascension to heaven. He trained them for their special work; filled them with the divine Spirit, which was to bring to their remembrance all things which he had said; and endowed them with miraculous powers to establish the truth of their teaching.

From the very nature of the revelation and history it was not proper, or, humanly speaking, possible, for Christ himself *to write* the system of his religion. Had all his moral precepts been written by himself we would have a rigid form—one possibly more complete in some respects, but one which would impart no more life. In the history and teachings of Christ, as we possess them in the four Gospels, moral precepts are often delivered in connexion with historical incidents, and are thus made clearer and more lifelike.

It is very evident that the account of the teaching and acts of Christ, though at first delivered orally, could not be transmitted to posterity in its integrity without being recorded in the apostolic age or soon afterward. Written records necessary for the perpetuation of Christianity. Written documents were necessary to the continued existence of Christianity as a divine revelation, and if we have sufficient proof that the mission of Christ in the world was of divine appointment there is the highest probability, *à priori*, that God in his providence would provide for the transmission of the revelation to future generations.

But, independently of these considerations, it is in the highest degree probable that the appearance of such an extraordinary character as Christ, and the wide diffusion of his religion, would call forth writers of his history at a very early period, especially in an age of so much intellectual culture and literary activity.

We would also expect that there would be a history written of the Acts of the Apostles after Christ left the world, and that the apostles would write important letters upon various occasions. Accordingly we are not surprised that we have so much history belonging to the apostolic age, of the founding of Christianity by Christ and his apostles, and so many apostolic epistles; but we rather wonder that *we have not more.*

CHAPTER II.

THE RAPID DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND THE NUMBER AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS, AS BEARING UPON THE GENUINENESS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS.

IT is very evident that the wider the diffusion of Christianity in the apostolic age, and in the ages immediately succeeding—the greater the number of Christians, and the higher the culture of many of them—the stronger does their testimony become in favour of writings universally admitted by them to be genuine.

The Roman historian Tacitus (born about A. D. 61) bears witness to the fact that Christianity originated with Christ, was widely diffused, and had many converts. In describing the burning of Rome—which was attributed to Nero—in A. D. 64, he remarks that Nero, in order to put an end to the rumour that he had himself set the city on fire, “accused and inflicted the severest punishments upon men whom, hated on account of their crimes, the populace called *Christians*. The author of this name was Christ, who in the reign of Tiberias was put to death by Pontius Pilate, the procurator. The deadly superstition, checked for awhile, again broke forth not only through Judea, the source of this evil, but through the city (Rome) also, where all things wicked or shameful from every quarter meet and are practised. At first, therefore, those were arrested who acknowledged (that they were of that sect); then, through their information, a vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning (Rome), as of hatred of the human race.”¹

The younger Pliny, who governed Bithynia, A. D. 111–113, a Roman province near the Black Sea, not much less than a thousand miles from Jerusalem, found the Christians in great numbers in his province, concerning whom he gives an account in his ninety-seventh Epistle, addressed to the

¹ Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat: repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocía aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti, qui favebantur, deinde, indicio eorum, multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt.—*Annalium*, lib. xv, cap. xlv.

Emperor Trajan. The number of Christians in his provincia can be inferred from the following language: "Many of every age, of every rank, of both sexes also, are summoned, and will be summoned, to trial. For not only through the cities, but also through the villages and the fields, has the contagion of this superstition spread, which, it seems, can be checked and corrected. It is, indeed, very evident that the temples, which were almost entirely forsaken, begin to be frequented, and the appointed rites, that had for a long time been neglected, to be resumed, and victims everywhere are sold, of which hitherto purchasers were rarely found."¹ The testimony of these two heathen writers certainly shows that even in the apostolic age, and in the time immediately subsequent, Christianity was professed by multitudes in various parts of the Roman Empire.

From the Acts of the Apostles and their epistles it is evident that in their age Christianity was very widely diffused and had many converts. In Acts iv, 4, not long after the crucifixion of Christ, the number of his followers in Jerusalem is stated to be about *five thousand*. In Acts vi, 7 The spread of Christianity as noted in the Acts of the Apostles. it is said that "the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." In Acts xxi, 20 James says to Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many myriads of the Jews there are who believe." In the apostolic age Churches were established "throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria" (Acts ix, 31). Christians were also found in Damascus, Antioch, the principal cities of Asia Minor, various cities in Macedonia, at Corinth, and in Rome. The history of the planting of the early Church is only partially recorded in the Acts.

Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, declares: "There is not, indeed, a single race of men, either of Barbarians or of Greeks, by whatever name they may be called, whether dwellers in wagons, or who have no Testimony of Justin Martyr and other fathers. houses, or who as nomads dwell in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Creator of the universe in the name of the crucified Jesus."¹ Irenæus, bishop of

¹ Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est: quæ videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope jam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, et sacra solennia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur.—Lib. x, Epistola xcvi.

² Οὐδὲ ἐν γὰρ ὁλῶς ἐστὶ τὸ γένος ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε βαρβάρων, εἴτε Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε ἀπλῶς ῥτινισθὺν ὀνόματι προσαγορευομένων, ἢ ἀμαξοβίων ἢ ὠίκων καλουμένων, ἢ ἐν σκεναῖς κτηνοτρόφων, οἰκούντων, ἐν οἷς μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ ἐυχὰς καὶ ἐν χάριτι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι τῶν ὁλῶν γίνονται.—Dialogus cum Trypho., cap. 117

Lyons (A. D. 177-202), speaks of Churches founded in Germany, in Spain, among the Celts, in the East, in Egypt, in Libya, and in the middle of the world¹ (Judea).

Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, about A. D. 200, asks: "In whom else have all nations believed but in Christ, who has already come?" He enumerates Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Pamphylia, Egypt, of Africa beyond Cyrene, and Rome. Also various nations of the Getuli, many in the confines of the Moors and the borders of Spain, various tribes of the Gauls, parts of the Britains inaccessible to the Romans, portions of the Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, Scythians, and of many hostile races, and of many provinces and islands unknown to the Romans, which could not be enumerated.² "If," says he, "we wished to act the part of open enemies, not that of concealed avengers only, would we lack numbers and forces?"³ Again he says: "We are of yesterday, and we have filled everything you have, your cities, your islands, citadels, free towns, your courts of justice, your very camps, tribes, decades, the palace, the senate, the forum; we have left you your temples only. We can count your armies; in one province the Christians will outnumber them."⁴

In his book to Scapula, in speaking of the Christians, he asks: "What will you do with so many thousands of human beings, so many men and women, of every age, of every dignity, who present themselves to you? How many fires, how many swords, will you need? What will Carthage herself suffer, decimated by you, when each one will then recognise his own relations and his own companions?"⁵ etc. In this same book he also says: "Although we compose so great a multitude of men, being almost the greater part of each State, we pass our time in quietness and sobriety."⁶ That the Christians were numerous in Northern Africa about A. D. 200 appears from the fact that at the synod held at that time by Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage, *seventy bishops* were present from Africa and Numidia.⁷

Bardesanes, a distinguished Christian scholar of Edessa, about A. D. 160-170, exclaims, "What, then, shall we say respecting the new race; of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country

¹ *Contra Hæreses*, lib. i, cap. x, sec. 2.

² *Apologeticus*, cap. xxxvii.

³ *Lib. Ad Scapulam*, cap. v.

⁴ Cyprian speaks of this council in *Epist. lxxi*, and in others. The number of the

bishops is given by Augustine, *De Unico Baptismo contra Petilianum*, lib. unus cap. 13. The reference in Gieseler's History of the Church is wrong.

⁵ *Adversus Judæos*, cap. vii.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, cap. ii.

and in every region the Messiah established at his coming?" He speaks of Christians in Judea, Gallia, Parthia, Media, Persia, and among the Geli and Cashani.¹ Christianity was "established at Edessa as early as the middle of the second century."² Christians were quite numerous in Northern Arabia in the middle of the third century, and Churches were, doubtless, there established as early as the second century.³

In the middle of the third century there were in the city of Rome "forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes; exorcists, readers, with the janitors, fifty-two; widows, with those in straitened circumstances, more than fifteen hundred, all of whom the grace and goodness of God supports."⁴ The members are represented as "innumerable," and as having wealthy persons among them.⁵ The number of the Churches was probably forty-six, which was the number of the presbyters, as each presbyter, it seems, had charge of one single Church.

Origen, in his work against Celsus, written about A. D. 245, speaks in various places of the great number of Christians in his time. He represents the gospel as "having conquered all Greece, and the greater part of the Barbarians, and as having brought over many myriads of souls to the worship of God in the manner prescribed by it."⁶

The number of the Christians in the Roman empire in the beginning of the fourth century may be inferred from the letter of Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus, in which he states: "Our emperors Diocletian and Maximian, our fathers, when they saw that almost all men, having abandoned the worship of the gods, had united themselves to the nation of the Christians, rightly ordained that all men who had departed from the worship of the same immortal gods should be recalled to the worship of the gods by manifest chastisement and punishment."⁷ Arnobius, who wrote about A. D. 300, represents the whole world as filled with the religion of Christ.⁸

About A. D. 324 Christianity became the State religion under Constantine, and paganism gradually declined, and a hundred years

¹ Cureton's Spicilegium Syriacum, Bardesan, p. 32.

Gieseler's Church History, vol. i, p. 118, Eng. Trans.

² Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, 33. 37.

³ In the letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, in Eusebius' Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, cap. 43.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Πόσος μὲν Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πλείων δὲ τῆς βαρβάρου ἐπάρτησε, καὶ μεταποίησε νομίας ὅσας φύχας, κ. τ. λ.—Lib. i, 27.

⁷ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. ix, 9.

⁸ Unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est. . . ?—Adversus Gentes, lib. i, cap. 55.

later had almost disappeared. Gibbon estimates the population of the Roman empire to have been one hundred and twenty millions in the age of Claudius Cæsar.¹ Merivale computes it to have been eighty-five millions in the reign of Augustus.² The fact that paganism was extirpated without any great difficulty after the time of Constantine is a strong proof that great multitudes of Christians must have been found in most parts of the empire; and it is not improbable that the Christian population was nearly *one half* that of the whole empire just before Christianity was made the religion of the State by Constantine.

In respect to the *literary* character of the Christians of the *first three centuries*, it is to be observed that in no age, how-
Literary proficiency of the early Christians. ever cultivated, are the masses of the people highly educated. But the very fact that very many of the early Christians had been brought up in heathenism, and abandoned it for the new faith in opposition to all their former prejudices and in the very face of so many temporal disadvantages, is a strong proof of their intelligence and strength of mind, as well as of their piety.

Merivale well observes that Paul's "converts were among the wise and prudent, as well as among the impulsive and devout. I reject, then, the notion, too hastily assumed, too readily accepted from a mistaken apprehension of the real dignity of the gospel, that the first preaching of the faith was addressed to the lowest, meanest, and least intelligent—the outcasts and proletaries of society. Many reasons, I am convinced, might be alleged for concluding that it was much the reverse. As regards the Christian Church at Rome—at least the direct statements of the apostle himself, the evidence of existing monuments of antiquity, inferences of no little strength from the records of secular history, and inferences not lightly to be rejected from the language and sentiments of contemporary heathen, all tend to assure us that it embraced some devoted members, and attracted many anxious inquirers, amidst the palaces of the nobles, and even in Cæsar's household."³

From the very beginning Christianity made a conquest of a considerable number of learned men and philosophers, who adorned the annals of the early Church by their talents and learning. Quad-
Literary competency of the early apologists. ratus and Aristides, learned Christians of Athens, presented apologies of their faith to the Emperor Hadrian, A. D. 126. Agrippa Castor, a very learned man, wrote an able refutation of Basilides about A. D. 135. In the

¹ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i, p. 53.

² History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv, p. 343.

³ Conversion of the Roman Empire, Lecture iv, pp. 100, 101.

first part of this century must be placed the remarkable Epistle to Diognetus, one of the finest productions of early Christianity. To the first half of the second century belong the Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord, by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. Here belongs Justin Martyr, a distinguished writer, who had been a heathen philosopher. He wrote his first Defence of Christianity about A. D. 139; the Second Apology, his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, and other works, at a later period. Hegesippus, about A. D. 170, wrote five books of Ecclesiastical Events. Athenagoras, a Greek philosopher, about A. D. 170, wrote a Defence of the Christians (*προςβεβα* *περι τῶν Χριστιανῶν*), and a work on the Resurrection of the Dead. About the same time Tatian, the Assyrian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, wrote an Oration against the Greeks and a Harmony of the Four Gospels. About 160-170 Bardesanes, a very learned Christian of Edessa, wrote voluminous works.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, about A. D. 170, were the authors of many works in vindication or explanation of Christianity. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (A. D. 169-181 or 183), was the author of a work in three books addressed to Autolytus, a heathen, in defence of Christianity, "in which," to use the language of Neander, "he displays great erudition and power of thought." He also wrote other works. Philip, bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, and Modestus (161-192) wrote against Marcion. Apollonius, a senator of Rome in the reign of Commodus (A. D. 180-192), gave the senate an account of his faith in a remarkable volume. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 177-202), was a man of learning and ability. He wrote five books against Haereses, besides other works.

Other early
Christian writ-
ers.

In the last half of the second century we find at Alexandria, in Egypt, Pantænus, a Stoic philosopher, the first eminent teacher of the catechetical school of that city, and the author of many commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; and Titus Flavius Clemens, president of the catechetical school (about A. D. 191-202), the author of several important works on Christianity. In the latter part of the second, and in the first part of the third, century, there flourished at Carthage Tertullian, a voluminous Christian writer, a man of great learning, eloquence, and profundity. In the middle of the third century there lived in the same city the distinguished Christian, Cyprian, who wrote many small works.

In Palestine (about A. D. 230), we find Julius Africanus, the first Christian chronographer. In the latter part of the second, or beginning of the third, century, Minucius Felix, a distinguished Roman advocate, wrote a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, in

which he defends Christianity with great spirit. In the first half of the third century flourished Hippolytus,¹ the author of many works on Christianity. To this period belongs the greatest philosopher, and one of the greatest scholars, of the ancient Church, the profound Origen, born about A. D. 185, died A. D. 254. He wrote numerous works on the Scriptures and on theology. Among the learned Christian writers of this period may be named Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the third century; Methodius, in the last half of this century, in Western Asia; and Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, about the middle of the century.

Arnobius, of Sicca, in Northern Africa about A. D. 300 wrote a ~~writers of the~~ work in seven books against the Gentiles, in which he ~~fourth century.~~ displays great acuteness, elegance, and power. About the same time the eloquent Lactantius wrote, in Nicomedia, his work on Christianity. About the beginning of the fourth century Pamphilus, presbyter of Cæsarea, in Palestine, founded in that city a valuable public library, chiefly of ecclesiastical authors, and was himself a writer. In the first forty years of the fourth century flourished Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, and bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. He was a man of immense erudition, and the author of numerous works..

It is not necessary to name any of the later fathers of the Church or other writers of the first three centuries, or to mention the distinguished learned men who wrote little or nothing. In every age the number of writers is small in comparison with the number of learned men who publish nothing. They are deterred from writing by diffidence, by the dislike of the manual labor necessary, and by other causes. Who can doubt that there were many learned men in the first three centuries of the Church, of whom we know nothing? Arnobius (about A. D. 300) speaks of men of great genius who had embraced the Christian faith—orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, and philosophers.²

Who can doubt the ability of such men as composed the ancient Church to distinguish and transmit to posterity the genuine writings of the apostles and their companions?

Probably bishop of Portus Romanus, near the mouth of the Tiber.

² Quod tam magnis ingeniis præditi oratores, grammatici, rhetores, consulti juris ac medici, philosophiæ etiam secreta rimantes, magisteria hæc expetunt spretis quibus paulo ante fidebant?—Adversus Gentes lib. ii. cap. v.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE CHRISTIAN EPOCH.

AS the books of the New Testament are written in the Greek¹ language, it is an interesting question, To what extent was this language used in the Roman empire at the time of Christ?

The wide diffusion of the Greek language as early as B. C. 61, appears from a passage of Cicero's Oration for the Poet Archias, written at that time. "For if any one supposes," Diffusion of the Greek language in the times of Cicero and Juvenal. says he, "that less fame is derived from verses written in Greek than from those in Latin, he is greatly mistaken; because *Greek literature is read in nearly all nations*—Latin literature is confined within its own limits, certainly narrow."

The celebrated Roman satirist, Juvenal, contemporary with the apostles, thus expresses himself respecting the Greek language: "Every thing is done in Greek. In this language they fear; in this they pour forth their wrath, their joys, their sorrows; in this, all the secrets of their breasts."²

Various causes conspired to spread widely the Greek language. Greece at a very early period planted colonies in Southern Italy and in Southern Gaul, in the islands of the Means by which the Greek language became widely spread. *Ægean Sea*, on the shores of the Black Sea, and in various parts of Asia Minor. At a later period the conquests of Alexander the Great in Asia and in Africa (B. C. 334–323) disseminated widely the Greek language and literature. Plutarch remarks, that "he founded above seventy cities among the barbarous people, and sowed Asia with Greek troops." He also founded Alexandria in Egypt, which became a famous seat of Greek learning. Seleucus, a successor of Alexander, in his extensive empire in Central and Western Asia, followed Alexander's policy in *Hellenising* his domain. "We find him founding, in almost every province, Greek or Mace-

¹ The Gospel of Matthew has been generally supposed to have been originally written in Hebrew.

² Quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis inibus, exiguis sane continentur.

³ Omnia Græcè.

Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, causas,
Hoc cuncta affundunt, animi secreta.—Sat. vi, 186–189.

donian colonies, which became so many centres of civilization and refinement." The splendid productions of the Grecian intellect in the ages of Pericles, Plato, and Demosthenes, carried with them the Greek language to the most distant lands. Young men from all sections of the world resorted to Athens to study her literature and her philosophy, and, on returning home, brought with them the language and letters of that intellectual metropolis.

"It is a just though trite observation," says Gibbon, "that victorious Rome was herself subdued by the arts of Greece. Those immortal writers, who still command the admiration of modern Europe, soon became the favourite object of study and imitation in Italy and the western provinces."¹ The prevailing language in Palestine in the time of Christ was Aramæan, sometimes called Syro-Chaldee, but it was in fact Chaldee rather than Syriac,² the Hebrew having ceased to be a living language a century or more before that epoch.

Nevertheless, the Greek language appears to have made considerable progress in some parts, at least, of the Holy Land, about the time of Christ. Josephus speaks of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippus as Greek cities.³ He calls Cæsarea the largest city of Judea, and represents it as inhabited principally by Greeks.⁴ Dora, on the sea-coast south of Carmel, was inhabited chiefly by Greeks.⁵ It appears from Acts vi, 9 that the Libertini, Alexandrians, and other foreigners, had synagogues in Jerusalem; and it is quite certain that they used the Greek language, at least those from Alexandria and Cyrene.

It cannot be inferred from Acts xxi, 39-xxii, 2 that the crowd in Jerusalem could have understood St. Paul if he had addressed them in Greek instead of Hebrew. They had expected an address in Greek, which the larger portion of them would not understand, but when they heard him using the Hebrew tongue, which they could understand, "they kept the more silence." Josephus, in describing the efforts made by Titus to induce the Jews to surrender after he

¹ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i, 46.

² The translation of the five books of Moses by Onkelos, and that of the prophets by Jonathan Ben-Uzziel, into Chaldee (Targums), for the use of the Jews in Palestine, about the time of Christ, shows that *this* was the common language. And we find in the New Testament several Chaldee expressions, indicating the general use of that language in Palestine. In the garden of Gethsemane Christ says, *Abba* (ܐܒܒܐ, Chaldee, ܐܒܐ, *abba*), *Father* (Mark xiv, 36). On a different occasion, *Talitha cumi* (ܬܠܝܬܐ ܟܘܡܝ, Chaldee, or, perhaps, Syriac, ܬܠܝܬܐ ܟܘܡܝ), *Maid, Arise* (Mark vi, 41). Again, *Ephphatha* (Aramæan, from ܦܬܚ, *Mark vii, 34*). *Golgotha* (Chaldee, ܟܠܬܐ, *Matt. xxvii, 33*). *Aeldama* (Chaldee, ܐܝܠܕܡܐ, *Acts i, 19*). *Mar an-atha* (Chaldee, ܡܪܐܢܐܬܐ, *1 Cor. xvi, 22*).

³ Antiq., xvii, 11, 4.

⁴ Wars, iii, 9, 1.

⁵ Antiq., xix, 6, 3.

had brought the standards into the sacred enclosure belonging to the temple, remarks: "Titus, having stationed the interpreter near him, which (or what), indeed, was a sign of his being victor, first began to speak."¹

As the writings of the New Testament were intended for a world-wide circulation, it was proper that the books should be written in that language which was the most widely diffused, and at the same time was the richest and most philosophical of human tongues. Yet as Christianity was first proposed to the Jewish people, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that one or more of its writings might have been originally composed in their vernacular. Whether or not this was really the case must be determined by evidence, the consideration of which belongs to another part of our subject.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHARACTER OF THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TO obtain a clear view of this subject, it is proper to consider the most important dialects of the Greek language, the countries in which they were spoken, and the elements that entered into the formation of the language in which the New Testament was written. The most ancient dialect of the Greek with which we are acquainted is the *Ionic*, the language of the earlier inhabitants of Attica, who were called *Ionians*. They spread over the northern parts of the Peloponnesus, occupied the Cyclades, and colonized a portion of Asia Minor. Homer and Hesiod are the earliest representatives of this dialect. In the fifth century before Christ Herodotus and Hippocrates wrote in it. The *Doric* dialect was used in the Peloponnesus, and in the Dorian colonies in Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily. The great lyric poet Pindar wrote in it about B. C. 500. The *Æolic* prevailed in Bœotia, Thessaly, and in the *Æolian* colonies in Asia Minor. In this dialect the lyrical poetess Sappho wrote, about B. C. 600.

As Athens was the great centre of political power and attraction during a great part of the fifth century before Christ, "all the dialects met there, and the Athenians culled from each of them such forms and expressions as were calculated to add strength and elegance to their own Ionic idiom. This confluence of dialects pro-

¹ Τίτος . . . τὸν ἑρμηνεὺν παραστασάμενος, ὅτι ἐν τεκμήριον τοῦ κρατεῖν πρῶτος ἡρῶ-
σθαι λέγειν.—Wars, lib. vi, 6, 2. This clearly shows that Titus spoke to the Jews by
an interpreter, and that the mass did not understand Greek.

duced the *Attic dialect*, technically so called. In point of development and richness of literature this stood at the head of all the Greek dialects. The natural consequence of such pre-eminence was, that Greeks from all the tribes repaired to Athens to obtain a finished education. . . . Now persons from whatever part of Greece, educated at Athens, would by preference use the dialect of Athens. And it is not difficult to understand that their example would naturally be followed by their kinsmen, pupils, friends, and dependents."¹

In the *Attic dialect* wrote the great philosophers Plato and Aristotle; the historians Thucydides and Xenophon; the tragic writers Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; the comic writer Aristophanes; the orator Demosthenes, and various others, who flourished in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, and have made that period of Grecian history forever illustrious. The great writers in this dialect spread it far and wide, and gave it the mastery over the others. "After the freedom of the Greeks had been destroyed by Philip, king of Macedon, the Attic dialect came to be the common written language. As it extended not only over all Greece, but also over the Macedonian provinces of Syria and Egypt, it lost much of its peculiar stamp by the introduction of foreign forms and words, and it then received the name of the common, or Hellenic, language, *ἡ κοινὴ*, or *Ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος*. It was used, e. g., by Apollodorus, Diodorus, and Plutarch."²

It appears that the language of the Athenians could be generally understood by the Macedonians, and as the latter had no literature, the colonies founded by Alexander and his successors naturally received their literature from Athens; and thus the Attic dialect, used so extensively, assumed before the time of Christ the form called "common."

This *common* Greek, when used by the Jews, assumed the form called *Hellenistic*, from the name *Hellenists*, given to those Jews who spoke that language (Acts vi, 1). It abounds more or less in Hebrew and Aramæan idioms, and in words used in new senses from the fact that they are employed to express new ideas. In this idiom the Septuagint and the apocryphal books of the Old Testament are written, and *it is the vehicle which the writers³ of the New Testament used wherewith to give a permanent form to the great truths revealed in the gospel.*

¹ Sophocles, in the Introduction to his Lexicon of the Greek of the Roman and Byzantine Period. Boston, 1870.

² Kühner, *Dialects of the Greek Language*, in his Grammar, p. 14.

³ Matthew's Gospel, according to the ancients, was originally written in Hebrew (or, rather, Aramæan). Some have thought that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in the same language.

As the Greek language was of heathen growth, it sometimes lacked words wherewith to express clearly the ideas of the Christian revelation. Hence the New Testament writers were compelled to give to some of the words of the language novel meanings. It is true that the translators of the Old Testament had already led the way by rendering into Greek the moral and religious truths of the Old Covenant. But their vocabulary was not extensive enough to express clearly and appropriately all the truths of the New.

That the writers of the New Testament should, to a considerable extent, use Hebrew and Aramæan modes of thought and expression was to be expected, from the fact that all of them, except Luke, had had a Hebrew education; and although his education may have been originally Greek, yet his study of the Old Testament, and his intimacy with Hebrews, would be likely to impart something of a Hebrew cast even to his mode of writing.

As examples of Hebraisms or Aramæisms may be named, λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον, from the Hebrew *לָקַח פָּנִים*, to accept one's person; ζητεῖν ψυχὴν, from *שָׁקַח נַפְשׁוֹ*, to seek one's life; ὀφείλ. λημμα ἀφιέναι, to forgive sin (debt), from the Aramæan *אֲפִי־חַבְּרָא*, to release, or forgive debt or sin (so the Targum of Onkelos on Gen. iv, 13); γεύεσθαι θανάτου, to taste death, to die, from the Aramæan *טַעַם מוֹת*, to taste death, to die (Targum of Jerusalem on Deut. xxxii, 1); ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετὰ τινος, to show compassion or kindness to any one, from the Hebrew *עָשָׂה חֶסֶד*; ἀροτρον φαγεῖν, to take a meal, from the Hebrew *לָחַם לֶחֶם*; αἷμα ἐκχέειν, to pour forth blood, to kill, from *שָׁפַךְ דָּם*, to shed blood, etc.

Examples of
New Testament
Hebraisms.

The New Testament writers also imitated the Hebrew in the use of the preposition *ἐν*, *in*, for *בְּ* (beth), *with*, *in*, etc., in many instances in which the proper rendering is *with*. As the Hebrew language is simpler in its structure than the Greek, co-ordinating rather than subordinating its sentences, and uses but few particles, we find that in these points the sacred writers have also imitated the Hebrew.

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE autographs of the New Testament writers appear to have perished at quite an early period. Whether any of them reached the *third* century, is very doubtful. Tertullian, indeed (about A. D. 200), appeals against heretics to the autographs of Paul's Epistles as still existing in different Churches.¹ But as Tertullian wrote at Carthage, the value of his testimony respecting autographs in European and Asiatic Churches is not very great; yet there is nothing improbable in the statement.

In the Apostolic Age the most common writing material was the Egyptian papyrus, although parchment was also in use. John, in his Second Epistle, speaks of writing with *paper* (διὰ χαρτον) (ver 12), and Paul directs Timothy to bring with him the books (τὰ βιβλία, properly *paper books*), but especially the *parchments* (τὰς μεμβράνας *skins, parchments*). 2 Tim. iv, 13. It is natural to suppose that short epistles would be written upon papyrus, and large and very important works on parchments. Which of these materials was most used by the New Testament writers cannot be determined. Numerous copies of the original manuscripts were very soon made and spread over the Christian world, and the frequent handling and copying of these manuscripts, especially if they were of papyrus, must have contributed to their destruction.

The Emperor Constantine soon after A. D. 330 gave directions to Eusebius to have *fifty* copies of the Divine Scriptures executed upon skins in the highest style of the calligraphic art for the use of the Churches in Constantinople.² After this period it appears to have been quite common to use parchment in copying the Holy Scriptures.

"In the fourth century," says Tischendorf, "the more durable parchment was preferred to the papyrus, and of such writings [of the New Testament] on parchments, executed in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, we possess, though mostly of small compass, still more than *twenty*, to which some *thirty* belonging to the seventh,

¹ "Run over the Apostolic Churches in which still the chairs themselves of the Apostles preside in their places, in which their *very original* letters are read." etc. lib. De Præscrip., cap. xxxvi.

² De Vita Constantini, lib. iv, cap. xxxvi.

eighth, and ninth centuries, are to be added." He also adds: "The entire Greek Literature, which consists of so many hundred works, has not by far the *tenth* part of the manuscripts of the highest antiquity to exhibit, which the Greek New Testament alone possesses."¹

The oldest manuscripts of the new Testament are written in *uncial* letters (from *uncia*, *an inch*), which for the most part are Greek capitals. There is nothing to indicate the beginning or end of a word.

The *uncial* letters were employed until the *ninth* century, when they were gradually changed into the *cursive* letters which were commonly in use in the *tenth* century. The first manuscript in *cursive* letters with which we are acquainted was written A. D. 890.² Scrivener gives catalogues of sixty-one uncial and six hundred and forty-two cursive MSS. of the Gospels; fourteen uncial and two hundred and fifty-two cursive of the Acts and Catholic Epistles; twenty-two uncial and two hundred and ninety-five cursive of Paul's epistles; five uncial and one hundred and eleven cursive of the Apocalypse; three hundred and thirty-nine Evangelistaria, and eighty-two Lectionaries of the Praxapostolos.³

Dean Burgon sent Scrivener (July, 1883) a catalogue "of about three hundred additional MSS. of the New Testament or portions thereof deposited in European libraries, but hitherto unknown to scholars, which must hereafter be examined and collated by competent persons."⁴ It must be borne in mind that *Latin* versions of the New Testament were almost exclusively used in Western Europe from the early centuries of Christianity, which explains the fact that we have not a still greater number of Greek manuscripts.

Of the **UNCIAL** manuscripts we name, as most important:

CODEX SINAITICUS (A).

This important Codex, containing the *entire New Testament*, a part of the Old, the complete epistle of Barnabas in Greek, and a part of the Hermæ Pastor, was discovered in the convent of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, in February, 1859, by Tischendorf.

In 1862 Tischendorf published a magnificent *fac-simile* edition of this Codex in four volumes, from type made for the special pur-

¹ Haben Wir den ächten Schriftext der Evangelisten und Apostel? p. 9. Leipzig, 1873

² Hug, Einleitung, Erst. Theil., 4te Aufl., p. 212.

³ Introd. Crit. New Test., p. 307, 3d ed., 1883.

⁴ Ibid., pp. ix, x.

pose. The Codex is written on fine parchment with four columns on a page, without division of word, accents, or breathings. It contains the sections of Ammonius and the canons of Eusebius.¹ Tischendorf brings cogent reasons for referring it to *the middle of the fourth century*. And Tregelles remarks: "It appears undoubtedly to belong to the fourth century." It is now in St. Petersburg, the property of the Emperor of Russia.

In 1863 Tischendorf published the New Testament portion of the manuscript, line for line and page for page, and in 1865 there was published in Leipzig, by Brockhaus, "*Novum Testamentum Græcæ ex Sinaitico Codice*," etc., with Prolegomena by Tischendorf.

As the first letters of the Roman Alphabet had been already appropriated to the oldest codices of the New Testament, Tischendorf designates this Codex by the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, Aleph (א).

CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A).

This celebrated Codex, now found in the British Museum, was once in possession of Cyril Lucar, at one time Patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople, and was presented by him to Charles I., in 1629.

"The portion containing the New Testament is a volume measuring somewhat more than ten inches wide and fourteen inches high. The material is thin, fine, and very beautiful vellum, often discolored at the edges, which have been injured by time, but more by the ignorance or carelessness of the modern binder, who has not always spared the text, especially at the upper-inner margin. The manuscript is written in a light and elegant hand in uncial letters. These letters at the end of a line are often very small, and much of the writing is very pale and faint; each page contains two columns of text. In the margins, to the left hand, the Eusebian canons are noted throughout the four Gospels, as well as the larger sections into which these books were anciently divided."² There is no regular division of words.

From the commencement of the volume, about twenty leaves are wanting, so that of Matthew's Gospel we have only what follows xxv, 6. In the Gospel of John two leaves are missing, which contained the text from vi, 50 to viii, 52. From the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, three leaves are absent, leaving a hiatus from chap. iv, 13 to xii, 7. All the rest of the New Testament is quite entire. The Codex is referred by Tischendorf to the last part of

¹ Tischendorf is positive that they are not from the original scribe.

² Cowper's edition of the Cod. Alex. Introduction.

the *fifth* century, and by Tregelles to the *middle* of the *fifth* century or a little later.

The New Testament portion of the Codex was published in *facsimile* by C. G. Woide, in 1786, in folio, accompanied with admirable prologomena and notes. In 1860 B. H. Cowper published a beautiful edition of the New Testament from this Codex. The trustees of the British Museum have ordered the publication of a *facsimile* of this Codex, of which two volumes in folio have already appeared.

CODEX VATICANUS (B).

This Codex, so called from the celebrated Vatican Library at Rome, where it is found, contains all the New Testament, with the exception of Heb. ix, 14¹-xiii, the Epistles to Philemon, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse. It is a quarto volume of one hundred and forty-six leaves, bound in red morocco, ten and a half inches high, ten broad, and four and a half thick. It is written on fine thin vellum, with three columns on a page. There is no space left between the words, but all the letters in a line have the appearance of forming a single word.

Hug refers the Codex to the first part of the *fourth* century.¹ Tischendorf refers it to the fourth century, and remarks: "It scarcely differs in age from the Codex Sinaiticus."

Cardinal Mai published an edition of this manuscript in 1857 and in 1859; the second edition is an improvement on the first. In 1867 Tischendorf published, at Leipsic, a new quarto edition of this famous Codex, in which he corrected more than 400 errors of the editions of Cardinal Mai.

CODEX EPHRAEMI RESCRIPTUS (C).

This manuscript, found at present in the Imperial Library of Paris, "is a most valuable palimpsest containing portions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament on 64 leaves, and fragments of every part of the New on 143 leaves, amounting on the whole to less than two thirds of the volume. . . . The ancient writing is barely legible, having been almost removed about the twelfth century to receive some Greek works of St. Ephraem, the Great Syrian Father."² It is written on vellum with one column on

¹ The manuscript breaks off in the midst of this verse. The manuscript, however, contains the rest of the New Testament by a later hand.

² Einleitung, Erst. Thiel., 4te Auf., p. 238.

³ Scrivener, pp. 117, 118, 3d ed., 1883.

a page. Tischendorf ascribes it to about the *middle* of the *fifth* century. He published in 1843 a *facsimile* edition of the New Testament portion.

CODEX BEZAE GRAECO-LATINUS (D).

This Codex is now found in the University Library at Cambridge, England. It was presented to the university in 1581 by Theodore Beza. It is a quarto volume, in vellum, 10 inches high by 8 broad, containing 414 leaves, with one column on a page, the Greek text and its Latin version being parallel. There are on every page 33 lines of unequal length called *στίχοι*, being the earliest manuscript thus written.¹

The following is a specimen of its lines (*στίχοι*) translated into English :

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto
Ten virgins, who, taking
Their lamps,
Went forth to meet the bridegroom
And the bride (Matt. xxv, 1).

This Codex contains² the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. It is assigned by Tischendorf to about the *middle* of the *sixth* century. To this century Tregelles also ascribes it, and remarks, it "is of great value, in spite of its peculiarities and interpolations." It was edited by Kipling in 1793, and more recently with great care by Scrivener.

CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (D).

This Codex is now found in the National Library at Paris. "It belongs," says Tregelles, "apparently to the sixth century: it contains all the fourteen Pauline Epistles in Greek and Latin."

CODEX LAUDIANUS (E).

This Codex contains the Acts of the Apostles in Latin and Greek. It is referred by Tischendorf to the last part of the *sixth* century, and Tregelles thinks it probably belongs to that century. It is found in Oxford.

CODEX ROSSANENSIS.

This Codex contains the Gospel of Matthew entire and that of Mark as far as the middle of the last chapter. It belongs to the *sixth* century. It was discovered at Rossanos, in Calabria, in the spring of 1879 by O. V. Gebhardt and A. Harnack.

CURSIVE MANUSCRIPTS.

Of the numerous manuscripts in the *cursive* characters, we name as most important :

¹ Scrivener, pp. 120, et seq., 3d ed., 1883.

² Not entire.

CODEX BASILIENSIS (1).

This Codex is found at Basel. It contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse; but is of importance in its text in the Gospels only. It belongs to the *tenth* century.

CODEX COLBERTINUS (33).

This Codex is found in the Imperial Library at Paris. "The most important in its text of the Cursive copies of the New Testament," says Tregelles, "all of which, except the Revelation, it contained; but now it is defective in several places, and throughout is much injured. Of the eleventh century."

CODEX LEICESTRENSIS (69).

This Codex belongs to the Town Council of Leicester. It is of the fourteenth century. It contains nearly all the New Testament.

CODEX TISCHENDORFII ACTORUM (61).

This Codex is now in the British Museum. Collated by Tregelles and Scrivener. It is considered a valuable manuscript.

Many of the Uncial manuscripts contain mere fragments of the New Testament. Tischendorf has especially distinguished himself in collecting and publishing the most valuable of them, in his "*Monumenta Sacra Inedita*," seven volumes of which appeared in 1855-70.

CHAPTER VI.

ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE PESHITO SYRIAC.

THE most important of the ancient versions of the New Testament is that called *The Peshito*¹ *Syriac*. Syriac, at the Christian epoch, and for centuries later, was the language of the region north of Palestine, extending from the north-eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to the river Tigris, embracing, as its chief seat, Northern Mesopotamia, of which the most important city was Edessa.

Now as Christianity was firmly established in this city as early as the middle of the second century, if not earlier, it is extremely probable that, with its introduction, the New Testament would be translated into the language of that city and region. It is a well-

¹ The name *Peshito*, from *peshat*, means *simple, plain, correct*; Chaldee, the same.

known fact that our modern missionaries as soon as possible translate the New Testament into the language of the people to be Christianized. Nor was the usage different in ancient times. What strengthens the great probability that a Syriac version of the New Testament was made as early as about A. D. 150, is the fact that we find a flourishing Syriac literature at Edessa soon after that time. Bardesanes,¹ a distinguished Christian writer, who flourished at Edessa about A. D. 160-170, in the reign of Abgar Bar Manu, wrote many volumes in Syriac, among them a "Book of the Laws of Countries,"² mentioned by Jerome, and quoted largely by Eusebius as a work on "Fate." He composed also in Syriac "a hundred and fifty Psalms, elegantly versified." Jerome remarks that the followers of Bardesanes translated his works into Greek. "If their power and elegance," says he, "are so great in a translation, how great they must have been in the original!"

It is not easy to believe that Syriac literature, with so much elegance, began with Bardesanes, and we are, therefore, authorized in believing that the Syriac version of the New Testament could have been made at least a fourth of a century before his time. With the foregoing facts before us, we cannot, with any probability, refer the earliest Syriac version to a period later than the middle of the second century.

The strong probability of this early date of the translation is rendered quite certain by the fact that the Old Testament was translated into Syriac about that time, since it is quoted both by Melito³ (A. D. 170) and Origen⁴ (A. D. 200-254); and no one will suppose that Christian scholars would translate the Old Testament into Syriac before the New. Hegesippus (about A. D. 170) appears to have been acquainted with a Syriac version of the Gospel of Matthew. For Eusebius states that this writer "introduces some things both from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the

¹ Epiphanius says that "he was skilled in two languages, both the Greek dialect and the language of the Syrians." *Haeresis* LVI.

² The original work, long lost, was brought from the Syrian convent in the desert of Nitriae, in Egypt, to England in 1843, and translated into English, and published by Cureton in 1855. In this book it is stated: "But as yesterday the Romans took Arabia, and abrogated all their ancient laws." This occurred in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and fixes the age of the work.

³ In commenting on Gen. xxii, 13, Melito says, instead of "*κατεχομενος των κερων* (*caught by the horns*)" both THE SYRIAC and the Hebrew read, *κρεμνιμενος*, (*hanging by the horns*). In Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. i, p. 118, from two Vat. manuscripts.

⁴ In various places in his Hexapla, as 'Ο Σηρος, (the Syriac;) on Gen. iv, 1. 4; viii, 7, etc.

Syriac (Gospel), and especially from the Hebrew dialect"¹ It seems improbable that by "the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac," one single form or version of the Gospel is intended. Eusebius must have known that there was a Syriac translation of all the universally acknowledged books of the New Testament, and that by his expression the Syriac translation of Matthew's Gospel would be understood.

The Peshito version is quoted by Ephraem, the Syrian († A. D. 378). It was universally circulated among the Syrians in his time, and accordingly he speaks of it as *our version*, which he would scarcely have done had it not then obtained general authority. Besides, it has been shown by Wiseman that many expressions in it were either unintelligible to Ephraem, or at least obscure.² This affords strong proof of its high antiquity. The traditions of the Syrian Church attribute the translation to Achæus, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus. The version is one of the best and most valuable that have ever been made, and expresses faithfully the original Greek. It cannot be determined whether it is the work of a single translator, or of several.

The Peshito version contains all the books of the New Testament except the *Second* Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, the *Second* and *Third* of John, and the Apocalypse. It first became known to Europeans in 1552, when Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, sent to Pope Julius III., in Rome, Moses of Mardin to present his confession of faith, and to superintend the printing of the Syriac New Testament in Europe. Accordingly, the version was printed in Vienna, in 1555, from two ancient manuscripts, under the superintendence of the Austrian chancellor, Albert Widmanstadt, and Moses of Mardin, at the expense of King Ferdinand I. In this edition there are wanting Second Peter, Jude, Second and Third John, and the Apocalypse.³ Subsequently various editions of this version were printed in different parts of Europe.

The Second Epistle of Peter, that of Jude, and Second and Third John were published at Leyden, in 1630, by Edward Pococke from a Syriac manuscript found in the Bodleian Library. The Apocalypse was published by Louis De Dieu, at Leyden, in 1637, from a Syriac manuscript, quite modern, found in the London Library.

¹Εκ τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου Ἐυαγγέλιον καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν. Hist. Eccles., iv, c. 22. Hug supposes the reference to be to the Syriac translation of the Gospel. Einleitung, Erst. Theil, p. 317. Vierte Auflage.

² Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 121.

³ A copy of this first edition, bearing date, Vienna, 1555, lies before me.

In 1708 and in 1717 Leusden and Schaaf's editions of the Peshito were published at Leyden. The second of these editions is especially excellent. Schaff published, in 1708,¹ the best Lexicon of the Peshito that has yet appeared. In these editions Second Peter, Jude, Second and Third John were inserted from the texts of Pococke and Louis De Dieu.

In 1816 the British Bible Society published an edition of the Peshito New Testament, under the supervision of Dr. Buchanan and Professor Lee, with the Eastern Church lessons noted in Syriac. The British Bible Society published another edition of this version in 1826,² a very superior one, with vowel points, 4to., for the Oriental Christians, as it is stated on the title-page, and corrected according to Old Syriac manuscripts. Both of these editions contain in the text of Pococke and L. De Dieu the five books wanting in the Peshito.

In 1828 Samuel Bagster published both in his Polyglot, and also in a small octavo volume, the Peshito, with vowel points. It includes every one of our New Testament books, and in the Syriac preface to the small octavo edition it is stated: "This edition has been printed from the sacred books of the New Testament in Syriac, which were published by Albert Widmanstadt, and Moses of Mardin, and by Louis De Dieu, and Edward Pococke." So far as we have compared this edition with that published by the British Bible Society in 1826 we find scarcely any difference whatever in the text. Bagster has also published "Gutbir's Lexicon Syriacum," containing all the words, except the proper names, in the Syriac Testament.

The American missionaries in Oroomiah published in 1846 the Peshito New Testament, with a modern Syriac translation standing opposite to it. The Peshito has been translated into English and published in the United States by Dr. Murdock.

Among the oldest manuscripts of the Peshito Syriac Testament may be named two in the British Museum, one bearing the date of A. D. 468;³ the other was written at Bethkoki in A. D. 768. "There is a Syriac manuscript of the Gospels in the Vatican, written at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, bearing the date corresponding to A. D. 548, and one in the Medicean Library, dated A. D. 586."⁴

William Cureton found among the Syriac manuscripts brought

¹ This appears to be the date in the copy before us.

² That is the date it bears; but as we have not that of 1816 we cannot tell whether there is any difference of text.

³ I saw this in the British Museum about ten years ago.

⁴ W. W. Wright's Appendix to Seiler's Bib. Herm

from the Nitrian desert by Archdeacon Tattam, in 1842, for the British Museum, "remains of a very ancient recension of the four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe," which he published, accompanied with an English translation, in 1858. These fragments are written in the Estrangelo characters, and contain nearly three fourths of each of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, about one third of the Gospel of John, and the last four verses of Mark's Gospel. In this recension the order of the gospels is, Matthew, Mark, John, Luke.

Cureton refers the fragments to the *middle of the fifth century*. In comparing some years ago a part of this Syriac text with Bagster's edition of the Peshito, we satisfied ourselves that it is less elegant than the Peshito, and that it is probably an older version. Tischendorf places the Syriac version, of which these fragments form a part, about the middle of the second century, and the Peshito at the end of that century. Tregelles also regards these fragments as belonging to a version older than the Peshito. This is also the opinion of Ewald.

Cureton believes that the Gospel of Matthew in this recension is based on the Syro-Chaldee gospel of that evangelist. But after a careful comparison of Cureton's text with the Peshito and the Greek, we satisfied ourselves that Cureton's text is taken from the Greek Matthew. Prof. Wright, of the University of Cambridge, England, a few years ago, printed for private circulation a hundred copies of other "fragments of the Curetonian (Syriac) gospels" in Estrangelo characters, namely: Luke xv, 22-xvi, 12; xvii, 1-23; John vii, 37-viii, 19. The account of the woman taken in adultery (vii, 53-viii, 12) is wanting in this section.

The Peshito version, as it stands in the most ancient extant manuscripts, is an important witness in settling the text of the New Testament, and a critical edition based upon a collation of its oldest existing manuscripts would be a work of great value, and is much needed.

THE PHILOXENIAN TRANSLATION. —

This Syriac version of the New Testament takes its name from Philoxenus, or Xenaias, Bishop of Mabug, (or Hierapolis,) in Syria, (A.D. 488-518,) in whose time the translation forming its basis was made by Polycarp, his country bishop, in A.D. 508. G. H. Bernstein gives substantially as the result of his inquiries respecting the subsequent revision of this version the following statement: Thomas of Charkel lived at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century, and was Bishop of Mabug, from which as an

exile he sought Egypt, and while living at Alexandria, in the convent of the Antonians, he devoted himself most assiduously to forming anew and improving the Syriac Philoxenian translation of the New Testament. In carrying out this work he corrected, as accurately as possible, the Philoxenian version upon the authority of the best Greek manuscripts, and restored it to the fidelity of the original Greek. This copy he wrote out with great care, and again revised it and gave it to the public,¹ A.D. 616. Bernstein² thinks that he has found in Codex Angelicus, at Rome, the original Philoxenian version that lay at the foundation of the revision of Thomas of Charkel. Mangold, however, thinks that in this Bernstein is mistaken. This version contains all the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse.

This so-called Philoxenian translation is extremely literal, and its author has often sacrificed the Syriac idiom to a rigid adherence to the Greek text. But on this very ground it is a valuable testimony to the state of the Greek text A.D. 500-600.

The four gospels of this version, accompanied by a Latin translation, were published in two volumes by Professor White, at Oxford in 1778, the Catholic Epistles in one volume in 1799, the Acts and the Epistles of Paul in one volume in 1803. The last two volumes also contain a Latin translation of the text. G. H. Bernstein published, at Leipsic, in 1853, a beautiful edition of the Gospel of John in the version of Thomas of Charkel, based on White's edition, corrected by two old manuscripts, the Florentine and the Vatican. The text is printed with vowels, and the points kushoi and rucoch from a Vatican manuscript.

THE JERUSALEM SYRIAC.

This is a partial lectionary of the gospels found in the Vatican Library, which Adler discovered, and of which he published specimens. It is written in the Aramæan dialect, similar to that of the Talmud of Jerusalem. The manuscript—the only extant one of the version—according to the superscription, was written in a convent at Antioch in 1030. It was made from the Greek in the fifth or sixth century, though possibly later.

THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE ITALA.

As in the apostolic age, the Latin language was the vernacular of Italy, and was used extensively in Northern Africa, as appears from

¹ De Charklen, N. T. Trans. Syriaca, p. 9.

² Das Heil. Evang. des Johan Syrisch, pp. 25-29.

the fact that Tertullian at Carthage (A.D. 193-220) and Cyprian in the same city (about A.D. 250) both wrote in that language, and as Christianity extensively¹ prevailed in that region as early as the second century, it is very probable that a version of the New Testament would be made into Latin as early as A.D. 150. Accordingly, we find Tertullian in his treatise on "Monogamy," written about A.D. 210 or 215, referring to a Latin version of the New Testament as being already in use: "As it has gone into use either by an ingenious or plain mistranslation of two syllables, *si dormierit vir ejus*, we must know that it is clearly not thus in the original Greek."² Tertullian objects to referring it to the future.

In the time of Augustine (about A.D. 400) this early Latin translation had already exhibited so many variations in its manuscripts as to present the appearance of different versions, of which fact Augustine complains.³ Among the Latin texts of the time, he declares his preference for the *Itala*, as adhering more closely to the words of the original, and as expressing the sense clearly.⁴

The extant Latin manuscripts belonging to the times preceding Jerome's revision of the text, or, indeed, to a later period, unaffected by that version, exhibit great diversity.

"When, however, the several codices," says Scrivener, "of the version or versions antecedent to Jerome's version came to be studied by Sabatier and Blanchini, and through their labors to be placed within the reach of all scholars, it was soon perceived that with many points of difference between them, there were evident traces of a common source from which all originally sprung."⁵

Augustine evidently uses "*Itala*" to qualify "*interpretatio*," "*the Italian interpretation*," and which appears to have been both of the Old and New Testaments. But here the question arises, Was this *Itala* the original Latin version made in the second century, or was it a recession of that translation? It seems at present to be the prevailing opinion of biblical critics that the oldest Latin version of the New Testament was executed in Northern Africa about the middle of the second century. The character of this version is to

¹ About A.D. 200 a synod was held under Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, which consisted of *seventy* African and Numidian Bishops.

² Sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *si dormierit vir ejus*, etc., cap. XI. The Greek is κοιμηθη, *if he has slept, (died.)* 1 Cor. vii, 39.

³ Doct. Christ. Lib. II., cap. XI-XV.

⁴ In ipsis autem interpretationibus, *Itala* caeteris præferatur nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Ibid.

⁵ Intro. to Crit. N. Test., p. 339, 3d ed., 1883.

be determined from the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian at Carthage, who used it.

In proof of its African origin, Scrivener remarks that, "On the ground of internal evidence, Wiseman has made out a case, which all who have followed him, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Davidson, Tregelles, accept as irresistible; indeed, it is not easy to draw any other conclusion from his elaborate comparison of the words, the phrases and grammatical constructions of the Latin version of Holy Scripture, with the parallel instances by which they can be illustrated from African writers, and from them only."¹

X Röscher, who has paid especial attention to the subject, declares it as certain, "That the peculiarities of language of the numerous extant fragments of the Itala belong to the African diction, and must have sprung up upon the soil of (proconsular) Africa."² He supposes that the name Itala was given to this old Latin version because it was not made in the elegant language of the Roman capital, but in the Italian provincial language, the common Latin. He, nevertheless, thinks the conjecture of Wordsworth, that the Itala appears to have been an Italian recension of the old African version, to be worthy of regard.³

The Codex Brixianus of the sixth century is regarded by Tregelles as "specially the *Italian* recension of the old (or African) Latin." In all probability Augustine designates by *Itala* a Latin recension of the old version made in Italy. Bleek regards it as so-called because it was in use in Upper Italy when it received its form.⁴

Among the most important manuscripts of the old Latin version of the New Testament may be named:

Codex Vercellensis, edited by Irici, and also by Tischchini. According to Tischendorf it belongs to century IV. (a).

Codex Veronensis, edited by Bianchini. It belongs to century V. (b).

Codex Colbertinus, edited by Sabatier. (c).

Codex Cantabrigiensis, belonging to the sixth century. (d). This is called by Tregelles, Codex Bezae.

Codex Palatinus, edited by Tischendorf. It belongs to century V. (e).

Codex Brixianus, a revised Latin text, edited by Bianchini. It belongs to century VI. (f).

¹ Introd. to the Criticism of the New Test., p. 341.

² Quoted by Hilgenfeld, Einleitung, p. 798-799.

³ In Hilgenfeld, ibid.

⁴ Einleitung, A. T., p. 795.

Codices, formerly Corbeienses, now Petropolitani (*f.*¹ et *f.*²), edited by Bianchini and Sabatier; mixed in text.

Codex Claromontanus, now Vaticanus, of century V, edited by Mai; a mixed text. (*k*).

Codex Vindobonensis, of century V or VI, parts of Mark and Luke. (*i*).

Codex Bobbiensis, now Taurinensis, of century V. (*k*).

JEROME'S REVISION.

In the last part of the fourth century the distinguished scholar Jerome made a revision of the Latin translation of the New Testament. In the year 392, in speaking of his work, he says: "I brought the New Testament into accord with the original Greek."¹ In his dedication to Damasus, prefixed to the gospels, Jerome says: "The four gospels have been revised by collating old Greek manuscripts. That they might not depart much from the usage of the Latin reading, we so modified them with our pen that we corrected only those passages which seemed to change the sense, and allowed the rest to remain as they were."² Jerome's translation of the Old Testament and revision of the New are the basis of the Vulgate. The most valuable manuscript of his edition is the Codex Amiatinus, written about A.D. 541. It has been published by Tischendorf. Tregelles has made it the basis of his Latin version printed in parallel columns with his Greek Text.

THE COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Coptic language, which sprang from the language of the ancient Egyptians, was used by the Christians in Egypt, from the beginning of the second century after Christ until the seventh, in speaking and writing, and especially in translating the Holy Scriptures. The names *Coptus*, *Copti*, and *Coptitæ*, as well as the Aiguptos of the Greeks, take their origin without doubt from the most ancient name of this country, very often found on the hieroglyphic monuments, Kahi-Ptah (the land of the God Ptah).³ Of the Coptic language there are three dialects: The Theban (or Sahidic), of Upper Egypt, the Memphitic, of Lower Egypt, and the Bashmuric,⁴ which seems to have been used in some part of the Delta.

¹ Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. De viris Illus., cap. 135.

² Quatuor Evangelia Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum Quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavi, ut his tantum, quæ sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.

³ Uhlemann, Linguae Copticæ Grammaticæ.

⁴ Uhlemann derives the name from Bash—Mareia (Μάρεια, Μαρεώρις, the name of lakes near Alexandria).

Christianity was introduced into Egypt as early as the last part of the first century. According to an ancient tradition, the evangelist Mark founded the Church in Alexandria, which in the second century was in a most flourishing condition. From this center Christianity must have soon spread to the adjoining regions of Egypt. "But although the Gospel," says Neander, "early found its way into the parts of Lower Egypt inhabited by Græcian and Jewish colonies, yet it would not be so easy for it to penetrate thence into Middle, and particularly into Upper Egypt; for in those parts the foreign Coptic language, the dominion of the priests, and the old Egyptian superstition stood in the way. Yet a persecution of the Christians in Thebais under Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211) proves that Christianity had already made progress in Upper Egypt as early as the last times of the second century."¹

It is not in the least degree probable that the Egyptian Christians would long remain without versions of the Holy Scriptures, the New Testament especially, in their vernacular dialects. Hence it is highly probable that their principal versions, the Memphitic and Sahidic, were made at the end of the *second* century or in the beginning of the *third*.

That the Christians of Middle Egypt had a version of the New Testament in Coptic in the second half of the *third* century appears from the life of St. Anthony. This hermit, born near Heracleia, in Middle Egypt, A.D. 251, "could not bear to learn letters," as Athanasius informs us, but gave attention when a boy to the reading of the Scriptures in the churches, and at the age of eighteen or twenty he was so affected at hearing read in the church Christ's advice to the rich young man (Matt. xix, 21) that he immediately left the church and disposed of all his real and personal estate for the benefit of others. That this reading of the Scriptures was in Coptic is clear from the fact that St. Anthony made an address to the monks in that language, but spoke to the Greek philosophers through an interpreter. St. Anthony's dialect was probably Memphitic.

THE MEMPHITIC VERSION.

This version takes its name from Memphis, the chief city of the region in which the most polished dialect of the Coptic (or Egyptian) was used. In 1716 David Wilkins, a Prussian, published, at Oxford, the Coptic New Testament in the Memphitic dialect from the Bodleian manuscripts, compared with others at Paris and the Vatican, accompanied with a Latin translation. This Latin version,

¹ History of the Church, vol. i, p. 83.

though highly creditable to Wilkins, as a pioneer in this department, has not been highly commended by the best Coptic scholars.

In 1846-47 M. G. Schwartz, Professor of Coptic in the University of Berlin, published at Leipsic the four gospels of the *Memphitic* version, with the title of "QUARTUOR EVANGELIA IN DIALECTO LINGUAE COPTICÆ MEMPHITICA PERSCRIPTA AD CODD. MS. COPTICORUM IN REGIA BIBLIOTHECA BEROLINENSI ADSERVATORUM NEC NON LIBRI A WILKINSIO EMISSI FIDEM," etc., in 2 vols. 4to., with beautiful type. The text is based on six codices, transcribed by Petrus in 1622, from copies of the tenth century and later. Professor Schwartz places below the text a collation of his Memphitic readings from manuscripts and from Wilkins along with the readings of the critical Greek texts of Tischendorf (1841) and Lachman (1842). He also introduces readings from the Sahidic (or Theban) version. Of the Sahidic readings he generally gives a Latin translation, but he translates only portions of the Memphitic text. For critical purposes this edition of Schwartz is the most valuable work yet published on the Egyptian versions of the four Gospels. After Schwartz's death Paulus Boetticher published at Halle, in 1852, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul in the Memphitic dialect. The text is based on the authority of four codices. No translation or commentary accompanies the text, and the editor satisfies himself with noting at the foot of the page the variations of his manuscripts.¹ The Memphitic version contains a large number of Greek words. It is a faithful translation of the original Greek.

THE THEBAIC (OR SAHIDIC) VERSION.

This version is named after Thebes, the chief city of the region in which it was used. It is of about the same age as the Memphitic (about A. D. 200), and, like that version, it contains numerous Greek words, which we would not have expected in an Upper Egypt version.

Of this version of the New Testament only fragments remain, of which the published portions are found almost exclusively in the following works:

Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e codice MS. Alexandrino a Carolo Godofredo Woide descripti, in qua continentur fragmenta Novi Testamenti Juxta interpretationem dialecti superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaidica vel sahidica appellatur, e codd. Oxoniensibus maxima ex parte desumpta cum Dissertatione de

¹ Of Boetticher's edition we have been able to obtain only the Acts of the Apostles.

Versione Bibb. *Ægyptica* quibus subjicitur codicis Vaticani Collatio. Oxonii, 1799. Fol.

Fr. Münter. Commentatio de indole versionis Sahidicæ Novi Testamenti. Accedunt Fragmenta Epistolarum Pauli ad Timotheum in membranis Sahidicis musei Borgiani Velitris, Havniæ, 1784.

Mingarelli, *Ægyptiorum codicum Reliquiæ Venetiis* in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ. Fasc. I, et II, Bononiæ, 1785.

Georgi. Fragmentum Evangelii St. Johannis Græco-Copto-Thebaicum sæculi IV., etc. Romæ, 1789. This fragment contains portions of John vi, vii, viii, in the Greek and Thebaic in parallel columns. The section containing the account of the woman taken in adultery (vii, 53-viii, 11) is wanting both in the Greek and Thebaic of this old fragment¹ belonging to the fourth or fifth century as viii, 12 joins on to vii, 52.

BASHMURIC VERSION.

This version is based on the Thebaic, and appears to have been made about A.D. 300. It is of but little importance. Only small fragments of this version are extant. They were published by Engelbreth: *Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Havniæ, 1811.

THE ÆTHIOPIC VERSION.

Christianity was introduced into Æthiopia (or Abyssinia) in the first half of the fourth century, by Frumentius, who became Bishop of Auxuma² (Axum). It is therefore very probable that the translation of the Bible, at least that of the New Testament, was made soon after this period into the vernacular of the country, the Geez, or Æthiopic, language. Chrysostom, about A.D. 400, speaks of the Æthiopians as possessing a translation of the Gospel of John,³ which naturally implies that they had a translation of other sacred Scripture. This translation is not a valuable one. "In fact," says Scrivener, "the version is so tautological, confused, and unequal in style (that of St. Paul's Epistles in particular often degenerating into a paraphrase), that some have thought our present text to be a compound of two several translations, and even Tregelles supposes that 'there was originally *one version* of the Gospels, afterward

¹ This fragment lies before me.

² Neander's History of the Church, vol. ii, pp. 119, 120.

³ The Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Æthiopians, and countless other nations have translated into their tongue the doctrines introduced by this one (John).—*Hom. in Joan*

compared with Greek manuscripts of a *different* class; and the manuscripts in general bearing proofs of containing a text *modified* by such comparison; while others contain throughout *conflate* readings.'"¹

The New Testament in this version (with the exception of the thirteen epistles of Paul) was first published at Rome by native editors in 1548, the thirteen epistles of Paul in the following year. "In Walton's Polyglot the New Testament was reprinted with many faults, and an unusually bad Latin translation by Dudley Loftus, from which Mill and his successors derived their various readings. C. A. Bode published a new or revised version of the Æthiopic New Testament given in the Polyglot (Brunswick, 1753). . . . Lastly, in 1826-30 in London, Th. Pell Platt, A.M., edited for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 'Nov. Testament . . . Æthiopice, ad codicum manusccriptorum fidem.'"²

THE GOTHIC VERSION.

In the *third* century of the Christian era the Goths, belonging to the Germanic family, invaded the Roman Empire. One part of them settled in Moesia—a region along the Danube, now embraced in Servia and Bulgaria—and obtained the name of Moeso-Goths. During some of their incursions they captured many Christians, and among them some persons of the clerical order. These captured Christians remained among them and laboured as zealous missionaries. A Gothic bishop is mentioned as being present at the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325. Ulphilas, who belonged to a Cappadocian family, was consecrated bishop of the Goths at Constantinople in A.D. 348, and became their apostle. "When the Christian Goths were oppressed by a persecution, he led a great multitude of them into the habitation about Nicopolis in Moesia, which Constantius had assigned them (355), where, after inventing the Gothic alphabet, he translated the Bible into Gothic" (Gieseler). Philostorgius, about A.D. 425, says that Ulphilas "translated into their (the Goths) language all the Scriptures except the Books of Kings" (Samuel and Kings).

The Gothic language belongs to the Germanic family of languages, and Bopp remarks: "I believe I am reading Sanscrit when I read the venerable Ulphilas; his language holds, so to speak, the middle ground between Sanscrit and German."³

¹ Introd. to the Text. Critic. of New Test., pp. 409, 410, 3d ed., 1883.

² Ibid., p. 410.

³ Introduction to the Gothic Language in J. P. Migne's edition of Ulphilas's Translation.

The Gothic language flourished but for a short time. In Moesia it was blotted out by the torrent of new people that poured in upon the regions of the Danube; and in the western regions of Europe it disappeared under the influence of the Latin.

The Gothic version was made from the original Greek text, "the authority of which nearly all agree that Ulphilas most scrupulously follows, rendering it word for word."¹ It is, accordingly, a valuable witness to the condition of the Greek text in the middle of the fourth century. The version, however, suffered some corruptions from Latin sources during the occupancy of Italy by the Goths in the fifth century. Of the manuscripts containing fragments of this version, the most important is the Codex Argenteus, written on purple vellum, in letters of gold and silver, near the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth, century in Italy, when the Goths dwelt there. It is now in the University of Upsal. It contains fragments of the four Gospels in the order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

The *Codex Carolinus*, rescript, was written about A.D. 500. It contains a part of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

The *Ambrosian Codices*, five in number, are in Milan. They contain fragments of thirteen Epistles of Paul (not Hebrews). They also belong to about A.D. 500.

The best and most complete edition of the Gothic version is that of H. C. De Gabelentz and J. Loebe: *Ulfilae Vet. et Nov. Testamenti versionis Gothicae Fragmenta supersunt*, Leipsic, 1843.

In J. P. Migne's edition of the Christian Fathers, vol. xviii, this edition of Gabelentz and Loebe is found accompanied with a Latin translation, Prolegomena, Gothic Grammar, and Glossary.² It contains about one fourth of Matthew's Gospel, nearly all Mark's, about three fourths of Luke's, and two thirds of John's, parts of all of the thirteen Epistles of Paul, amounting to about two thirds of their contents, but no part of the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the seven Catholic Epistles, or the Apocalypse.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

Christianity was introduced into Armenia as early as the second century. In the time of Diocletian, King Tiridates was won over to the Christian cause. "The old religion," says Neander, "notwithstanding this event, still continued to maintain itself in many of the Armenian provinces. In the beginning of the fifth century, Miesrob, who had once been the royal secretary, having devoted

¹ Gabelentz and Loebe's edition, Prolegomena.

² This edition now lies before me from the Dickinson College Library.

himself wholly to the service of religion, disseminated Christianity still more widely in countries to which it had not penetrated, by taking up his abode in those regions as a hermit. Up to this time the Syrian version of the Bible, the authority of which was recognized in the Persian Church, had been used in Armenia; and hence an interpreter was always needed to translate into the vernacular tongue the portions of Scripture read at the public worship. Miesrob gave his people an alphabet, and translated the Bible into their language."¹

The version was accordingly made in the first part of the *fifth* century. In the execution of the version from the original Greek, Miesrob was assisted by Moses Chorenensis and Joseph and Eznak, who brought Greek manuscripts from the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

The best edition of this version is that of Zohrab, published in 1789, on the basis of a Cilician Codex, compared with twenty others of the New Testament. His Biblia was published at Venice in 1805. Zohrab does not acknowledge any systematic corruption of the Armenian from the Latin Bible, and remarks that only one of his eighteen copies of the First Epistle of John contains chap. v, ver. 7.² Zohrab's edition of 1805 was used by Tregelles, through the assistance of Dr. Charles Rieu.³

Other versions of the New Testament were made at later periods, but they are of but little value as witnesses to the ancient text of the New Testament.

CHAPTER VII.

EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

AS the originals of the New Testament books must have been often copied, it is highly probable that in some instances the copies taken were not exact, and that slight errors crept into them. These copies in turn were at different times copied, and if faithfully executed, must have perpetuated these errors. But as some slight mistakes were likely made in these second copies, it is easy to see that in less than fifty years after the books of the New Testament were written, various readings must in all probability have arisen.

¹ History of the Church, vol. ii, pp. 113, 114.

² Scrivener, p. 408, 3d ed.

³ Tregelles' Introductory Note to his Crit. Ed. New Testament.

The number of these different readings were naturally increased with the number of the copies and with the lapse of time.

In some instances, a word or sentence written on the margin of a manuscript, as a suggestion or correction, would likely be incorporated into the text by a transcriber. Some transcribers would think that certain words were improperly spelt, and in attempting to correct them, in some cases, they themselves committed errors. This was the natural course of things, and could have been prevented only by a perpetual miracle, for which there was no necessity. The only instances in which no variety of readings exists in ancient writings are those in which *but a single copy* exists, and the text from this very fact is made more or less uncertain.

There can be no doubt that the followers of Mohammed especially venerated the Koran, and yet different readings in it soon presented themselves. "Already in the twelfth year of the Hegira," says Tischendorf, "when Abu Bekr had the different elements of the Koran collected, so many different readings were found, that he divided them into five classes. The consequence was that disputes very soon broke out among the Arabic scholars respecting the genuine text of their prophet. How was the matter decided? Twenty years later the Calif had a standard copy established, and all divergent copies destroyed. This conduct was at least worthy of the sword to which Mohammedanism owed its victories."¹

But what strong testimonies we have to the *integrity* of the New Testament! Versions made from the original Greek in the *second*, *third*, and *fourth* centuries in widely distant lands, and which are still in existence. Manuscripts going back to the *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* centuries; the extant works of Christian writers who, in all parts of the Roman Empire, from the middle of the *second* century, made the most extensive use of the New Testament, and give us numerous quotations. All these witnesses testify to the same great truths, and their divergences from each other are generally of small moment; and from the comparison and combination of the whole testimony we can, in almost every instance, detect the specific errors of each witness, and fix with a wonderful degree of exactness the contents of the original documents for which they are vouchers. For the integrity of what writing of the Augustine age have we so many witnesses?

That great scholar and critic, Richard Bentley, thus gives his testimony upon the essential agreement of the Greek manuscripts of

¹ Haben Wir den ächten Schrifttext der Evangelisten und Apostel? Leipzig. 1873, p. 13.

the New Testament: "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all. 'Tis competently exact, indeed, in the worst manuscript now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them, choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design out of the whole lump of writings."¹ Bentley's remarks, made more than one hundred and fifty years ago, respecting the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, are true now with our enlarged knowledge of them.

The Greek New Testament was first printed by Cardinal Ximenes in his Polyglot, but as he deferred its publication until the whole of his Polyglot should be finished, the Greek Testament published at Basel, in February, 1516, under the supervision of Erasmus, anticipated it. It was accompanied with a Latin translation. In 1519 he published a second edition, and a third in 1522, in which he introduced 1 John v, 7. Soon after the first edition appeared, the Complutensian Polyglot was published by Cardinal Ximenes. The fourth edition of Erasmus followed in 1527, and his fifth and last in 1535.

"Erasmus's materials," says Tregelles, "were but few in comparison with those which have been since available for purposes of criticism; they were also comparatively modern."²

In the years 1546 and 1549 Robert Stephens printed at Paris two beautiful small editions of the Greek Testament, and in 1550 appeared his folio edition, in the margin of which were given various readings from manuscripts, which had been collated by his son, Henry Stephens. The editions of 1546 and 1549 had contained a text blended from the Complutensian and Erasmian; in the folio Erasmus was almost exclusively followed.³ On the readings in this folio edition Tregelles says: "This was the first *collection* of various readings of any extent; and it was at least suggestive of what might be done by means of manuscripts in emending the text of the Greek Testament."

Theodore Beza succeeded Robert Stephens as an editor of the Greek Testament. He published five editions in 1565, 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598. He mostly followed the text of Stephens.⁴ Beza's text was during his life in very general use among Protestants; they seemed to feel that enough had been done to establish it, and they relied on it as giving them a firm basis.⁵

¹ Remarks on Free Thinking in Scrivener, p. 7.

² Account of the Printed Text of the New Test., p. 28.

³ Tregelles' Account of the Printed Text, p. 30.

⁴ Tregelles, p. 33.

⁵ Ibid.

The celebrated printers at Leyden, the Elzevirs, issued their first edition of the Greek Testament in 1624. "The editor, if any," says Tregelles, "is wholly unknown; it is probable that the printers took the third edition of Robert Stephens as their basis, introducing merely a few changes, which they considered to be corrections, and using for this purpose a copy of one of Beza's editions." "In 1633 the publishers themselves brought out their own second edition, which is considered their best . . . A high ground is assumed as to the text which is thus presented. The reader is told, 'Thou hast the text now received by all, in which we give nothing altered or corrupted' (*Textum, ergo habes, nunc ab Omnibus receptum*, etc.). From this expression in the preface has arisen the phrase, 'Textus Receptus,' as applied to the text of the Greek Testaments in common use, on the supposition that they were accurate reprints of the Elzevir editions."¹

In 1707 John Mill published an edition of the Greek Testament, with various readings from manuscript versions and fathers, a work upon which he spent thirty years. He did not form a new text, but simply used the third edition of Stephens, correcting the errata.

Dr. Edward Wells published a Greek Testament, with an English translation, notes, and a paraphrase at Oxford in separate parts, from 1709 to 1719.

The celebrated Richard Bentley made elaborate preparations for issuing a critical edition of the Greek Testament, and in 1720 he "issued his proposals for his Greek and Latin New Testament, accompanied by the last chapter of the Revelation, as a specimen." This contemplated great work was never completed.

John Albert Bengel published at Tübingen, in 1734, his edition of the Greek New Testament. The critical apparatus was, for the most, taken from Mill.

John J. Wetstein published at Amsterdam, in 1751 and 1752, an edition of the Greek Testament in two vols., accompanied by Prolegomena, in which he pointed out the manuscripts, versions, and fathers by whose aid the text of the New Testament may be revised.

J. J. Griesbach issued at Halle, in 1774-75, his edition of the Greek New Testament in three volumes. He afterward combined the first two volumes—embracing the Gospels and Acts—into one, for convenience, and published it at Halle in 1777, to which the edition of the Epistles and Apocalypse of 1775 forms the second part.

Tregelles remarks on Griesbach: "With him, in fact, texts which

¹ Tregelles, p. 35.

might be called really critical begin; so that if any one wished to give the results of critical inquiries, as applied to the common text, he would begin with that formed by Griesbach."¹

C. F. Matthæi published at Riga, in twelve volumes, 1782-88, the New Testament in Greek and Latin. J. M. Scholz published an edition of the Greek Testament at Leipsic, 1830-1836, in two volumes, in the preparation of which he made extensive travels for the collection and collation of manuscripts.

In 1831 Carl Lachmann issued at Berlin a small edition of the Greek Testament. It was the result of close and careful study for five years. He sought to carry out the idea of Bentley, to present the text of the New Testament as it originally stood in the oldest witnesses. Respecting him, Tregelles affirms: "*The first Greek Testament, since the invention of printing, edited wholly on ancient authority, irrespective of modern traditions, is due to Charles Lachmann.*"²

A larger edition of Lachmann's Greek Testament was published, with the aid of P. Buttmann, in two volumes, 1842, 1850, at Berlin.

We now come to the most distinguished of the critical editors of the Greek Testament, CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF. This eminent scholar published the first edition of his Greek Testament at Leipsic, in 1841, a small 8vo. He gives us a text of his own, in which, however, for the most part, he adheres to the text of Lachmann. Tischendorf also superintended three editions of the New Testament, which were published at Paris in 1842. In 1840, and subsequently, he visited the Libraries in Paris, England, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy to collect materials for his critical editions of the Greek Testament.

In 1844 he visited the monasteries of the East in quest of manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures.

In 1849 Tischendorf published at Leipsic his second edition of the Greek Testament, in which he gives the text, as he supposes it ought to stand, the result of the labors of previous collators and of his own. He also at various times issued other editions.

In 1859, the same year in which he discovered the Codex Sinaiticus, he published what he calls his "Seventh larger critical edition."

In 1864 Tischendorf began his eighth and last large critical edition, the first volume of which, containing the four Gospels, was published in 1869 at Leipsic; and the second, containing the rest

¹ The Printed Text of the Greek Testament, p. 82.

² Ibid, p. 113.

of the Greek New Testament, appeared in the same city in 1872. As Tischendorf died in 1874, the *Prolegomena*,¹ which were to form the third volume, were not completed.

Tischendorf lays down the following principles for the formation of his text, which Tregelles quotes with approbation: "The text is only to be sought from ancient evidence, and especially from Greek manuscripts, but without neglecting the testimonies of versions and fathers. Thus the whole conformation of the text should proceed from the evidences themselves, and not from what is called the *received* edition." In the Introduction to his eighth larger critical edition Tischendorf declares his adherence to the idea of Richard Bentley, which was followed by Lachmann, to establish the text from the few oldest manuscripts, confirmed by the authority of some of the oldest versions, especially the Latin, and by the testimonies of the fathers in all cases, and to give a subordinate authority to the codices.

The eighth critical edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament is furnished with extensive critical apparatus in the form of readings from the oldest Greek manuscript versions, and citations from the early fathers, upon the basis of which he rests his critical text.

This edition of Tischendorf's places before us the text of the New Testament in a very accurate form, such as it was known to the fathers of the second and third centuries, and must present to us a very exact copy of the writings of the New Testament as delivered by its different authors.

Tischendorf also rendered great services to the Christian world by publishing various ancient codices of the New Testament, and by thus placing the grounds of the authority of our Greek Testament within the reach of all scholars.

In the same rank with Tischendorf as a critical editor stands the Englishman Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, inferior to him, perhaps, in learning, but not in critical ability and acumen.

This distinguished scholar published, in 1844, a Greek text of the Book of Revelation from ancient authorities, with an English translation, and announced his intention of editing the Greek Testament with various readings. In executing this work he has adopted the following plan:

"I. To give the text of the New Testament on the authority of the ancient witnesses, manuscripts, and versions, with the aid of the earliest citations, so as to present, as far as possible, the text best attested in the earlier centuries.

"II. To follow *certain proofs*, when obtainable, which carry us as near as possible to the Apostolic Age.

¹ Dr. Gregory, of Leipzig, is preparing for publication the *Prolegomena*.

"III. So to give the various readings as to make it clear what is the evidence on both sides; and always to give the whole of the testimony of the ancient manuscripts (and of some which are later in date but old in text) of the versions as far as the seventh century, and the citations down to Eusebius inclusive."¹ In carrying out this plan, Tregelles most laboriously collated manuscripts, examined ancient versions, and studied extensively the patristic writings.

The first part, containing Matthew and Mark, was published in 1857; the second part, containing Luke and John, appeared in 1861; the Acts and Catholic Epistles in 1865; the fourth part, embracing Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philip-pians, Colossians, and First and Second Thessalonians, appeared in 1869; the fifth part, containing the Epistle to the Hebrews, First and Second Timothy, Titus, and the Epistle to Philemon, were published in 1870; the sixth part, containing the Apocalypse, appeared in 1872.

Parallel with the Greek text, Tregelles gives the Latin version of Jerome from the Codex Amiatinus, written about A.D. 541.

The protracted illness and the death of Tregelles prevented him from completing his work, and the *seventh* part, containing "Prolegomena and addenda and corrigenda," was compiled and edited by F. J. A. Hort, D.D., and A. W. Streane, A.M., and published in 1879, after the death of Tregelles. The whole work makes a quarto volume of 1070 pages, besides Prolegomena of xxxii pages, and is published in London by Samuel Bagster & Sons. In every respect this edition of Tregelles is worthy of the highest praise. It is to be regretted, however, that his death prevented his publishing a revised edition of the whole work. Codex Sinaiticus is not used until near the close of John's Gospel.

A later critical text of the Greek of the highest value has been prepared by Drs. Westcott and Hort, with an Introduction by Dr. Philip Schaff. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

¹ Introductory notice to his critical edition.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE canonical books of the New Testament, as held by all bodies¹ of Christians, with the exception of some individuals, however, are the following: The four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke; fourteen Epistles of Paul—one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians; to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, each one; to the Thessalonians, and to Timothy, each two; one to Titus and one to Philemon, and an Epistle to the Hebrews; the General Epistle of James, two General Epistles of Peter, one General Epistle and two small Epistles of John, the General Epistle of Jude, and the Book of Revelation.

The foregoing is the order of the books in the English version. But Tischendorf and Tregelles, in their critical editions of the Greek, follow another order, the same as that of the Vatican² manuscript, of the fourth century, and the Alexandrian, of the following century. After the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, they arrange the other books thus: The Epistle of James, two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles to Timothy, the one to Titus, that to Philemon, and the Revelation. It must be acknowledged, however, that our present canon of the New Testament was not universally received, in all its parts, in the first three centuries after the apostolic age, as there were doubts about the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, and about the authors of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Revelation.

The books that compose our canon of the New Testament were written, in all probability, between A. D. 50 and 90.³ They were called forth on various occasions, to meet the wants of the infant Church. Some were written originally for some particular society, and others for the whole Church.

¹ The ancient Syriac version, the Peshito, however, wants the Second Epistle of Peter, that of Jude, Second and Third John, and the Revelation.

² The Vatican MS., however, does not extend farther than Hebrews ix, 14.

³ It is probable that the so-called Second Epistle of Peter was written late...

Luke dedicates his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to Theophilus, though, doubtless, intending them for general circulation. But even the writings which were addressed to special societies would soon be copied and circulated throughout the Christian world. And St. Paul himself, near the close of his Epistle to the Colossians, requests, "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea."

Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, written in the latter part of the *first* century, refers to Paul's first epistle¹ to them, and from the way he speaks of matters mentioned in that epistle it is evident he had a copy of it before him. He also had before him the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the Epistle to the Hebrews,² and in all probability the Gospels of Matthew³ and Luke.⁴

In the Epistle of Barnabas, written most probably in the last part of the *first* century, there is a passage quoted, found in Matt. xxii, 14, with the remark, *as it is written*.⁵ This is the formula with which the Jews quoted the Old Testament Scriptures, and it is probable that the Gospel of Matthew was already arranged along with other sacred books in use in the Christian Church.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, written soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius, and therefore somewhere between A. D. 107 and 116, contains references to various books of the New Testament, though not specified by name, except where he speaks of Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. Besides this reference we find the exact language used in Matt. xxvi, 41 and Mark xiv, 38, and a passage from Acts ii, 24. He introduces a passage from 1 Corinthians with the remark, "As Paul says." We also find a reference to Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Ephesians, First Epistle to Timothy, the First of Peter, and First of John. Besides the passage mentioned as being found in Matthew and Mark, there seems to be an evident quotation from Matthew's report of the sermon on the mount. From this it will appear that Polycarp must have had a collection of New Testament writings consisting of at least *eight* books. There is a clear reference to such a collection where he says, "I trust ye are well exercised in the holy writings, as in these Scriptures it is said, Be ye angry, and sin not, and, Let not the

¹ Sec. 47.

² Sec. 36 refers to Heb. i, 3, 4; sec. 17, to Heb. ili, 2 and xi.

³ In sec. 46, to Matt. xviii, 6.

⁴ In sec. 13 the reference is to Luke vi, 36-38.

⁵ Hilgenfeld places it about A. D. 97.

⁶ "Many are called, few are chosen." The Greek in Matthew and Barnabas is the same.

sun go down upon your wrath." Here he quotes Eph. iv, 26 as a part of Holy Scripture.

Justin Martyr, about A. D. 139, in his first Apology for the Christians, states that they were accustomed to meet "on the day of the sun, so called, when *The Memoirs of the Apostles*, or *the writings of the prophets*, are read as long as time allows."¹ He had just before remarked, "For the apostles, in the *memoirs* composed by them, called *Gospels*, have delivered that Jesus, having taken bread and given thanks, commanded them, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' " etc. In his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, written soon afterwards, he describes the Gospels more accurately, as "*written by the apostles and their companions*."² In his first Apology he gives quotations from *all four* of our Gospels—mostly from Matthew and Luke. There is no doubt that the apostolic Epistles had been already collected, but, probably, they were not read as regularly as the Gospels in the public assemblies.

About A. D. 140 Marcion, a noted heretic, made a collection of sacred Scriptures for his own use, embracing an abridged edition of Luke's Gospel, and *ten* Epistles of Paul, some of which he mutilated. These books he took from the canon in use in the Christian Church. Epiphanius³ charges him with arranging the Epistles in a different order from that in which they stood in the Christian collection. In the latter part of the second century it appears that the sacred books formed *two* divisions, *The Gospels* (τὰ εὐαγγελικά) and *The Epistles* (τὰ ἀποστολικά).⁴ Tertullian speaks of *Gospels* (*evangelia*), and *Apostles* (*apostoli*).⁵

CHAPTER IX.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY CHURCH RESPECTING THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE earliest known catalogue of the books of the New Testament is the fragment in Latin, commonly called the *Canon of Muratori*, from its discoverer, a distinguished Italian antiquarian, who found it in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and published it in 1740. The fragment itself contains internal evidence that it was written *soon after the middle of the second century*. In speaking of Hermas, the author of the fragment re-

¹ Sec. 67.

² Sec. 103.

³ *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. i. tom. iii, hæres. xlii, 373.

⁴ Irenæus, lib. i, 3. 6.

⁵ *Adversus Praxeam*, cap. xv.

marks that he wrote the (work called) Pastor *very recently*, in our times (*nuperrime nostris temporibus*), in the city of Rome, while his brother Pius sat as bishop of the Church in the city of Rome. The date of the episcopate of Pius is variously stated, some placing it A. D. 127-142, others 142-157. If we take the latest date, and suppose that Hermas wrote about A. D. 150, the Canon of Muratori was written about A. D. 160; otherwise it could not be said that he wrote *very recently* (*nuperrime*). After the lapse of *ten* years, we can scarcely say that the late civil war in the United States was *very* recently waged. The fragment, though abounding in blunders of transcribers, is sufficiently clear in the most important points, and, as there can be no doubt that it is a genuine document, it has been almost universally deemed to be of great value.

The first part of the Canon—from the destruction of one leaf or more of the MS.—is wanting. It begins with the words, *quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit*: “at which he was, nevertheless, present, and thus stated.” These words evidently refer to Mark’s Gospel, for the canon immediately adds: “the third book of the Gospel is according to Luke,” after which it places the fourth Gospel as that of John. The Acts of the Apostles it ascribes to Luke, and states that Paul wrote *two* Epistles to the Corinthians; that next he wrote to the Ephesians, then to the Philippians, Colossians, and Galatians in order, then two Epistles to the Thessalonians, also to the Romans in the seventh place. It names two Epistles to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon, and ascribes the Apocalypse to John, and also attributes to him the First Epistle which now bears his name, a part of which it quotes, and names two (other) Epistles as his, and ascribes one to Jude. In this list we miss the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, and the two of Peter. It says: “The Apocalypse of John and of Peter only we receive, which some of us are not willing should be read in the Church.” It is doubtful whether this refers to the Revelations both of John and Peter, or to the latter alone. There is an obscure reference to the Wisdom of Solomon, though it is not easy to see why that book should be named. In the imperfect state of this “Canon” no valid objection can be made against the omitted books, as it is well known that the *First* Epistle of Peter was universally received in the early Church. There can be no doubt that the Gospel of Matthew stood first in this “Canon,”¹ as it was always placed first by the ancients.

¹ The Canon of Muratori has been at different times published. The best edition is that of Dr. S. P. Tregelles, who published a facsimile of it in 1867, made from the original in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, which he accompanies with a critical commentary. This edition lies before me.

The Latin version of the New Testament, sometimes called the *Itala*, made about the middle of the second century, most probably in Northern Africa, contained the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Jude, the First Epistle of Peter, the First of John, and probably the other two, and the Apocalypse. These books were received by Tertullian, who flourished in Northern Africa, A. D. 193-220, and they doubtless were found in the old Latin version to which he refers¹ as being in use in his time. The Epistle to the Hebrews he thinks was written by Barnabas;² the Apocalypse he attributes to the Apostle John.³ He speaks of the First Epistle of John, by which he implies the existence of at least one other.⁴ But we can find in his works no reference to the *Second* Epistle of Peter, and it is probable that it was not received by him. Nor do we find any very probable reference to the Epistle of James. Whether it was received by him or not is difficult to say. In the ancient MSS. of the Old Latin version, preceding that of Jerome, all our Books of the New Testament are found, either entire or in fragments. But we cannot assert with safety that the *earliest* Latin version originally contained the *Second* Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of James. The *earliest* Syriac version of the New Testament, the Peshito, made in all probability about the middle of the second century, contains all our canonical books, with the exception of the *Second* Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, Second and Third of John, and the Apocalypse.

The canon of Titus Flavius Clemens, president of the catechetical school of Alexandria (A. D. 191-202), embraced the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul,⁵ the First Epistle of Peter, the First Epistle of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, which he attributes to John,⁶ doubtless meaning the apostle. It is evident from his language that he knew, at least, of one other Epistle of John, for he quotes the *First* as his larger epistle.⁷ We can find no certain reference to the Epistle of James. Of the *Second* Epistle of Peter we discover not a vestige. We find no reference to the Epistle to Philemon, but this is not surprising, as he had no occasion to quote it.

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (about A. D. 250), uses all our books except Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. His canon differs but little, if any, from that of Tertullian.

¹ Liber de Monogamia, cap. xi.

² Liber de Pudicitia, cap. xx.

³ Advers. Marc., lib. iii, cap. xiv.

⁴ De Pudicitia, cap. xix.

⁵ The Epistle to the Hebrews is included in these.

⁶ Stromatum, lib. vi, 13.

⁷ Ibid., ii, 15.

From the works of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (177–202), it is evident that his canon consisted of the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, twelve Epistles of Paul, First Epistle of Peter, First and Second of John, and the Apocalypse, which he ascribes to “John, the disciple of the Lord.”¹ Besides these books, he has a probable reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews.² He makes no reference to the Epistle of Philemon, which is not strange; none that is at all probable to the Second Epistle of Peter, or to the Epistle of Jude, but gives one passage from the Epistle of James.³

In the first half of the *third* century flourished Origen—first at Alexandria, in the catechetical school, and afterwards as presbyter in Cæsarea Palestinæ—one of the greatest and most learned Christians of the earlier centuries. It is interesting to inquire what was his canon of New Testament Scripture? The canon of Origen embraced the four Gospels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles,⁴ at least thirteen⁵ Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of John, the First of Peter, the Epistle of James, and the Apocalypse, which he ascribes to the Apostle John. He speaks of the Second Epistle of Peter as being doubted, as well as the Second and the Third of John;⁶ and although he makes no use of these three Epistles, nor of Jude’s, so far as we can see, yet in the seventh Homily on the book of Joshua, he remarks, “Peter also sounds the two trumpets of his Epistles; also James and Jude.”⁷

Eusebius, the learned Church historian, bishop of Cæsarea Palestinæ from about A. D. 315 until 340, gives a catalogue of the books of the New Testament in the following language: “First must be placed the holy quaternion of the Gospels, which the book of the Acts of the Apostles follows; after this are to be placed the Epistles of Paul; after which we are confidently to admit the reputed First Epistle of John, and likewise that of Peter. After these are to be placed, if it seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we will state the opinions at the proper time. And these are acknowledged. Of the disputed books, yet well known to the most, is the so-called Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, and the Second Epistle of Peter, and those which are called the Second and Third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist, or to some one of the same name.”

¹ Contra Hæreses, lib. v. cap. xxvi, 1.

² Ibid., lib. ii, cap. xxx, 9.

³ Cap. ii, 23 in Contra Hæreses, lib. iv, cap. xvi, 2.

⁴ Which he ascribes to Luke Hom. vii, in lib. Josh.

⁵ Although Origen at different times quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as Paul’s, yet at other times he doubts its Pauline origin. Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, cap. xxv We do not find any mention that Origen makes of the Epistle to Philemon.

⁶ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, xxv.

⁷ In the Latin translation of Rufinus

"Among *spurious* writings are to be reckoned the book of the *Acts of Paul*, and the book called the *'Shepherd*, and the *Revelation of Peter*. Besides these, the reputed *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the so-called *Doctrines of the Apostles*. And besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which, as I said, some reject, but others reckon as genuine among the acknowledged books. Already some have reckoned among these (the spurious) *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with which those Hebrews who have accepted Christ are greatly pleased. All these might be classed as disputed writings. Nevertheless, we have made the list of these books, as being necessary, distinguishing the Scriptures that are true, genuine, and acknowledged, according to the tradition of the Church, from those writings which are different from these, which are not in the New Testament canon, but are also disputed, yet known to the most of the ecclesiastical writers. In this way we can know both these books themselves, and those which are produced by the heretics in the name of the apostles, whether as containing *Gospels of Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Matthew*, or of some other apostles, or as containing the *Acts of Andrew and John*, and of the other apostles, none of which has any one in the succession of ecclesiastical writers deigned to mention in his writings. The character of the style also differs widely from apostolic usage, and the purpose and scope of the things contained in them, diverging as widely as possible from true orthodoxy, clearly show that they indeed are the fictions of heretical men. Wherefore they are not to be reckoned among even spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious."

Such was the state of the canon when Eusebius wrote his Church History, a short time before the Council of Nicæa.

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 351 and later), states that the following books compose the canon of the New Testament: The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, seven Catholic Epistles of James, and Peter, John, and Jude, and fourteen Epistles of Paul. He considers no other books of authority.¹ He makes no mention of the Apocalypse.

The great theologian, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 328 and later), in his thirty-ninth Festal Epistle, gives the following catalogue of the New Testament books: Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Epistles called Catholic, of the apostles, viz., one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude. Besides these, fourteen Epistles of Paul, arranged in the following order: the first to the Romans, then two to the Corinthians, after

The canon according to Athanasius.

¹ Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. xxv.

² Catechesis iv, sec. xxvii.

these (one) to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and, last, one to Philemon, and the Apocalypse of John. "These are the fountains of salvation, so that whoever thirsts may fill himself with the oracles contained in them. In these only is the doctrine of piety taught. Let no one add to them, or take any thing away from them."¹

Gregory Nazianzen, who flourished in Cappadocia in the latter half of the fourth century, gives the canon of the New Testament, in which he enumerates the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and fourteen Epistles of Paul. He remarks that some assert that the Epistle to the Hebrews is spurious, but that in this they are mistaken. Of the Catholic Epistles, says he, some say that seven, others that only three, viz., one of James, one of Peter, and one of John, ought to be received. Some, says he, accept the Apocalypse of John, but the most assert it to be spurious.²

Didymus († 396), head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, in addition to the books of the canon everywhere recognised, makes use of the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, that of Jude, and the Apocalypse.

Rufinus, of Aquileia in Northern Italy, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century and in the beginning of the fifth, gives the following list of the books of the New Testament: "Four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, which Luke wrote; fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, two of the Apostle Peter, one of James, the brother of the Lord, and apostle; one of Jude, three of John, and the Apocalypse of John. These are the books which our fathers included in the canon, and from which they wished the principles of our faith to be established."³

The canon of Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the latter part of the fourth century, embraced, as appears from his works, the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, at least thirteen Epistles of Paul, two Epistles of Peter, First John, and the Apocalypse, which he ascribes to John the evangelist.⁴

A question has been raised about the genuineness of this epistle, which is mutilated. There are, however, no valid grounds for doubting its genuineness. From examining the works of Athanasius, we find that he uses all the books of our present New Testament canon, except the Second and Third Epistles of John and the Epistle to Philemon, which there was no occasion to quote.

¹ Carminum, lib. ii, lines 290-318. ² Commentaries in Symbol. Apostol., sec. 37.

³ We have not been able to find any reference in his undoubted works to James's Epistle, or Jude's, or Second and Third John, or Philemon. There was no occasion to quote Philemon. It is very probable that the omitted Epistles were received by him.

The Canon of Hilary, bishop of Pictavi (Poitiers), in western Gaul, in the middle of the fourth century, embraced the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, at least thirteen Epistles of Paul (the Hebrews being ascribed to him), two Epistles of Peter, the First Epistle of John, and the Apocalypse. He manifestly regards this last book as belonging to the Apostle John. We do not find any mention of the Epistle to Philemon, nor of Second and Third John, which is not strange, considering their brevity. We have been unable to find any reference to the Epistle of James.

The Canon of Ephraem¹ the Syrian, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century, embraced the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, twelve Epistles of Paul (including the Epistle to the Hebrews), the Epistle of James, two Epistles of Peter, First and Second John, Jude, and the Apocalypse; of this last book he quotes² as John's a part of chap. i, 7. It thus appears that his canon included more books than the Peshito version which omitted Second Peter, Jude, Second and Third John, and the Apocalypse. Though we have not found any quotations from the Epistles to Titus and Philemon, we do not doubt that they formed a part of Ephraem's Canon.

Titus, bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, soon after the middle of the fourth century, in his work against the Manichæans uses our four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostle, the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, the one to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. In his oration on the Palm Branches, he also uses the two Epistles to Timothy, and the Epistle to the Philippians. He doubtless received the other³ books of our canon, which he had no occasion to quote in the two named works, which contain about one hundred pages.

The Canon of Methodius, bishop of Patara in Lycia, and afterward of Tyre (martyred A. D. 311), as appears from his "*Convivium Decem Virginum*," which Neander regards as "the most important and authentic of his extant writings," contained the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, those to the Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, the two Epistles to Timothy, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. In some other small works, published as his, we find a reference to the Epistle to Titus, First Epistle of Peter, and probably the First of John.

¹ The edition of Ephraem's works, which we consulted, in the Astor Library, New York, is that published in Rome in six volumes, folio, 1732-46. Three of the volumes are in Syriac and Latin, and three in Greek and Latin.

² Ib., vol. iii, p. 146, in the Greek. ³ The Apocalypse might possibly be an exception

The canon of the celebrated John Chrysostom, first deacon, then presbyter, at Antioch in the latter part of the fourth century, afterwards bishop of Constantinople (398-407), was as follows, in his own language: "The books of the New Testament are, the fourteen Epistles of Paul, the four Gospels, two belonging to the disciples of Christ, John and Matthew, two of Luke and Mark, one of whom was a disciple of Peter, and the other of Paul. For the first two (evangelists) were eye-witnesses of Christ's life, and associated with him. The other two (evangelists) delivered to others what they had received from them (Peter and Paul), the Book of the Acts, belonging to Luke, who related the transactions, and of the Catholic Epistles three."¹ These three are, the Epistle of James, the First of Peter, and First of John, which we find quoted in his works. His canon is the same as that of the Peshito-Syriac version, omitting Second Peter, Second and Third John, Jude, and the Apocalypse.

From the canon of Chrysostom we pass to that of Epiphanius, the learned metropolitan bishop in the island of Cyprus in the last part of the fourth century. His canon, as is seen from his works, certainly contained all our canonical books, with the possible, but not probable, exception of Jude and the Third Epistle of John.²

We pass next to the celebrated Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, in Northern Africa, from about 395 until 430. In his work on Christian Doctrine (lib. ii, cap. viii) he gives the following list of the canonical books of the New Testament: "Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; fourteen Epistles of Paul—to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians, two to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; the Acts of the Apostles in one book, and the Apocalypse of John in one book."

The canon received by Augustine.

From Augustine we turn naturally to Jerome, the greatest biblical scholar in the early Church. Born at Stridon, on the border of Hungary, about A. D. 340, he studied at Rome, ^{The canon of Jerome.}

¹ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς καινῆς (Διαθήκης) βιβλία, αἱ ἑπιστολαὶ αἱ δεκατέσσαρες Παύλου, τὰ Εὐαγγέλια τὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰωάννου, καὶ Μαρκίου, δύο δὲ Λουκᾶ καὶ Μάρκου. Ὡς δὲ μὲν τοῦ Πέτρου, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Παύλου γεγονῆναι μαθηταὶ οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόπται ἦσαν γεγενημένοι, καὶ συγγενόμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ. Οἱ δὲ παρ' ἡμεῶν τὰ ἐκείνων διαδεξάμενοι εἰς ἑτέροις ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ τὸ τῶν Πράξεων δὲ βιβλίον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Λουκᾶ λοτορήσαντος τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ἑπιστολὰς τρεῖς.—Synopsis of Holy Scripture, vol. vi, Migne's edition.

² We have one probable reference to Jude in *Adversus Hæres.*, lib. i, tom. iii, c. lii *Hæres.* We find no reference to the Third Epistle of John, which there was no occasion to quote.

and, after spending a considerable number of years in different parts of Gaul and Italy, he left for the East about 385, where he spent the rest of his life, principally at Bethlehem, in Palestine, dying there A. D. 420. The statement of a scholar of such learning and extensive travels respecting the canonical Books of the New Testament must be of great value. In the Introduction to his Commentary on Matthew he gives an account of the origin of the *four* Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which he regards as the only authentic histories of Jesus Christ. In his work on illustrious men he attributes the Acts of the Apostles to Luke, the companion of Paul. To Paul he ascribes one Epistle to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. But the Epistle to the Hebrews is not believed to be his, he says, on account of its difference of style and language, but is supposed to belong either to Barnabas, according to Tertullian, or to the evangelist Luke, according to some, or to Clement, afterwards bishop of the Roman Church, who, they say, arranged and adorned in his own language the thoughts of Paul.

Of James he remarks, that "he wrote one epistle only, which, it is asserted, was published by some one else under the apostle's name, notwithstanding it has gradually obtained authority in the course of time." Respecting Peter, he remarks: "He wrote *two* epistles which are called catholic, the second of which is denied by most persons to be his, on account of its style being different from that of the first epistle." He states that the *Epistle of Jude* is rejected by most persons, because its author makes use of testimony in it from the apocryphal Book of Enoch. He adds: "Nevertheless, it has deserved authority from its antiquity and use, and is reckoned among the sacred Scriptures." He attributes to the Apostle John *one* epistle, "which is approved by all the ecclesiastical writers and learned men," but says that the Second and Third of John are asserted to belong to John the presbyter of Ephesus. To the Apostle John he ascribes the Apocalypse.¹

To these testimonies to the canon of the New Testament may be added that furnished by the Memphitic (or Coptic), Theban (or Sahidic), Æthiopic, and Armenian versions² of the New Testament. The two Egyptian versions, Mem-

The canon in the older versions.

¹ Liber de Viris Illustribus.

² The Gothic version was made in the fourth century by Ulfilas. Of this version fragments of the four Gospels and thirteen Epistles of Paul have been found and published. Whether Ulfilas translated the whole of the New Testament is uncertain.

phitic and Theban, were made about the beginning of the *third* century. The first of these contained all the books of our present canon, and so, doubtless, did the other, though there have been no remains of Titus and Philemon found in it. The Æthiopic and Armenian versions, made in the fourth century, contained all our present canon.

In concluding this part of our subject we may remark, that while the genuineness and authority of some of the less important books of our present canon were at various times called in question by Christian scholars, we have at the same time seen, that from the middle of the second century downwards, the most of our sacred writings, embracing the most important, namely, *the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of Peter, and the First of John*, were received everywhere throughout the Christian world without any doubt respecting their genuineness and authority. Such a universal reception, so close to the apostolic age, furnishes an incontrovertible proof of the genuineness of these writings. Numerous passages from these books are interwoven in the discourses and discussions of the fathers of the Church from the last half of the *second* century downwards, forming an integral part of their principles and arguments. Great use was also made of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse; but the Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of James, and that of Jude, were little used in the first three centuries after the apostolic age.¹

¹ The Second Epistle of John is rarely quoted. It consists of but *thirteen* verses, and there was hardly any occasion to use it; still less to quote the *Third*.

CHAPTER X.

GENUINENESS OF CANONICAL BOOKS OF NEW TESTAMENT

THE FOUR GOSPELS.

WE have already seen that the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were everywhere received throughout the whole Christian world, forming a part of all the early versions of the New Testament, from the old Latin version and the Peshito-Syriac of the middle of the second century to the Armenian and Gothic in the fourth; that they were acknowledged to be the works of the authors whose names they bear, and are quoted as containing the authentic history of Jesus Christ by all the Christian writers throughout the world, from Justin Martyr (about A. D. 140) to Jerome and Augustine (about A. D. 400). Such unanimity upon a subject of deepest interest, which attracted a world-wide attention, is of itself a strong ground for belief that we possess in these four Gospels the genuine history of Christ, delivered by two of his apostles and two of their companions. If these four documents contained nothing but ordinary history, this unanimity of testimony would be considered as absolutely conclusive, and no further consideration of the subject would be deemed necessary. But as these books, if genuine, establish the title of Jesus Christ as the Messiah, and his right to the homage and obedience of mankind, men are disposed to ask for stronger testimony to establish their genuineness than they would demand to support the claims of ordinary history. It must be acknowledged, however, that the truth of Christianity does not depend upon the genuineness of the Gospels, and that the universally acknowledged apostolic Epistles would establish the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, especially the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which, in fact, stands independent of even their testimony. But without these Gospels we would have no authentic history of the Founder of Christianity, and the system would be mutilated.¹

In presenting the *external* evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels in a more definite and specific manner, we may begin with the learned Church historian, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea Palestinæ,

¹ It must, however, be observed that the fact of the reception of our Gospels in the apostolic age, or immediately afterward, would show that they were regarded as containing the authentic history of Christ, and their authority would be of great value, even though not written by those whose names they bear.

who wrote his history of the Church a short time before the Council of Nicæa, which was held A. D. 325. Eusebius had the advantages of the library of ecclesiastical writers which his friend Pamphilus had collected at Cæsarea. Many of these writings are lost, especially many of those belonging to the *first part of the second century*, whose testimony to the genuineness and authority of the four Gospels would be of the greatest value; among these lost writings may be named, The Defense of Christianity, by Quadratus; the Refutation of Basilides, by Agrippa Castor; and Papias's Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord. We cannot for a moment suppose that the testimony of the early writings that have been lost was adverse to the authority of our Gospels. For had this been the case, we should certainly have heard of it from some source, and in all probability from Eusebius himself, whose statements, based upon his thorough knowledge of the history of the early Church, is, to a great extent, a reflection of, if not a substitute for, these early writings that are lost.

In giving a list of the books of Scripture undisputed, Eusebius remarks: "First must be placed the holy quaternity of the Gospels."¹ He also states: "Of all the apostles of the Lord, Matthew and John alone have left us memoirs; and tradition says, they wrote from necessity: for Matthew, having before preached the gospel to the Hebrews, when he was about to depart to other people, having delivered in his native tongue the Gospel according to him, by this writing he supplied the want of his presence to those whom he was leaving: and Mark and Luke, having already published the Gospels according to them, they say that John, who had the whole time preached the gospel without writing, finally wrote on the following account: The three Gospels that have already been described having been spread abroad among all men, and known to John himself, they say that he bore witness to their truth, but affirming that they lacked only an account of those things done by Christ at the beginning of his ministry. And the statement is true."² He speaks also of the Gospel of John as being "uncontradicted," and received by the whole Church, and that "it was rightly placed the fourth in order after the other three, by the ancients." The testimony of Eusebius is stronger from the very fact that he expresses doubts concerning some of the other books of our canon.

We next refer to the testimony of Origen, who flourished in the first half of the third century. In his Commentary on Matthew he observes: "As I have learned by tradition

¹ He, however, in a preserved fragment, as we shall see, speaks of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. ² Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. cap. xxv. ³ Ibid., cap. xxiv. ⁴ Ibid

respecting the four Gospels, which also alone are uncontradicted in the Church of God under the heavens,¹ that the Gospel according to Matthew, once a publican but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first, being delivered by him to the Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language. The second is that according to Mark, who composed it according to Peter's instructions. Wherefore, in his Catholic Epistle he acknowledged him to be his son, saying, in these words: 'She who in Babylon is elected with you, saluteth you, and Mark, my son.' The third is, that according to Luke, (the Gospel commended by Paul), which he wrote for those who were of the Gentiles. Lastly, that according to John."² It will be remembered that Origen, also, had doubts respecting some of the other books of the canon, which fact makes his testimony stronger respecting the Gospels.

Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, who flourished in the latter part of the second century and in the beginning of the third, in defending, against Marcion, the Gospel of Luke, which the heretic had abridged and adopted, remarks: "If it is evident that that is more true which was first, that that is first which was from the beginning, that what was from the beginning was from the apostles, certainly, in the same manner, it will be evident that what has been held sacred in the Churches of the apostles was delivered by the apostles. . . . I say, therefore, that not only in those Churches which were founded by the apostles, but in all those which hold communion with them, this Gospel of Luke, which we are especially defending, existed from its first publication. The same authority of the apostolic Churches will defend the other Gospels also, which we accordingly have through these Churches, and according to them—I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew—and it may be also affirmed that what Mark published is Peter's, whose interpreter he was; for also they are accustomed to ascribe to Paul Luke's Digest (Gospel)."³ It is evident from this passage that Tertullian was fully assured that our Gospels had been authorities in the Churches from their first publication, and he could have had no difficulty in ascertaining the facts in the case.

Clement, the learned instructor in the catechetical school of Alexandria, a man of extensive travels, who flourished in the last part of the second century and in the beginning of the third, delivers the following concerning the four

¹ The Greek is, *Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων Ἐυαγγελίων, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναγινωγέα ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

² This passage is preserved in Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, cap. xxv, from Origen's Commentary on Matthew. The first part of that work is lost.

³ *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv, cap. v.

Gospels: "Those Gospels which contain the genealogies (Matthew and Luke) were written first. The Gospel according to Mark had its origin in the following manner: When Peter had preached the word publicly in Rome, and had proclaimed the Gospel through the influence of the Spirit, many who were present besought Mark, as he had followed Peter for a long time, and remembered the things which he had said, that he would write them down, and accordingly he composed the Gospel, and delivered it to those who wished it. When Peter became aware of this, he attempted neither to prevent him nor to encourage him. Finally, John, perceiving that corporeal things are related in the Gospels, being urged by his friends, and being inspired by the Spirit, he composed a spiritual Gospel." Eusebius prefaces this quotation from Clement's lost work, *Ἰστορικὴ Πρώσις*, with the remark: "In these same books Clement delivers the tradition of the oldest presbyters respecting the order of the Gospels in this manner."¹

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul (A. D. 177-202), delivers the following testimony respecting the Gospels: "Matthew, ^{Testimony of Irenæus.} indeed, among the Hebrews, delivered in their own dialect the writing of the Gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome and founding the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself wrote and delivered to us the things preached by Peter. And Luke, the follower of Paul, delivered in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, also himself published his Gospel while he abode in Ephesus of Asia."² He also declares, that "there are but four Gospels, nor can there be fewer than these. For since there are four quarters of the world in which we live, and four universal winds, and the Church is spread over all the earth, and the pillar and support of the Church is the gospel and breath of life, naturally it (the Church) has four pillars, blowing from all quarters immortality, and imparting new life to men."³

This language of Irenæus shows that our four Gospels were alone received, and it entirely excludes all apocryphal Gospels, as having no authority in the Church. It has, indeed, been said⁴ that the idea of four quarters of the world was something so important and fixed with Irenæus that he thought there should be four Gospels to correspond to it. But this would be to reverse the natural order of things, for the number four is in no respect a sacred or peculiar number, and four quarters of the world and four winds suggested

¹ Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, cap. xiv.

² Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. l.

³ Ibid., lib. iii, cap. xi, 8.

⁴ By Schenkel.

themselves obviously from the fact that there were no more nor less than four Gospels—a reason for which fact he was anxiously seeking. Had there been five Gospels, Irenæus might have found a reason for this in the fact that the Pentateuch, the foundation of the old dispensation, consists of five books. Had there been three Gospels, he might have illustrated it by the fact that God is revealed as a trinity in Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Had there been two, it had its analogy in there being two great classes for whom they were intended, Jews and Gentiles. Had there been but one Gospel, he might have explained it as indicating the Divine unity against the paganism of the ancient world!¹

The testimony of Irenæus is the more valuable from the fact that the early part of his life was spent in Asia Minor, and that he was acquainted with Polycarp,² a disciple of the Apostle John, and, doubtless, with others who knew that apostle.

Tatian the Syrian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, left Rome after the death of his master (about A. D. 165), and founded a heretical sect in Mesopotamia. He composed, as Eusebius³ informs us, a combination and collection of the Gospels, he knew not how, which Tatian called The Diatessaron (made of four). It, consequently, must have been composed of our four Gospels. Epiphanius remarks on him, "It is said that The Diatessaron was composed by him, which some call (the Gospel) according to the Hebrews."⁴ Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria (about A. D. 423-457), relates, in speaking of Tatian: "He composed the Gospel which is called Diatessaron, by cutting out the genealogies and whatever else shows that the Lord sprang from the seed of David according to the flesh. Not only did those who belong to his party use it, but also those who follow the apostolic doctrine, not knowing the mischievous character of the composition, but in a very simple way using the book as an epitome. I found more than two hundred of these books held in honor in our Churches, all of which I removed, and substituted for them the Gospels of the four evangelists."⁵ Barsalibi, bishop of Amida, in Mesopotamia, in the twelfth century, states that Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, composed one Gospel from the four, which

¹ Jerome remarks that the four Gospels had been predicted long before. He explains the four faces of the cherubim in Ezekiel i to refer to the four Gospels: the face of a man represents Matthew's Gospel; the face of a lion, Mark's; the face of the ox (or calf), Luke's; the face of an eagle, John's Gospel.—Comment. in Matt.

² Epistle to Florinus.

³ Hist. Eccles., lib. iv, cap. 29.

⁴ Hæreses, lib. i, tom. iii, Hæresis xlvi.

⁵ Hæret. Fabul. Compend., lib. i, cap. xx.

he called Diatessaron. Saint Ephraem wrote comments on this book, and followed the order of the Diatessaron.¹ According to Barsalibi, the Diatessaron began thus: "In the beginning was the word." This Commentary of Ephraem, preserved in the Armenian language, was translated into Latin by J. B. Aucher in 1841. An improved translation of the Commentary was published by Georgius Moesinger, in Venice, 1876.² Tatian shows, by quoting in his *Oratio Ad Graecos*, John i, 3 (sec. 19), and i, 5 (sec. 13), that he acknowledged the fourth Gospel. Further, it is clear that he considered the four Gospels alone as containing the authentic history of Christ.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (A. D. 169-180), speaks of the inspiration of the Gospels,³ and quotes Matthew, Luke, and John (by name).

The Canon of Muratori states that the third Gospel is that of Luke, and the fourth is that of John. The first part of the canon is lost, but no one doubts that its first and second Gospels were those of Matthew and Márk.

The next witness for the four Gospels is Justin Martyr, the philosopher, the first of whose extant works, the *Apology*, Justin Martyr addressed to Antoninus Pius, was written about A. D. 138 or 139,⁴ at any rate not later than 147. Justin Martyr in his *Apology* says that Christ was born a hundred and fifty years before; but this may be in round numbers. In speaking of the rebellion of the Jews against the Romans under Barchochebas, an impostor, he remarks: "In the Jewish war that has *just now* (*νῦν*) been made."⁵ This war was fought for three years, and was ended A. D. 135. If Justin wrote A. D. 138 or 139, the expression "just now" (*νῦν*) would be appropriate, being but three or four years after the event, but wholly unsuitable A. D. 147, twelve years after.

He already speaks of the heretic Marcion, but this furnishes no valid proof that Justin wrote later than A. D. 139, as it is well known

¹ Assemani Bib. Or., vol. i, p. 57.

² A copy of this work lies before me. There can be no doubt that it is the genuine Commentary of Ephraem on the Diatessaron. For it corresponds to the ancient description of it. It is an epitome of our four Gospels, and lacks the genealogies, both of which facts Theodoret, who had seen the work, states. It begins, as Barsalibi says: "In the beginning was the word." Like the old Curetonian Syriac, it joins the last part of John i, 3, to verse 4. In the same manner I find Tatian ends John i, 3, in his *Oratio Ad Graecos*.

³ *Ad Autolycum*, lib. iii, 12.

⁴ Gieseler assigns it to A. D. 138 or 139; Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, to A. D. 147.

⁵ *Ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ*.—*Apologia*, sec. 31.

that Marcion appeared about that time, with his heresy, at Rome, at which city Justin in all probability wrote the Apology. Justin, living at such an early age, is an important witness for the genuineness and authority of the Gospels. In speaking of the Lord's supper, he remarks: "The apostles, in the Memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered—that Jesus commanded them, when he had taken bread and given thanks, saying: 'Do this in remembrance of me,'" ¹ etc.

In his description of Christian worship he states: "All who dwell in the cities, or in the country, collect together on the day called Sunday, and the Memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read as long as time allows," ² etc.

In his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, written a few years later than the first Apology, Justin more accurately describes the Gospels: "In the Memoirs, which, I say, were composed by his (Christ's) apostles and their companions, (it is stated) that sweat, as great drops of blood, fell from him as he prayed, and said, If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." ³ After quoting both from Matthew and Luke on the miraculous conception and the birth of Christ, he adds: "As those who have related ⁴ all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ teach, whom we believe."

There can be no doubt that the Gospels to which Justin refers as being written by the apostles and their companions, and read on Sunday in the public assemblies of the Christians, were the very Gospels that we now have, bearing the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The first Apology of sixty pages contains about forty passages, or about fifty-five verses, mostly from Matthew and Luke—from Matthew especially—and one from John. Some of them may have been taken from Mark, but it is impossible to determine this with certainty, as none of them are peculiar to that evangelist. But, from the language used by Justin respecting the evangelists, there could not have been less than *two* who were *companions* of the apostles; and as the Gospel of Mark was certainly one of the four in use in the age of Justin, there can be no doubt that it was in his collection. In speaking of baptism and regeneration, he remarks: "For Christ said, If you be not born again, you cannot enter into

¹ Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ κυλεῖται Ἑβραϊστί, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κ. τ. λ.—Apologia, sec. 66.

² Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῖς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγιγνώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.—Apologia, I, sec. 67.

³ Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου παρακολουθησάντων συντεταχθαι, κ. τ. λ.—Sec. 103.

⁴ Ἀπομνημονεύσαντες.—Apologia, I, sec. 33.

the kingdom of heaven. And that it is impossible for those once born to enter the wombs of their mothers is evident to all."¹ This passage, from its singularity, was evidently taken from John's Gospel.² In this first Apology of Justin every other passage respecting the history of Christ is taken from our canonical Gospels, and there is not a trace of any other source for the history of Christ. Hence, apart from the peculiarity of the passage, the probability would be very great that it was taken from some one of our received Gospels.

The quotations of Justin are not always exact, but the sense is the same as that in the evangelists. As several evangelists have often nearly the same passages, he sometimes combines them. His quotations of the Septuagint of the Old Testament are scarcely more exact than those from the New Testament. In most cases he seems to have quoted from memory. But the very fact that his quotations from the Gospels are not always exact, is a proof that these passages are genuine, and have not been tampered with by transcribers, to conform them to the New Testament text.

In his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, held at Ephesus shortly after A. D. 135,³ but not written down until some years later, Justin quotes about *thirty* passages from Matthew and Luke, and one from John's Gospel, in which the Baptist says, "I am not the Christ."⁴ In arguing with a Jew, Justin was led to quote the Old Testament more frequently than the New. In quoting a passage from Matthew he prefaces it with the statement: "And it is written in the Gospel."⁵ He calls these Gospels "the Memoirs of the apostles;"⁶ "Memoirs written by the apostles and their companions."⁷ There is a clear reference to Mark's Gospel in the statement that "Christ changed the names of the two sons of Zebedee, and called them Boanerges, which is, Sons of Thunder." This, he states, is written "in the Memoirs of him"⁸ (Christ). Mark, it must be remembered, is the only evangelist who relates the giving of this name to the sons of Zebedee. In the account of Christ's baptism, he remarks: "And a voice at the same time came from heaven, which is also uttered by David when he speaks as of his person (Christ) what the Father was about to say to him: Thou art my Son; this day have I begot-

¹ In sec. 61, from John iii, 3-5.

² Hilgenfeld, in his *Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1875), acknowledges that Justin here uses John's Gospel.

³ This date is to be inferred from the beginning of the Dialogue, in which Trypho tells Justin that he is a Hebrew of the circumcision who has fled from the war *just now* (*νῦν*) finished, that is, the war stirred up by Barchochebas, A. D. 132-135.

⁴ Sec. 88.

⁵ Sec. 100.

⁶ Sec. 101.

⁷ Sec. 103.

⁸ Sec. 106.

⁹ Chap. iii, 17.

ten thee.¹ But the language of Matthew is: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." It seems clear that Justin, in arguing with the Jew, wished to bring the language in the Gospel as far as possible into harmony with the declaration of the Psalm.²

Hilgenfeld³ acknowledges that Justin used our four Gospels, and that they were used in divine service, but thinks that he also made use of the older Acts of Pilate and an uncanonical Gospel. But Justin made no use of the Acts of Pilate; he simply states: "And that these things were done you can learn from the Acts that were made (written) in the time of Pontius Pilate."⁴

Strauss acknowledges that Justin made use of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but thinks that he may have also used an edition of the Hebrew Gospel. He denies that Justin used John's Gospel.⁵

The testimony of Justin Martyr to the apostolic origin, the use, and the authority of our four Gospels, is of the highest importance. He was a Platonic philosopher, converted to Christianity in the first part of the second century. He had visited Ephesus and Rome, and was evidently well acquainted with the affairs of the Church. Can we suppose that a man of his character would not inform himself of the origin of the Gospels? His statement that they were written by the apostles and their companions could not have been a mere guess. For how could he determine, *à priori*, whether the apostles or their companions wrote, or some of each class? If he had nothing but conjecture to follow, he would in all probability have ascribed all the Gospels to apostles, the witnesses of the teaching and acts of Christ. We learn from him that our Gospels were read in the Christian assemblies on Sunday, along with the writings of the Jewish prophets. This custom was, doubtless, universal. Hegesippus, a Church teacher of Jewish origin, made a journey to Rome, whither he arrived under Bishop Anicetus (A. D. 157-161). On the way thither he conferred with many bishops, and in his *Memoirs of the Church* (in five books) he states that "in each succession (of bishops) and in every city (the doctrines) are just such as the law and the prophets

¹ Dialogue with Trypho, sec. 88.

² There is no need of resorting to the account of Christ's baptism in the Gospel of the Ebionites, as it stood in the fourth century. For Lactantius (A. D. 314) quotes the passage in the same form (Div. Inst., B. iv, cap. xv, 1) as Justin.

³ Einleitung, pp. 65-67. Leipzig, 1875.

⁴ Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δόνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἁγίων.—First Apology, sec. 35.

⁵ Das Leben Jesu, pp. 56-67. Leipzig, 1874.

and the Lord teach."¹ There can be no doubt that by the teaching of the Lord, Hegesippus refers to the reading of the Gospels in the Churches along with the law and the prophets. He thus confirms the statement of Justin, already alluded to, respecting the use of our Gospels.

In speaking of chastity as taught by our Lord, Justin remarks: "There are many men and women, sixty and seventy years of age, who became disciples of Christ in early youth (*ἐκ παιδων*), and continue incorrupt. And I declare that among every race of men I can show such persons. For what shall we say of that countless multitude of men who have been converted from a licentious life and have learned these things?"² Justin, then, knew many who had been converted to Christianity in the last part of the first century, when the Apostle John³ was still alive. At Ephesus he must have seen many who had been acquainted with that apostle. If the Gospel of John had not been acknowledged in that Church at that time, can we believe that Justin would have accepted it as an apostolic Memoir of Christ? There were in Justin's time, in all probability, some few Christians who had known Peter and Paul. Certainly there were many who had known those who were acquainted with the apostles, and with Mark and Luke. How could the Christians everywhere, in the time of Justin, be deceived respecting the genuineness of the four Gospels? One thing seems completely certain—that Justin knew that these Gospels had come down from the times of the apostles as writings composed by them and their companions. Had it been otherwise, many of the Christians of his day could have informed him that all the Gospels were introduced into the Church *long after the death of Peter and Paul*, which occurred about seventy years before Justin wrote his first Apology. Would it be a difficult matter now to ascertain, apart from all documents, whether the Methodist Episcopal Church had any book of Discipline in the year 1800? We could ascertain that from living testimony; and although we would be informed by the living voice that the Discipline has been repeatedly changed by the authority of the General Conference, we would also learn that the Articles of Religion in it have always been the same from the organization of the Church.

Before the converts to Christianity were baptized, Justin tells us "they are persuaded and believe that the things taught and said by us are true, and they profess to be able to live according to them."⁴ In the catechetical instructions given to the new converts the origin

¹ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. iv, xxii.

² The Apostle John died about A. D. 98.

³ Apology, sec. 15.

⁴ Apology, sec. 61.

and authority of the Gospels must have been a subject of the deepest importance.

We have already cited the testimony of Tertullian—who flourished at Carthage in the last part of the *second* century and in the beginning of the *third*—to the fact that our Gospels were written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and that Luke's Gospel, from its first publication, had been known in all the apostolic Churches, and in the Churches in communion with them, and that the same authority of the apostolic Churches would defend the other Gospels.¹

We have also adduced the testimony of Clement of Alexandria—who flourished in the last part of the *second* century and in the first part of the *third*—that he had made inquiry respecting the origin of the Gospels, and had learned from the oldest presbyters that those Gospels which contain the genealogies were written first; after which he relates the circumstances under which he had learned that Mark and John were written.²

Important, also, is the testimony of Irenæus to the fact that there were but *four* Gospels, those of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, respecting the writing of which he gives some particulars.³ Irenæus spent the early part of his life in Asia Minor, was acquainted with Polycarp, a disciple of St. John, and was bishop of Lyons, A. D. 177–202. He evidently knew many persons who were acquainted with the Apostle John, and his testimony on this account is extremely valuable, especially respecting John's Gospel.

We have also seen that in the Canon of Muratori (about A. D. 160) the third Gospel bears the name of Luke and the fourth that of John; and there is no doubt that the first and second were those of Matthew and Mark. To these we must add the testimony of the Peshito-Syriac, made, doubtless, as early as A. D. 150, in which the four Gospels are attributed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. All these witnesses, in combination with the testimony of Justin Martyr, living so near the apostolic age, furnish an incontrovertible proof that these Gospels came down from the apostolic age, and that they have the strongest claims to be accepted as the genuine productions of those whose names they bear.

Between the close of the apostolic age (about A. D. 97) and the time of Justin Martýr (A. D. 130–166) flourished several Christian writers, whose works, with the exception of a few fragments, are lost. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis—whom Irenæus and Jerome represent as a hearer of John, though

¹ *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv, cap. ii, v.

² In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, cap. xiv.

³ *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii, cap. i.

according to the statement of Eusebius he was but a hearer of John the presbyter, of Ephesus—wrote in five books “Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord.” In a fragment preserved by Eusebius, Papias states that John the presbyter, who was acquainted with the apostles, said “that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately what things he remembered, not, indeed, in the order in which the things were said or done by Christ; for he neither heard the Lord nor was he his companion, but afterward he was, as I said, an attendant upon Peter, who preached the doctrines of the Gospel as circumstances required, not making, as it were, a systematic arrangement of the Lord’s discourses. Mark, accordingly, committed no mistake in writing some things just as he remembered them.” Respecting Matthew, Papias remarks: “Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew dialect; every one explained them as he could.”

Papias took especial pains to collect facts respecting the teachings of the apostles from those who knew them. “For if any one who had been an associate of the elders met me I inquired of him about the statements of the elders—what Andrew, or Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord’s disciples, said; and what Aristion and the presbyter John, disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that books benefitted me so much as what I derived from the living voice of surviving men.”¹

The statement made by Papias from John the presbyter, that Mark did not write “in order the things that were said or done by Christ,” has been made a ground of inference by some² that Mark’s Gospel, in its present form, did not proceed from that evangelist, but that it is a reconstruction of the original work. But it is evident that Papias is speaking of Mark’s Gospel as known to him a short time before the middle of the second century, which was demonstrably our present Gospel of Mark. He clearly knew nothing of a remodelling of it. Nor did Eusebius, nor any one else among the ancients. Mark’s Gospel is shorter than any of the others; it contains no genealogy, and begins with the preaching of John the Baptist. It may have been on these grounds that the presbyter John thought Mark had not written the sayings and doings of Christ in order. Mark must have greatly abridged the discourses of Christ, and the accounts of his actions as delivered by Peter. But can we suppose for a moment that Mark, who was a companion of the apostles and a preacher of the gospel, would have written an account of Christ’s sayings and doings without observing any order? Can we imagine a Gospel written by him in which the

¹ In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii, cap. xxxix.

² First inferred by Schleiermacher.

preaching of the Baptist is put at the end, the crucifixion in the middle, and the resurrection in the beginning?*

We have seen that Papias states that "Matthew wrote the oracles (*τὰ λόγια*) in the Hebrew dialect." From this Schleiermacher's inference from Papias. Schleiermacher concluded that Matthew's Gospel originally contained only the discourses of Christ. But there is no necessity for limiting *τὰ λόγια* (the oracles) to discourses. In the New Testament *λόγια* (oracles) is used in Acts vii, 38; Rom. iii, 2; Heb. v, 12; 1 Peter iv, 11, in the sense of Scriptures, or divine revelations. In Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians¹ the phrase "oracles (*τὰ λόγια*) of the Lord" is used for New Testament Scriptures without respect to discourses. In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians² "the oracles (*τὰ λόγια*) of God" are put in apposition with "the holy Scriptures" of the Old Testament. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, uses the phrase *κυριακὰ λόγια* (oracles of the Lord) for the New Testament.³

Sophocles remarks on the passage in Papias respecting Matthew's Gospel, it "implies that when Papias wrote, the Gospel of Matthew was regarded as a sacred book."⁴ It would have been impossible to give the discourses of our Saviour without historical facts, for frequently the discourses grow out of the historical facts.

In the Gospel used by the Ebionites, mentioned by Epiphanius in the last half of the fourth century, historical matter was largely incorporated. Epiphanius calls it Matthew's Gospel adulterated and mutilated, and it is in the highest degree probable, if not completely certain, that this Gospel and our Matthew were originally identical. Epiphanius states that the Gospel of the Ebionites commenced in the following way: "It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judea, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan," etc.⁵ Hilgenfeld well remarks that "all Christian antiquity knows nothing of the mere collection of the discourses of Christ. . . . Not a mere collection of discourses, but a complete Gospel, Papias states, to have been written in Hebrew by Matthew."⁶

Eusebius does not state whether Papias made any remarks respecting Luke and John. There may have been no occasion for Papias to refer to them. He does not say that Matthew wrote one Gospel and Mark another; that is taken for granted; and he states

¹ Sec. 7.

² Sec. 53; and in the same sense in sec. 19.

³ Contra Hæreses, lib. i, cap. viii; the Old Testament may be here included in the phrase.

⁴ Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Boston, 1870.

⁵ Hæresis, xxx, cap. xiii.

⁶ Einleitung, pp. 456, 457.

only the source of Mark's information, and the language in which Matthew wrote.

The testimony of Papias, living just after the apostolic age and acquainted with the companions of some of the apostles, is very valuable.

In the Epistle¹ of Polycarp to the Philippians we find many extracts from the New Testament, and several that appear to be from some of our Gospels. "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak," in section 7, is, in the Greek, the exact language of Matthew xxvi, 41 and Mark xiv, 38. Quotations from the Gospels in Polycarp and Clement of Rome. In section 2 he says, "remembering what the Lord said when he taught: Judge not, that ye may not be judged; Forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; Be ye merciful, that mercy may be shown to you; With what measure ye measure, it shall be measured to you again; and that, Blessed are the poor, and those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God." The first of these precepts is the exact language of Matthew vii, 1. The second² is the *sense* of Matthew vi, 14 and Mark xi, 25. The third is the substance of Matthew v, 7. The fourth is the exact language of Luke vi, 38, with the exception that *ἐν* (with) is omitted, and the indicative is used in that Gospel. The last part of Polycarp's extract is, for the most part, the exact language of Matthew v, 3, 11. In sec. 6 he says: "If therefore we pray the Lord to forgive us, we ought also to forgive," which clearly refers to the Lord's prayer, as recorded in Matt. vi, 12, and in Luke xi, 4.

In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written not later than A. D. 96, we have several extracts from the Gospels. In speaking of dissensions and severing the members of Christ, he says: "Remember the words of our Lord Jesus; for he said, Woe to that man! better would it have been if he had not been born, than that he should offend one of my elect, better would it be for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the sea, than to offend one of my little ones."³ The former part of these extracts of Clement is from Matthew xxvi, 24, respecting Judas, and the latter part substantially from Matthew xviii, 6. Both Matthew and Clement have *καταποντίζεσθαι* (to be drowned in the sea); Mark and Luke, in the parallel passages, have each a different word. I think there can be no doubt that Clement took the word from Matthew,

¹ This Epistle was written not later than A. D. 115, as Polycarp refers to a letter from Ignatius to him, which he in turn had sent to the Philippians, sec. 13. But the martyrdom of Ignatius did not occur later than A. D. 115.

² *Ἀσέναι*, to remit, is used both in Polycarp and in the Gospel.

³ Sec. 46.

as it occurs nowhere else in the New Testament except twice in Matthew.

In another place he says: "Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spoke when he was teaching clemency and long-suffering; for thus he said: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; Forgive, that it may be forgiven you; As ye do shall it be done to you; As ye give, so shall it be given to you; As ye judge, so shall it be judged for you; As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown to you; With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you.""¹ These precepts are found either literally or substantially in the Gospels, and there can be no doubt that Clement quoted them from memory, blending together what is said by the evangelists.

Clement quotes, in some instances, the Old Testament just as inaccurately as he does the Gospels. Immediately preceding these extracts he quotes Jeremiah, prefacing the extract with, "The Holy Spirit says," "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord, to seek him and to do judgment and righteousness."² The latter half of this quotation is wrongly given, for Jeremiah's language is: "But let him who glorieth glory in this, to understand and to know that I am the Lord, who doeth (showeth) mercy, and judgment, and justice upon the earth: because in these things is my delight, saith the Lord."³ In quoting Ezekiel, he says, the Almighty declared with an oath: "For as I live, saith the Lord, I do not wish the death of the sinner as (his) repentance."⁴ But the last clause of it in Ezekiel is: "That the wicked turn from his way and live."⁵ The beautiful passage⁶ on the omnipresence of God he spoils by the incorrect way in which he quotes it. In one place he blends together two passages from two different prophets. In the face of these facts, the statement of Renan, that the passages in the Epistle of Clement could not have been taken from our Gospels because they do not exactly agree with them, is utterly unfounded, and could have sprung only from ignorance or the want of candour.

The language of Polycarp and Clement implies that the Churches to which they wrote possessed the same teachings of Christ that they themselves had. How otherwise could these fathers admonish the Churches addressed, by exhorting them to "remember" the words of Christ? But the very supposition that the Churches every-

¹ Sec. 13.

² Ibid.

³ Septuagint, Jer. ix, 23, 24. * This version was used by the early Church.

⁴ Sec. 8.

⁵ xxxiii, 11.

⁶ Psa. cxxxix, 7-10, in sec. 28.

where had the same precepts of Christ implies that they were contained in a common written form, i. e., in the Gospels.

In the Epistle of Barnabas, written in all probability in the last part of the first century, we find an evident reference to at least one of our Gospels, in the language that Jesus Christ "came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance." In Matt. ix, 13 and Mark ii, 17 this passage is found without the addition of the words "to repentance," which, however, are added in Luke v, 32. But an evident quotation of Matt. xxii, 14 occurs in section 4 of this Epistle. "Let us take heed, therefore, lest by chance we may be found, as it is written, Many are called, but few are chosen."¹ Volkmar, Strauss, and Hilgenfeld contend that the words in Barnabas were not taken from Matthew, but from the apocryphal Fourth Book of Ezra, where it is said, "Many have been created, but few will be saved." In Matthew the declaration, "Many are called, but few are chosen," stands at the close of the parable of the king who made a marriage for his son. The invited guests having rejected the invitation, the king sent and collected a miscellaneous party, among whom was a man without a wedding garment, who was cast out. Here the words are exceedingly appropriate. The language which Barnabas uses immediately preceding the quotation from Matthew indicates that he had that Gospel in his mind: "Let us take heed lest, relying upon the fact that we are called, we may fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked prince, obtaining the mastery over us, may shut us out from the kingdom of the Lord. Still also think of that point, my brethren, when ye see that after such great signs and wonders have been done in Israel they have been thus forsaken." Then follow the words under consideration: "Let us take heed lest we may be found, as it is written, Many (are) called, but few (are) chosen." The whole tenor of the section is, that we must devote ourselves as Christians wholly to God. What has all this to do with the Fourth Book of Ezra?

It cannot be doubted for a moment that the words in Barnabas under discussion came from Matthew. But did the author of the Epistle forget the source of the words, and, thinking that they belonged to

¹ The Greek of Barnabas is, Προσέχουμεν μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὅλγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθώμεν. Matthew has, Πολλοὶ εἰσιν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, exactly the same as Barnabas, except that the latter omits εἰσιν (are), which is not quite suitable in the quotation. In section 16 in Barnabas there is a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem: "And still I will speak to you concerning the temple, how the miserable men, being deceived, trusted in the house, and not in their God," etc. Clement of Alexandria in several places quotes the Epistle as that of Barnabas. It must, indeed, have come down from the first century. Hilgenfeld places it about A. D. 97. Einleitung, p. 38.

the Fourth Book of Ezra, did he add, *as it is written*? How could he forget the connection in which the words stand in Matthew? Did the author of the Epistle attribute more authority to the apocryphal Book of Ezra¹ than to the Gospel of Matthew? Why should he not have quoted that Gospel with the formula with which the Scriptures of the Old Testament were quoted? We have already seen that Polycarp, in the beginning of the second century, quotes writings of Paul as "holy Scripture." Barnabas appears also to have been acquainted with the Gospel of John. He speaks of "Abraham's having foreseen in spirit the Son," in reference to John viii, 56: "Abraham rejoiced to see my day," etc. There are some other passages that may have been taken from John; for example, that in which he represents the brazen serpent set up in the wilderness as a type of Christ. The phrase, "the only and true God," seems to be taken from John xvii, 3.

In the Epistles of Ignatius, written (if genuine) not later than A. D. 115, there are several passages evidently taken from the Gospels. But as these Epistles have been The passages quoted by Ignatius. thought by many to have been interpolated, we content ourselves with a few references to some of our Gospels found in two of the three undoubtedly genuine and uncorrupted Epistles—to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans—published by Cureton from a very ancient Syriac MS. from the Nitrian desert: "Be wise as the serpent in every thing, and innocent as the dove,"² etc., found only in Matthew x, 16. "The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and his blood I seek, a drink which is love incorruptible."³ With this compare John vi, 54, 55: "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; . . . For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

In the Epistle to Diognetus, one of the finest remains of Christian antiquity, in which the Christian life is described with The Epistle to Diognetus. great truthfulness and beauty, and which must have been written in the last part of the first century or in the beginning of the second, there are several passages which seem to refer to expressions of Christ in some of our Gospels. "The Christians hold together (preserve) the world." With this compare the passage, "Ye are the salt of the earth," found only in Matt. v, 13. The author of the Epistle tells us that Christ has commanded us "not to be anxious about raiment and food." With this compare Matt. vi, 25: "Be not anxious about your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall

¹ The time of the composition of Fourth Ezra is uncertain; it was probably written some years before the Epistle of Barnabas.

² Epistle to Polycarp.

³ Epistle to the Romans.

drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" Similar is Luke xii, 22, 23. In the Epistle and in these two Gospels the same word, *νεμῦνάν*, is used to express *anxious thought*; *τροφή*, *meat*, is the word here employed in the Epistle in common with these two Gospels. For "raiment," *ἑνδύεις* is used in the Epistle, and *ἑνδύμα* in the Gospels. In section 4 he speaks of the Jews forbidding any thing good to be done on the Sabbath day, evidently with reference to Matt. xii, 12. "To whom he (God) sent his only begotten Son," *τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ*—here is evidently a reference to the writings of the Apostle John. For he alone of the New Testament writers calls Christ "the only begotten Son of God," and he does this four times in his Gospel and once in his First Epistle.¹ Christians "are not of the world," the exact phrase that is found in John xvii, 16.

In the last two sections of this Epistle Christ is called *the Logos* (or *Word*) who has appeared to men, with evident reference to John. The *Gospels* are also mentioned in the following passage: "The fear of the law is celebrated, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the *Gospels* is established, and the tradition of the apostles is kept, and the grace of the Church leaps." It must, however, be observed that a doubt has been raised respecting the genuineness of these last two sections.

In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a small Greek work belonging to the close of the *first* century, or to the very *beginning* of the second, we find a considerable number of references to the Gospel of Matthew, and some to that of Luke. The Lord's prayer is the exact form of that in Matthew, except "debt" for "debts." It contains, however, a doxology wanting in the best texts of Matthew. The phrase, "To compel one to go a mile" (Matt. v, 41), is found in this work. The verb *ἀγγαρεύω*, *to compel*, is found in the New Testament only in this passage and in Matt. xxvii, 32, and in Mark xv, 21, and outside of the New Testament it is exceedingly rare. There are in the work references also to Luke vi, 28, 30. It also refers, manifestly, to a written Gospel: "As the Lord commanded in his Gospel." "As ye have (it) in the Gospel." "As ye have (them) in the Gospel of our Lord."

¹ Whatever establishes the genuineness of the *First* Epistle of John establishes that of the Gospel of John also, for they manifestly had the same author.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TESTIMONY OF CELSUS TO THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

A LITTLE after the middle of the second century,¹ probably between A. D. 160 and 170, Celsus, a heathen philosopher, attacked Christianity with great acuteness and virulence, in a work which he entitled, *Λόγος Ἀληθής* (*A True Discourse*). The celebrated Christian philosopher, Origen, about A. D. 247, wrote a full reply to this work in eight books, from which we derive our knowledge of the work of Celsus, unfortunately lost.

The testimony of such a man respecting the books considered sacred by the Christians is very valuable. And it is highly satisfactory to find that Celsus was acquainted with our Gospels, and regarded them as constituting, in the judgment of the Church, the authentic history of Jesus Christ; he himself says, that they were written by Christ's disciples.

Origen remarks, that Celsus made extracts from the history in the Gospel according to Matthew respecting Jesus' going down into Egypt,² and that he also took from this evangelist, and perhaps from the other Gospels, the statement that a dove descended upon Christ when he was baptized by John.³ Celsus also referred to the star that appeared at the birth of Christ, and the visit of the Magi, as recorded in the Gospel of Matthew.⁴ He commented on the statement, found only in Matthew, that an angel rolled away the stone from the sepulchre of Christ.⁵ He refers to Matt. xxvi, 39 in these words: "O Father, if it be possible that this cup may pass by;"⁶ also to the darkness and earthquake⁷ that occurred at Christ's death, the latter circumstance found in Matthew only (xxvii, 51).

In the following passage he refers to the Gospels of Matthew and

¹ The work, as is evident from certain passages, was written during a persecution of the Christians; and, accordingly, it is placed by Neander in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161-180); by Lardner, about A. D. 176. Keim, who has attempted a restoration of the work, places it A. D. 178; Gieseler, about A. D. 150. Origen says that Celsus lived in the time of Hadrian (A. D. 117-138), and later. He speaks of him, in the preface to his work, as being long since dead (*ῥῆτι καὶ πάλαι νεκρός*).

² Contra Celsum, i, 38.

³ Ibid., v, 58.

⁴ Ibid., i, 40.

⁵ Ibid., ii, 24.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., ii, 59.

Luke : ' Those who wrote the genealogies dared to assert that Jesus descended from the first man and from the Jewish kings.'¹ It is Luke that carries back the genealogy of Christ to the first man (chap. iii, 38), and Matthew who traces his descent from King David through the Jewish kings (chap. i, 1). Celsus also refers to the miraculous conception of Christ,² related in Matthew and Luke. He notices the precept,³ "Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other" (Luke vi, 29; Matt. v, 39); also, that "no man can serve two masters,"⁴ or, as he represents it, "the same man cannot serve several masters,"⁴ in reference to Matt. vi, 24, Luke xvi, 13.

It is also clear that Celsus had before him John's Gospel, as he asks, "What kind of fluid was it that flowed from the body (of Christ) when he was crucified? Was it such as flows from the blessed gods?"⁵ in reference to John xix, 34. He also asks of Christ, "What honourable or wonderful thing in deed or word hast thou performed, although they called upon thee in the temple to furnish some clear proof that thou wast the Son of God?"⁶ This obviously refers to John x, 23, 24: "And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." Origen remarks that Celsus also "quoted from the Gospel, that when he (Christ) had risen from the dead he showed the signs of his punishment, and his hands as they had been pierced."⁷ This manifestly refers to John xx, 25-27. Origen observes that Celsus, quoting the Gospel, reproaches Jesus with the vinegar and gall—"That he was exceedingly eager to drink, and did not endure his thirst as a common man often endures it."⁸ This evidently refers to John xix, 28, where our Saviour says, "I thirst." None of the other evangelists make any mention of his being thirsty. Matthew uses "wine mingled with gall;" the other evangelists have "vinegar." Celsus evidently combined the accounts of several evangelists.

Celsus states, "Some narrate that two angels came to the sepulchre of Jesus; others narrate one."⁹ On which Origen remarks, "He had observed, I think, that one angel is mentioned by Matthew and Mark, but two by Luke and John." It seems very probable from this passage that Celsus had before him all our Gospels. He also commented on the passage, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God"¹⁰ (Matthew xix, 24; Mark x, 25; Luke xviii, 25)

¹ Contra Celsum, ii, 32.

² Ibid., ii, 36.

³ Ibid., i, 32.

⁴ Ibid., i, 67.

⁵ Ibid., v, 56.

⁶ Ibid., vii, 25.

⁷ Ibid., ii, 59.

⁸ Ibid., vi, 16.

⁹ Ibid., viii, 2, 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., ii, 37.

It is certain that Celsus was acquainted with Matthew, Luke and John, and it is highly probable from his work that he was acquainted with Mark. As the four Gospels in the age of Celsus were always associated together, there is no doubt that he was familiar with this Gospel.

Celsus not only refers to these Gospels as having authority in the Church, and as the source for the history of Christ, but Celsus attributes the Gospels to Christ's disciples. he attributes them to the disciples of Christ. "Being able," says he, "to say many things and true concerning the affairs of Jesus, and not similar to those *written by the disciples of Jesus*, I willingly omit them."¹ It is evident that he means, by "the disciples of Jesus," the apostles and their companions; and, indeed, he seems to have included Mark and Luke under the term disciples, perhaps because it was believed that they wrote under the guidance of Peter and Paul. Celsus nowhere expresses a doubt that the Gospels were written by those whose names they bear. He everywhere supposes that they proceeded from those intimately connected with Christ.

Again, he says that "the disciples of Jesus, having nothing to urge in a very evident matter, hit upon this—the assertion that he foreknew all things."² He here refers to the disciples having abandoned Christ when he was arrested, and the predictions of Christ in the Gospels that they would do this. Celsus here assumes that the accounts in our Gospels came from the disciples. He further says, that "the disciples wrote such things concerning Jesus as an excuse for what happened to him."³

The Jew in Celsus closes his arguments with these words: "These things, then, (we have produced) against you from your own writings, on account of which we need no other witness; for you fall by your own hands."⁴ It is very evident from this that our Gospels were regarded as the fundamental documents of Christianity, the overthrow of which would be the subversion of Christianity itself. If Celsus could have seen any way in which he could attack the apostolic origin of the Gospels he certainly would not have failed to do it, as it would have given him the greatest advantage in attacking the history of Christ, and he shows himself everywhere ready to take any advantage in the discussion of the truth of Christianity. From all this it is evident that the genuineness of our Gospels was so

¹ It is absurd to suppose that, if Celsus could have refuted the apostles on any points, he would have refrained from doing it. Origen regards it as an "oratorical trick" ii, 13). ² ii, 15. ³ ii, 16.

⁴ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων συγγραμμάτων, εἴς ὃς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μάρτυρος χρῆζομεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς περιέπτετε.—ii, 74.

universally acknowledged, that it would have been considered the greatest folly to question it.

Celsus alleges that some of those who believe in Christ, like those who through a drunken fit lay hands on themselves, have changed the original written form of the Gospels three and four times, and oftener, and moulded it so that they might ward off objections. To which Origen answers: "I do not know of any others who have changed the Gospel except the followers of Marcion, of Valentinus, and, I think, those of Lucan."¹

CHAPTER XII.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE HERETICS OF THE SECOND CENTURY TO OUR FOUR GOSPELS.

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

THIS heretical work, written by a philosophically-educated man, at Rome, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, (A. D. 161-180),² sets forth Ebionistic views of Christ. The author represents himself as Clement, who was bishop of Rome in the last part of the first century. He visits the East, where he makes the acquaintance of the Apostle Peter, by whom he is converted to Christianity. Peter, accordingly, is the hero of the book, and Paul, without being directly named, is depreciated. It consists of twenty homilies. It contains numerous extracts from the Gospel of Matthew, some from that of Luke, several from that of Mark, and some from the Gospel of John.

As a specimen of Matthew, we find: "For he (our Lord) said thus. 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the law.'"³ From Luke we have the following: "For the Master himself, when he was nailed to the cross, prayed to his Father to forgive his murderers their sin, saying, 'Father, forgive them their sins, for they know not what they do.'"⁴ In the statement that Christ was tempted by the devil forty days,⁵ there is a reference to Luke iv, 2 and Mark i, 13; and in the passage in which Christ said, "Hear, Israel; the Lord thy God is one Lord,"⁶ we have a clear reference to Mark xii, 29. The principal passage from the Gospel of John is the following: "Whence our Master, when they asked him concern-

¹ ii, 27.

² This is the date assigned by Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung*, p. 43

³ Epistle of Peter to James ii.

⁴ Clementine Homilies, xi, 20.

⁵ Homily, xix, 2.

⁶ Ibid., iii, 57.

ing the man who was blind from his birth and had recovered his sight from him—Did this man sin or his parents, that he was born blind? — he answered, Neither has this one sinned nor his parents, but that through him the power of God might be manifested, healing the sins of ignorance.”¹ There is no possibility of mistaking here the reference to the ninth chapter of John’s Gospel.

Hilgenfeld² acknowledges that the Clementine Homilies make use of our *four* Gospels, though he thinks that one apocryphal Gospel, at least, is also used, which is very probable, though it is very clear that our four Gospels are the principal sources from which the author derives the teachings of Christ.

THE TESTIMONY OF VALENTINUS AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

This distinguished heretic—a native of Egypt, who, according to Irenæus, made his appearance in Rome in the time of Bishop Hyginus, about A. D. 140—flourished in the time of Pius, and remained till the time of Anicetus³ (about A. D. 157). He died about A. D. 160 in Cyprus. Irenæus⁴ shows how the Valentinians (with whom he doubtless includes the head of the school, Valentinus) attempted to bring the first chapter of John’s Gospel into harmony with their system. He represents them beginning as follows: “John, the disciple of the Lord, wishing to speak of the genesis of all things, predicates,” etc.

In the *Philosophoumena*, or *Refutation of All Heresies*, a work of Hippolytus, belonging to the first half of the third century, we have an account of the system of Valentinus, in which he says: “Therefore all the prophets and the law spoke from the Demiurgus, a foolish god, themselves fools, knowing nothing; for this reason the Saviour says, All those who came before me are thieves and robbers,”⁵ almost the *exact* words of John x, 8. Tischendorf, in his eighth critical edition of the Greek Testament, adopts the reading: “All who came are thieves and robbers.” But Tregelles gives in his critical edition, “All who came before me are thieves and robbers;” and this is supported, among other authorities, substantially by Clement of Alexandria⁶ (about A. D. 200). Valentinus also made use of Luke’s Gospel. “Jesus,” says he, “was born of the Virgin Mary, according to that which has been said: ‘*The Holy*

¹ Homily, xix, 22. A complete edition of the Homilies was published by Dressel, Göttingen, 1853. ² Einleitung, p. 43. ³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv, cap. xi.

⁴ *Adversus Hæresis*, lib. i, cap. viii, 5. ⁵ *Philosophoumena*, lib. vi, 35, Paris ed., 1860.

⁶ “All who [were] before the coming of the Lord are thieves and robbers.”—*Stromata*, lib. i, cap. xvii. Valentinus in the *Pistis Sophia*, adjudged to him, uses John iv.

Spirit shall come upon thee, [the Spirit is (the) Wisdom,] *'and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee:'* the Highest is the Demiurgus: *'wherefore that which is born of thee shall be called holy.'*¹ It is very clear that here we have reference to Luke i, 35. Gieseler observes: "It is remarkable that Valentinus not only received the New Testament, but made constant allegorical use of it in his system."² Tertullian remarks: "For if Valentinus is seen 'to use the *entire* instrument (New Testament) with an intellect not less acute than that of Marcion, he did violence to the truth. . . . Marcion made havoc of the Scriptures; but Valentinus spared them."

Respecting the source from which the early Christian writers obtained their knowledge of the system of Valentinus himself, and his expositions of Scripture, it must be borne in mind that this distinguished heretic wrote hymns, discourses, and letters, some of which are quoted by Clement of Alexandria. Irenæus tells us that he met with the memoirs of some of those who called themselves disciples of Valentinus, and with some of these disciples themselves, whose views he learned. Many of these men were taught by Valentinus himself. As he had hardly been dead twenty years when Irenæus wrote, they were fully competent to give the doctrines of their master. Irenæus³ seems to have derived his account of the doctrines of Valentinus and his disciples chiefly from Ptolemæus, one of the most distinguished men of the school. This eminent Valentinian⁴ quotes John i, 3: "All things were made by him (the Saviour), and without him nothing was made;" which he refers to an "apostle." He also quotes a part of Matt. xii, 25, with the remark, "the Saviour said."

Heracleon, whom Clement of Alexandria calls "the most distinguished man of the school of Valentinus,"⁵ wrote a Commentary on the Gospel of John, fragments of which are introduced into Origen's Commentary on that book. Heracleon was compelled to resort to forced expositions to bring the Gospel into harmony with his system, and nothing but the apostolic origin of that Gospel could have induced him to comment on it: He appears to have attributed the Gospel to the Apostle John; for Origen⁶ remarks, that "he affirmed that the words, 'No man hath

Sources of our knowledge of Valentinus.

Testimony of Heracleon, a Valentinian.

¹ *Philosophoumena*, lib. vi, 35.

² *Church History*, vol. i, p. 134.

³ *De Præscrip.*, cap. xxxviii.

⁴ *Videtur (is seen)* has this meaning in *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv, cap. ii; *Adversus Praxeam*, cap. xxix; *Apologetics*, cap. xix, etc.

⁵ See the Prooimion to his First Book against *Hæreses*.

⁶ *Epistle to Flora*, in *Epiphanius*, *Hæresis* xxxiii, 3. ⁷ *Stromata*, lib. iv, cap. 9.

⁸ *Tom.* vi, 2.

seen God at any time,' and those which follow, were not spoken by the Disciple but by the Baptist." Clement of Alexandria¹ speaks of Heracleon's Commentary on Luke xii, 11, 12, from which it would appear that he wrote a Commentary on that Gospel also. This eminent Valentinian flourished, it seems, between A. D. 150 and 180. and his Commentary was probably written some time in 160-180: for Origen states² that he was said to be an acquaintance (ᾑσώμενος) of Valentinus (who died about A. D. 160); and Irenæus, in his Second Book³ against Hæreses, written about A. D. 180 or earlier, makes mention of him. It is clear from passages in Irenæus that the Valentinians used *our four Gospels*, along with other books of the New Testament, and Valentinus himself has been seen making use of both Luke and John; and it is clear from the language of the early fathers that he received also the writings of the other two evangelists.

THE TESTIMONY OF MARCION.

Marcion, a native of Sinope, in Pontus, another distinguished heretic of the early Church, made his appearance about A. D. 138 or 140, and inculcated his strange system, of which the fundamental idea was, that the Author of creation, who was also the Author of the Jewish dispensation, is a different Being from that God who is revealed by Christ; that the former is the Author of an evil system, while the God of Christ and Christianity is the Good Being. He, ~~The teaching~~ accordingly, rejected the Old Testament and a large ~~of Marcion.~~ portion of the New. Irenæus remarks of him, that he taught, that "From that Father, who is superior to the God who is the maker of the world, Jesus having come into Judea in the times of Pontius Pilate, the governor, who was procurator of Tiberius Cæsar, he manifested himself in the form of a man to those who were in Judea, abolishing the law and the prophets, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom he also called *Cosmocrator*, (world-ruler). Besides abridging that Gospel which is according to Luke, and removing from it all the passages concerning the generation of the Lord, and removing also much of the doctrine of the Lord's discourses in which Jesus is very clearly described as declaring his Father to be the creator of this universe, Marcion persuaded his disciples that he was more veracious than those apostles who delivered the Gospel. In a similar manner he mutilated the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, taking away whatever was clearly said by the apostle concerning the God who made the world—since he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—and removing whatever the

¹ Stromata, lib. iv, cap. 7.

² In Joan, tom. ii, 8.

³ Cap. iv, 1.

apostle quoted and taught from the prophecies that predict the coming of the Lord."¹

Marcion cut off the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel, and commenced his Gospel with the words: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberias Cæsar." He did not, however, after this beginning, follow Luke closely, but omitted some things and added others.² This Gospel of Luke (thus abridged), and ten Epistles of Paul (more or less mutilated), constituted his sole canon of Scripture.³ That Marcion's Gospel was an abridgment of that of Luke, and, accordingly, that the latter is the original, is now conceded by rationalistic critics,⁴ though boldly denied by some of them until a comparatively recent date.

Here the question arises, Did Marcion know any thing of the other Gospels of our canon, and if he did, what was his opinion of them? Tertullian remarks that Marcion, "having found that Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, censures even the apostles themselves because they did not walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and that he at the same time accuses certain false apostles of perverting the truth of the Gospel, he (Marcion) strives to overturn the authority of those Gospels which are theirs (*propria*), and are published under the name of apostles, or also of apostolic men, that he, indeed, may confer upon his own the credit which he takes from them."⁵ From this it appears that Marcion regarded the Gospels of Matthew, Mark,⁶ and John, to which the language of Tertullian applies, as having been written by men under the influence of Jewish prejudice. But since Luke was the companion of Paul, who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, and who would be considered the most free from Jewish prejudice, his Gospel was regarded by Marcion as giving a more correct history of the acts and teachings of Christ than the other three. In accordance with these views he received ten Epistles of Paul; not entire, however. Tertullian addresses Marcion "as having dared to destroy the original documents of Christ's life, and as rejecting what he formerly believed, as Marcion confesses in a certain Epistle, and which his followers do not deny."⁷ "If the Scriptures," says

¹ *Contra Hæreses*, lib. i, cap. xxvii.

² See Epiphanius, *Hæresis* xlii; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv, cap. ii.

³ Epiphanius, *ibid*.

⁴ Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung*, p. 49, 1875. Baur, while conceding the priority of Luke's Gospel, nevertheless thinks that the Gospel of Marcion contained some readings more original than those of our Canonical Text. *Die Drei Erst. Jahr.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv, cap. iiii.

⁶ It is to be borne in mind that Mark was supposed to have written his Gospel from the preaching of Peter.

⁷ *De Carne Christi*, cap. ii.

Tertullian, "which oppose your opinion, you had not either rejected or corrupted, the Gospel of John would have confounded you."¹ Epiphanius² relates of Marcion, that when he went to Rome he asked the presbyters to explain to him the meaning of Matt. ix, 16, 17, which shows his acquaintance with that Gospel. There can be no doubt that Marcion was acquainted with our *four* Gospels, and that he regarded them as written by apostles or their companions. In selecting the Gospel of Luke, along with a part of Paul's Epistles, he shows that he regarded that Gospel as the writing of the companion of Paul.

THE TESTIMONY OF BASILIDES.

This eminent gnostic, the chief seat of whose activity was Alexandria, flourished, according to Clement³ of Alexandria, in the time of Hadrian (A. D. 117-138), and lived till the time of the elder Antoninus (Pius), A. D. 138. Nearly coinciding with this is the statement of Jerome,⁴ that his death⁵ occurred during the war of the Romans with Barchochebas (132-135).

He wrote twenty-four books on the Gospel; an effort, in all probability, to bring the teachings of the Gospel into harmony with his system, which he pretended to have derived from Glaukias, the interpreter of Peter.⁶ Hippolytus⁷ states that Basilides and Isodorus, his genuine son and disciple, say that Matthias communicated to them orally secret doctrines which he learned by private instruction from the Saviour. At all events, Basilides claimed an oral tradition from the apostles as the basis of his system, and made use of Scripture to prove it. Basilides wrote his expositions about A. D. 120 or 125, and was refuted by Agrippa Castor about A. D. 135 in an able work which was extant in the time of Eusebius.⁸ Of this work of Basilides, Clement⁹ of Alexandria quotes the twenty-third book under the title of "Expositions." It is evident from this title and from the extracts which Clement gives on the punishment of Christians who bear testimony for Christ, that the work was principally an exposition of the New Testament Scriptures in accordance with his

¹ De Carne Christi, cap. iiii.

² Hæresis xlix.

³ Stromata, vii, cap. xvii.

⁴ De Viris Illus. Agrippa.

⁵ This depends upon the reading *moritus, died*, instead of *moratus, lingered*: *interried*, for the MSS. fluctuate between these two readings. But the Greek of the passage, which is probably more ancient than any Latin MS., has "*died*." The sense of the passage requires the reading *moritus, died*, as there would be no propriety in saying that Basilides was *lingering* in the war of Barchochebas.

⁶ So states Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, lib. vii, cap. xvii.

⁷ Philosophoumena, lib. vii, sec. 20.

⁸ Hist. Eccles., lib. iv, cap. vii.

⁹ Stromata, lib. iv, cap. xii.

doctrines, and that it was not a Gospel that he had himself written.¹ Gieseler well observes that these twenty-four-books "may have also been called his Gospel."²

This distinguished Gnostic quotes the *Gospels of Luke and John*. Hippolytus, in describing the system of Basilides, says: Quotations
from Luke and
John by Basil-
ides. "Since it was impossible for him to say that an emanation from a non-existing God was something not existing, (for Basilides very much shuns and dreads the substances of the things that have been generated by emanation; for what emanation was necessary, or what matter must be presupposed, that God may form the world as the spider spins its thread, or as mortal man takes and forms brass, wood, or any other material?) but he says, he (God) spoke and it was done; and this is that which was spoken by Moses, as these men say: 'Let there be light, and there was light.' Whence, says he, did the light originate? From nothing. For it is not written, he says, whence, but this only, from the voice of the speaker. But he who speaks, he says, was not; nor was the thing spoken. The seed of the world, says he, was formed from non-existing things, the word that was spoken, 'Let there be light,' and this, says he, is that which is said in the Gospels: '*That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*'"³ The Greek text here and in John i, 9 is exactly the same, and there is no question that it came from the Gospel of John. But the Tübingen school of rationalists are unwilling to admit that Basilides himself quoted this passage—for that would prove that the Gospel of John was in existence at an earlier period than they concede. They would have us believe that it was likely a disciple of Basilides who makes this quotation. There is, however, no ground for doubt upon the subject. For Hippolytus, when he introduces the passage from John, is giving the fundamental part of the system of Basilides. He is not talking about the theories of the disciples, nor about the school of Basilides, but concerning Basilides' system. With the exception of the son of Basilides, Isodore, who was also his disciple, we know of no eminent man belonging to his party. To guard against any misunderstanding, Hippolytus frequently states, "he (Basilides) says." It is the doctrines of Basilides that he professes to give. What right have we to suppose that he is giving the views of any other person than the one he names?

¹ Basilides uses the term gospel (*εὐαγγέλιον*) for the Christian revelation: "he preached the gospel to the Archon of the Hebdomas," etc. *Philosophoumena*, vii, sec. 26. When Origen states that "Basilides dared to write a gospel and to put his own name to it" (Homily i, on Luke), it must have been this work; we know of no other.

² Church History, vol. i, 134.

³ *Philosophoumena*, lib. vii. 22.

There is no doubt that Hippolytus had before him the work of Basilides in twenty-four books, which is quoted by Clement of Alexandria some time after A. D. 192, and Hippolytus lived in the first half of the next century. But even if it had been lost in the time of Hippolytus, there was still in existence the refutation of it by Agrippa Castor, from which he could have learned the real system and arguments of Basilides. How absurd would be the supposition, of Hippolytus leaving the arch heretic, and hunting up some obscure follower of his, and calling a refutation of him a refutation of Basilides. Imagine an eminent theologian writing professedly against the system of Calvin, and quoting some obscure Presbyterian minister, using this language, he (Calvin) says! "It is true, Hippolytus sometimes refers to the followers of Basilides as holding the same views as their master, but nowhere does he appear to infer the doctrines of the master from the teachings of the disciples. If a theologian were to attack John Wesley's doctrines of the Witness of the Spirit and Christian Perfection, and after quoting various passages from him should add, and this is what the Methodists assert—who would suppose, for that reason, that he had not quoted Wesley, but had quoted his followers? Baur,¹ in his account of Basilides, gives his system from Hippolytus, whose authority he deems of great value. Hippolytus also gives another passage as quoted by Basilides, which is evidently from John ii, 4: "That every thing, says he (Basilides), has its own time the Saviour shows, saying, 'My hour has not yet come.'"

Basilides also quotes Luke i, 35: "This is, says he (Basilides), that which has been said, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee,' which, coming from the Sonship through the boundary of the Spirit to the Ogdoas and the Hebdomas unto Mary, 'and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee,' which is the power of separation,"² etc. Basilides, as it appears from Hippolytus, also made use of several of the Epistles of Paul, so that there is nothing strange in his making use of the Gospels. Baur fully concedes the early age of these distinguished Gnostics. "The most reliable witnesses," says he, "respecting the origin of Gnosticism agree that the founders of the Gnostic heresies appeared in the age of Trajan and Hadrian. Basilides lived about the year 125 in Alexandria. Valentinus, about the year 140, went from Alexandria to Rome. About the same time came thither also Marcion

Other passages
quoted by Basilides.

¹ Die Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte, pp. 205-213.

² Philosophoumena, vii, 27.

³ Ibid., vii. 26. Baur uses this statement in his account of Basilides, evidently regarding it as a genuine doctrine of Basilides.

of Sinope, in Pontus, the period of whose activity in Rome is placed in the years 140-150."¹

The testimony of Basilides to the Gospels of Luke and John is extremely valuable, as during the early part of his life he was a contemporary of the Apostle John, and must have known persons acquainted with some of the apostles. Scarcely less important is that of Valentinus to the Gospels of Luke and John, and the statement of Tertullian that he received the entire New Testament.²

Value of the
testimony of
Basilides.

THE NASSENI OPHITES, OR SERPENT BRETHREN.

This was a very old heretical sect, dating as far back at least as the beginning of the second century. Their system was nearly allied to that of the Valentinians. They were divided into various sub-sects. "One of them looked for the *sophia* [wisdom] in the serpent of Genesis, and hence the name of the whole party" (Gieseler). A quite full account is given of these heretics in the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus. Their system is simpler than that of the Valentinians, and is doubtless older.

These heretics, as they are described by Hippolytus, make great use of the Gospel of John; sometimes they give extracts from Matthew, and they perhaps used Luke.³ But the uncertainty, whether Hippolytus is giving the views of the Ophites of his own time (about A. D. 200-250), and their way of quoting Scripture, or the doctrines of the earlier members of the sect, is great; and this uncertainty deprives their testimony of much of its value. Yet the comparatively simple form in which their system presents itself in Hippolytus renders it probable that it belongs to the first half of the second century. The Perates and Sethians,⁴ associated with the Ophites, make references in their principles to Matthew and John.

John used by
the Ophites.

REFLECTIONS ON THE Gnostic TESTIMONY.

What De Groot says respecting the use of the New Testament in general by the Gnostics, holds especially good of their use of the four Gospels. They would never have thought of appealing to these Gospels if they "had not possessed in the universal conviction of Christians a sacred authority. For the Gnostics sought to gain for their peculiar medley of heathenism and Christianity admission into

¹ Die Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte, p. 196.

² That is, as it was received by Tertullian himself.

³ *Philosophoumena*, lib. v, secs. 1-18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lib. v, secs. 19-22.

the Christian community. This medley they called Gnosis; and, in order to give it a Christian colouring, they pretended to have received it as a secret doctrine of the Lord out of the mouth of the Apostle Matthias, or of a disciple of the apostles—Glaukias, for example, or Marianne, or Theodades. In order to secure for this pretence the appearance of truth, they took writings universally acknowledged and possessing authority, and explained them in such a way that the same doctrine might seem to be found in them that they pretended to have received from an apostle, or the disciple of an apostle.”¹ In leaving the Gnostic testimony to the Gospels, we may use the language of Irenæus: “So great is the certainty respecting the (four) Gospels, that even the heretics themselves testify to them, and each one of them, starting out from these (Gospels), endeavours to establish his own doctrine.”²

CHAPTER XIII.

EVIDENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS FROM THEIR SUPERSCRPTIONS.

ALL the ancient manuscripts of the four Gospels contain superscriptions ascribing them respectively to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. There are said to be five hundred Greek manuscript copies of John, in all of which the superscriptions attribute the Gospel to that apostle. We suppose the number of MSS. of the other Gospels to be about the same.

In the two most ancient MSS. of the Greek New Testament—the *Superscriptions in the Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.* Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus—both belonging to the middle of the fourth century, the superscriptions to the Gospels stand in the simplest form: *Kata Matthæon* (According to Matthew); *Kata Markon* (According to Mark); *Kata Loukan* (According to Luke); and *Kata Iωαννην* (According to John). Cyprian, a Latin writer and bishop of Carthage (about A. D. 250), uses the phraseology: “Cata Matthæum;”³ “Cata Lucam;”⁴ “Cata Marcum;”⁵ “and Cata Joannem;”⁶ showing that thus the superscriptions stood in the Greek, or at least in his Latin

¹ Basilides am Ausgang der Ap. Zeit., p. 34.

² Tanta est autem circa Evangelia hæc firmitas, ut et ipsi hæretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam.—Contra Hæres., lib. iii, cap. xi, 7.

³ Testimon., lib. i, cap. xii.

⁴ Lib. ii, cap. viii.

⁵ Lib. iii, cap. xxii.

⁶ Ibid., cap. xxiv.

version. There can be no doubt that the Greek MSS. of the Gospels in the latter part of the second century bore similar superscriptions. Irenæus (177-202) speaks of the Gospel *according to Matthew*,¹ the Gospel *according to Luke*,² and the Gospel *according to John*.³ In the same way Clement of Alexandria, in the latter part of the second century, speaks of the Gospels *according to Matthew*,⁴ Mark,⁵ and Luke.⁶

That our Gospels had titles prefixed to them in the second century appears from the language of Tertullian (about A. D. 200). In writing against the heretic Marcion, who appeared in Rome about A. D. 140, and abridged Luke's Gospel, he remarks: "Marcion ascribes his Gospel to no author, just as if it was not lawful for him to affix a title to that whose body itself he had considered it no crime to destroy. And I could here take my stand, and contend that a work should not be acknowledged which does not show its face, which exhibits no firmness, that inspires you with no confidence from the fulness of its superscription and the due profession of the author." From this, it is clear that Tertullian deemed it of great importance that books like our Gospels should present their authors' names on their very faces, to give them authority. He had just before spoken of our four Gospels as belonging to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. As Tertullian used the Latin version of the New Testament, we are authorized in inferring from his language that in this version the names of the evangelists were prefixed to the Gospels. It may be, also, inferred that he knew of no copies of our Gospels in any language without the authors' names attached.

In the Peshito-Syriac version of the second century these Gospels are ascribed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. We have no knowledge of any ancient versions, or any Greek MSS. of the four Gospels, in which they are not ascribed to the evangelists whose names they now bear. But how could such a unanimity of superscriptions, both in MSS. and versions, exist, unless they all had been derived originally from Gospels having the superscriptions of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John? If the original manuscript of each Gospel had not been inscribed to a known author, all the copies of these original Gospels would have been destitute of the names of the authors, and the MSS. that have come down to our age would exhibit to a greater or less degree the anonymous character of the ancient copies. The early Christians

¹ *Hæreses*, lib. i, cap. xxvi

² *Stromata*, lib. i, cap. xxi.

³ *Stromata*, lib. i, cap. xxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. xxvii.

⁵ *Lib. iii*, cap. ii, sec. 9.

⁶ In Eusebius's *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, cap. xiv.

⁷ *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv, cap. ii.

The Gospels
had superscrip-
tions in the
second cen-
tury.

Superscriptions
in the Syriac
version.

were unable to come to an agreement respecting the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews—which is anonymous in the most ancient Greek MSS.—but no such uncertainty respecting the authors of the Gospels anywhere appears. It cannot be for a moment supposed that the early Christians would have unanimously accepted Gospels the credibility of which depended greatly upon their authors, without knowing that the authors were either apostles, or men of repute who were companions of the apostles.

But the question still remains, Did the evangelists themselves attach their own names to the Gospels, or did the Christian societies to which they were originally addressed, and, in the case of Luke's Gospel, the individual to whom it was sent? It is not necessary to suppose that it was done by the evangelists themselves. Histories of so much importance must have been delivered by Matthew, Mark, and John to the Churches with which they were connected, or in which they especially laboured. These societies, receiving the Gospels from the hands of their authors, would naturally affix the authors' names to them. The Gospel of Luke, delivered in person, or sent to Theophilus, was known to be the writing of Luke; all the copies of that Gospel would have the name of Luke affixed as the authority for the history. Nor could these Gospels ever have been received, either in the apostolic age or in that immediately succeeding it, if their accounts of Christ's acts and doctrines had not corresponded with those delivered by the apostles and other eye-witnesses of Christ's life. How could the Gospel of Matthew have passed for his in the Christian communities which he taught unless its accounts coincided with what Matthew had taught orally? In that case what possible motive could there be to forge a Gospel in his name?

Respecting the Gospel of Mark, there is no good reason why the ancient Church did not attribute it to Peter, a celebrated apostle, directly, instead of attributing it to his associate, except *the fact* that Peter did not write it. The Gospel of Luke rests on grounds peculiar to itself, which we will consider in the proper place. The Gospel of John we will find to be authenticated by the testimony of elders at Ephesus and by strong internal evidence. And it must be observed, that forgeries of writings in the names of the apostles or apostolic men were unknown to the earliest age of the Christian Church. That age was too full of spiritual life, too much absorbed with the realities of the history of Christ and the apostles, too near the events, to think of counterfeiting the sacred oracles. But to put forth Gospels under the assumed names of apostolic men, instead of attributing them to the

Did the evangelists write the superscriptions?

Forgeries unknown to the first age of the Church.

apostles themselves, would be to unite amazing stupidity with wicked fraud.

The most remarkable instance of forgery in the history of Christianity is that of the Clementine Homilies, written in the second half of the second century. This heretical work ^{The Clementine Homilies.} professes to be composed by Clement, bishop of Rome, in the first century, in which the pretended author is converted by the preaching of Peter, and by him appointed his successor in the episcopacy. It is dedicated to James, bishop of Jerusalem, who is earnestly charged to reveal its contents to no Gentile, but only to those of his own countrymen after they had been fully tested. In this way the forger guarded against the objection to the genuineness of the book derived from its late appearance. The letter forged in the name of Christ, and which is represented as being sent by him to Abgarus, king of Edessa, is first given by Eusebius¹ in the *fourth* century, and was not fabricated earlier, in all probability, than the last part of the second century. From the consideration of the external testimony to the genuineness of the Gospels collectively, we proceed to consider them individually.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

THE PERSON OF THE EVANGELIST.

THE author of this Gospel, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, was a collector of taxes (*τελώνης*) when summoned to the apostleship. In Matt. ix, 9 he is called Matthew, but in the parallel passages (Mark ii, 14, Luke v, 27) he is called Levi. But there can be no reasonable doubt that Matthew and Levi are the same person; and in the lists of the apostles (Matt. x, 2-4, Mark iii, 16-19, Luke vi, 14-16, Acts i, 13), the name of Matthew appears, but that of Levi is not found. Yet Levi must have been an apostle, as we can hardly suppose that Christ called him (Mark ii, 14, Luke v, 27) for any other purpose. Some of the other apostles had more than one name, as Simon, named also Peter; Lebbeus, surnamed Thaddeus, and in Luke vi, 16, called Judas. Little is known respecting Matthew. Eusebius represents him as labouring among the Hebrews, and writing his Gospel when about to leave them for other people.²

¹ Hist. Eccles., lib. i, cap. xiii.

² Ibid., lib. iii, cap. xxiv.

STATEMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS RESPECTING THIS GOSPEL.

The earliest statement respecting the authorship and original language of this Gospel is that of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in the first half of the second century. He says that

"Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew dialect; every one interpreted them as he could."¹ It is clear from this language that the Gospel was not, in the time of Papias, used in the Hebrew form, but that he speaks of what occurred when the Gospel was first written: "Every man translated the Hebrew as well as he could."

Irenæus states that "Matthew, among the Hebrews, published a Gospel in their own dialect."² Origen states that Matthew published his Gospel, composed in the Hebrew language, for Jewish believers.³ Eusebius affirms that

Matthew, having preached the Gospel to the Hebrews, when he was about to depart to other people, delivered them the Gospel according to him in their own dialect, to supply the want of his presence.⁴

Eusebius, in speaking of the Ebionites, some of whom, he says, believed in the miraculous conception of Christ, while others of them denied it, remarks: "They made use of that Gospel only which is called according to the Hebrews, and took little account of the others."⁵ He also observes that Hegesippus quotes some things from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the Syriac Gospel.⁶ Whether he means by the Syriac Gospel the Peshito version, or not, cannot be determined. Eusebius relates a report that the Christian philosopher, Pantænus of Alexandria (about A. D. 190), went as a missionary to India, where it was said he found the Gospel according to Matthew written in the Hebrew language (which the Apostle Bartholomew had left with the Christians to whom he had preached), preserved to that time.⁷

Jerome says that Matthew, first in Judea, on account of those of the circumcision who had believed, composed the Gospel of Christ in the Hebrew characters and language. It is not quite certain who afterward translated it into Greek. "Furthermore, the Hebrew text itself is preserved until this day in the library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus, the martyr, very

¹ Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊστὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡμῖν τε οὖν αὐτὰ ὡς ᾤοντο ἕκαστος.—Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. xxxix.

² Contra Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. i.

³ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, cap. xxv.

⁴ Ibid., lib. iii, cap. xxiv.

⁵ Ibid., lib. iii, cap. xxvii.

⁶ Ibid., lib. iv, cap. xxii.

⁷ Ibid., lib. v, cap. x.

industriously formed. An opportunity for copying it was afforded me by the Nazaræans, who make use of this book, in Berœa, a city of Syria: in which it is to be observed, that wherever the evangelist, either in his own person or in that of our Lord and Saviour, uses the testimonies of the ancient Scriptures, he does not follow the authority of the Septuagint, but the Hebrew, of which these are two instances: '*Out of Egypt have I called my Son;*' and, '*For he shall be called a Nazaræan.*'"¹ Jerome also remarks, in commenting on Matthew xii, that the Gospel which the Nazaræans and the Ebionites use he had recently translated from the Hebrew language into Greek. He adds that very many call it the original text of Matthew.²

Origen remarks on the Ebionites: "The Jews who have received Christ are called Ebionites,"³ of whom there are two classes, "those who believe that Jesus was born of a virgin as we do, and those who believe that he was not so born; but as the rest of men."⁴ "They observe," says he, "the law of their fathers."⁵ It is clear from this that he includes in the term Ebionites the Nazaræans of Jerome. Irenæus⁶ states that the Ebionites made use of the Gospel according to Matthew only. It is quite certain that he refers to the Hebrew text of that Gospel.

Epiphanius of Cyprus, a master of five languages, including Hebrew, (in the latter half of the fourth century), remarks Epiphanius's account of the Ebionite Gospel. on the Ebionites: "In the Gospel among them called 'according to Matthew' (not entire, but adulterated and mutilated, and this they call the Hebrew Gospel), it is said there was a man by the name of Jesus, and he was about thirty years of age, who chose us. And coming into Capernaum, he entered into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter, and having opened his mouth, he said: Passing along the Sea of Tiberias, I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot, and I called thee, Matthew, sitting at the custom-house, and thou didst follow me. I therefore wish you to be twelve apostles for a testimony for Israel. And John was baptizing, and there went forth to him the Pharisees and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had a garment of camel's hair, and a

¹ Liber de Viris Illustribus, Matthæus.

² In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazaræni et Ebionitæ (quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum), etc.

³ Contra Celsum, lib. ii, cap. i. They were so called on account of their poverty, from the Hebrew עֲבִיּוֹן, *ebyon*, *poor*, or they gave themselves the name from their being *poor in spirit* (Matt. v, 3).

⁴ Ibid., lib. ii, cap. i.

⁵ Contra Celsum, lib. v, cap. lxi.

⁶ Contra Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. xi, sec. 7.

leather girdle about his loins, and his meat was wild honey, the taste of which was that of manna, like a honey-cake baked in oil." On this Epiphanius observes: "That they might forsooth convert the word of truth into a lie, and instead of locusts (*ἀκρίδων*) make it cakes in honey" (*ἐγκρίδας ἐν μέλιτι*.) "The beginning of the Gospel among them is, that 'It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judea, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan. He was said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zechariah and Elizabeth, and all went forth to him.' And to omit much that it gives, it adds: 'When the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And when he came up from the water the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove descending and entering into him. And a voice came from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased: and again, This day have I begotten thee. And immediately a great light shone around the place, which John having seen, says to him, Who art thou, Lord? And again the voice from heaven says to him, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Then John, falling down before him, said, I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me. But he forbade him, saying, Suffer it, because thus it is proper that every thing should be fulfilled.'"

Epiphanius also remarks, that "Cerinthus and Carpocrates, making use of this same Gospel of Matthew with them, wish to prove from the genealogy in the beginning of the Gospel that Jesus was born from the seed of Joseph and Mary. But the Ebionites aim at the opposite of this. For cutting off the genealogies from Matthew, they begin, as I said before, saying, that, it came to pass in the days of Herod, the king of Judea,"¹ etc. He also states that they call the Gospel according to Matthew, "According to the Hebrews;" "for to speak the truth, Matthew alone, of the New Testament writers, made an exposition of the Gospel in the Hebrew language and characters."² Respecting the Nazareans, he states: "They have the Gospel according to Matthew very complete in Hebrew. For it is certain that among them this is still preserved, as it was written originally, in the Hebrew language. But I do not know whether they took away the genealogies which extend from Abraham until Christ."³

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, in Syria (about A. D. 423-457), speaks of two classes of Ebionites, one of which held that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, and received the Gospel according to the Hebrews only. To this class belonged Symmachus, who trans-

¹ *Adversus Hæreses*, xxx, 13, 14.

² *Ibid.*, cap. iii.

³ *Ibid.*, xxix, cap. ix.

lated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. The other class of Ebionites, he says, affirmed that Christ was born of a virgin; they made use of the Gospel according to Matthew only, kept the Sabbath according to the Jewish law, and observed Sunday in like manner as the Christian Church. To these he adds the Nazareans¹—Jews who honour Christ as a just man, and make use of the Gospel called "according to Peter."²

From the foregoing extracts from the early Christian writers, it appears evident that they were unanimous in the belief that Matthew wrote his Gospel originally in Hebrew. Conclusions from the above testimonies. As they were using the Greek text of Matthew, their natural tendency would have been to regard that as the original, and the Hebrew Gospel used by Jewish heretics as a Hebrew translation and recension of the Greek. Their unanimity respecting a Hebrew original must, therefore, have been derived from a primitive tradition. Though this Gospel was said to have been composed in Hebrew, it was in fact, as Jerome,³ who translated it, informs us, "written in the Syro-Chaldee⁴ language, but with Hebrew characters." We have also seen that Jerome in one place declares the Hebrew Gospel to be the original Gospel written by Matthew;⁵ in another, that it is called by most the original text of our Matthew;⁶ and in another, he terms it the Gospel *according to the Hebrews, according to the apostles*, or, as most assert, *according to Matthew*.⁷

It is clear, from Jerome's account of this Gospel, that it generally coincided with our Matthew. It contained the passages, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son," and "He shall be called a Nazarene,"⁸ found in the second chapter of our Matthew. And Jerome speaks of the reading *Judæ*, as found "in the Hebrew text itself" (chap. ii, 5), not *Judææ*.⁹ As this Gospel contained the second chapter, it had in all probability the first. Had it lacked this chapter, Jerome could not have failed to

¹ Hæret. Fabul. Comp., lib. ii, 1, 2.

² The Gospel according to Peter is mentioned by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, about A. D. 200. He read the book, and found most of its contents accorded with the true doctrines of Christ; some things, however, were of a different character. It appears to have been a recension of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Serapion's account of it is given by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, cap. xii.

³ In Evangelio *juxta Hebræos*, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est.—Adversus Pelagianos, lib. iii, 2.

⁴ This was the vernacular language of the Jews in Palestine at the time of Christ. It is called in the New Testament *Ἑβραϊστί*, *Hebrew*, because spoken by the Hebrews.

⁵ De Viris Illustribus, cap. iii.

⁶ Comment. in Matt., xii.

⁷ Adversus Pelagianos, lib. iii, 2.

⁸ De Viris Illustribus, cap. iii.

⁹ Comment. in Matt., ii.

notice the fact. We have also seen that Hegesippus¹ quoted the Gospel according to the Hebrews. When Irenæus² states that the Ebionites make use of the Gospel according to Matthew only, we are to understand him as meaning the whole Gospel, in Hebrew, doubtless. And this corresponds with what Epiphanius³ relates, that Cerinthus retained the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel. We have also seen that Theodoret⁴ speaks of two classes of Ebionites, one of which used the Gospel of Matthew only, and the other the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This last work must have been a modified Gospel of Matthew; another form of it was the Gospel of Peter, used by Nazoræans (Nazaræans).

Epiphanius, in his account of the Nazaræans already given, states that they have the Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew very complete, but that he does not know whether they removed the first two chapters or not. The ignorance of Epiphanius upon this point arose from the fact that he lived in the Island of Cyprus, while the Nazaræans flourished in Syria. But his want of information upon this point is supplied by Jerome, who gives extracts from the *second* chapter, and knows nothing of the elision of the first.

We have, however, seen that Epiphanius states that the Ebionites had cut off the first two chapters of Matthew. This was, doubtless, done to accommodate that Gospel to their doctrine—that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary. But what number of them did this we cannot determine; yet it is likely that it was but a small portion. The Gospel of Matthew, from which Epiphanius says the Ebionites cut off the first two chapters, was probably a *Greek* recension of Matthew, used by the Ebionites in Cyprus, where he says members of that sect were found,⁵ and from whom there is no doubt that he obtained the copy which he describes.

That his copy was a Greek recension is very likely from the fact that he says the Greek word *ἀκρίδας*, *locusts*, in Matthew iii, 4, was changed into *ἐγκρίδας*,⁶ *cakes made with oil and honey*. This is further probable from its being extremely unlikely that the Syro-Chaldee language, in which Jerome's copy was written, was used in Cyprus. And the inference is in the highest degree probable that the two chapters of Matthew were elided only in the Greek recension of the work. To this it must be added that Epiphanius alone among the ancients speaks of the elision of these two chapters by the Ebionites. It also appears, from Epiphanius's account of the mutilated Gospel

¹ In Euseb., Hist. Eccles., iv, 22. He lived about 150–170. ² Lib. iii, cap. xi, sec. 7.

³ Hæresis, xxx, 14.

⁴ Hæret. Fabul., lib. ii, 1, 2.

⁵ Hæresis, xxx, 18.

⁶ These two words sounded nearly alike; written in English characters, they are *akridas*, *locusts*; *enkridas*, *cakes made with oil and honey*.

of Matthew, that it had some passages from Luke's Gospel. It contained additions and explanations.

The substantial agreement of our Greek Gospel of Matthew with the Hebrew Gospel used by the various heretical Christian sects among the Jews, in all probability from the last part of the *first* century, certainly from the middle of the second to the fifth century, shows that they had a common origin. The extracts from the Hebrew Gospel given by the early fathers show that our Matthew, in comparison with it, is the original.

In an ancient translation of a part of Origen's Commentary on Matthew,¹ respecting chap. xix. 16-22 it is stated: "It is written in a certain Gospel which is called according to the Hebrews, if it pleases any one to accept this, not as an authority, but for the illustration of the subject before us: One of the rich men said to him, Master, what good thing must I do that I may live? He said to him: Man, observe the laws and the prophets. He answered him: I have observed them. He said to him: Go sell all which thou hast, and distribute it among the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him: How dost thou say, I have kept the law and the prophets? since it is written in the law, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, and behold many of thy brethren, the sons of Abraham, are covered with ordure, dying with hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing goes from it to them," etc. In the account of the appearance of Christ after his resurrection, it is stated in this Gospel: "But when the Lord had given the napkin to the servant of the priest, he went to James, and appeared to him, for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drank the Lord's cup until he should see him rising from among those who sleep,"² etc. It is evident that both of these narratives are an enlargement of our Gospel of Matthew. The passage in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, quoted by Epiphanius,³ "His (John the Baptist's) meat was wild honey, of which the taste was that of manna," is a gloss on the passage in our Matthew. Origen gives the following passage from this same Gospel: "My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me just now by one of my hairs, and carried me away to the great Mount Tabor."⁴

In the account of our Saviour's healing the withered hand of a man in the synagogue, Matt. xii, several particulars are added in the Gospel used by the Nazaræans and Ebionites: "I was a stone mason,

¹ Tomus xv. 14.

² Hæresis, xxx, 13.

³ De Viris Illustribus, cap. ii.

⁴ Comment. in Joannem, tom. ii. 6.

obtaining my living by my hands; I beseech thee, Jesus, to restore me to health, that I may not disgracefully beg my bread."¹ In the account of the baptism of Christ in the Hebrew Gospel, we have already seen that several incidents are added to those we have in the Greek Matthew.

The additions to our Greek Matthew, some of which are probably as old as the middle of the second century, indicate that the original Matthew is at least as ancient as the last part of the first century. But the Gospel according to the Hebrews cannot be put on a par with our Matthew, as is evident from the passages that we have given from it. Strauss² himself concedes that our Greek Matthew is the more original work. It is to be observed that the differences between our Matthew and the Hebrew Gospel are made prominent by the early Christian writers, while there was but little occasion to notice their general agreement, which must have been quite close, otherwise no one could have supposed that the Hebrew Gospel had the same origin as the Greek Matthew.

Hilgenfeld thinks that the basis of our Greek Matthew was a Gospel written originally in Hebrew, before the destruction of Jerusalem, but enlarged and revised soon after that event, and, in its present form, adapted to the Gentile Christians; and that this original Hebrew Gospel was closely allied with that used by the Nazaræans. He refers to a statement of Nicephorus—patriarch of Constantinople in the last part of the eighth and in the first part of the ninth century—that the Gospel of Matthew contains twenty-five hundred lines, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews twenty-two hundred lines, making the matter in the latter three hundred lines less than in our Gospel of Matthew. But this statement is worthless, for Nicephorus also says that the Acts of the Apostles contain twenty-eight hundred lines, three hundred more than Matthew, when in fact they contain only about one hundred and fifteen more. He also states that Mark's Gospel contains two thousand lines, four fifths as much matter as Matthew's, whereas on the basis of Matthew it should have been about fifteen hundred and fifty, about two thirds of Matthew. Nor do we know to what recension of the Hebrew Gospel Nicephorus refers. The recension of the Hebrew Gospel which Epiphanius had lacked the first two chapters, and seems to have been a Greek version. This recension is very likely the one which Nicephorus says contained twenty-two hundred lines.³

¹In Jerome's Comment. in Matt., xii. ²Das Leben Jesu, p. 50. Leipzig, 1874.

³If Nicephorus had before him this Gospel in Hebrew, though containing as much matter as our Matthew, it would have occupied less space in that language.

It is in the highest degree improbable that, if the Greek Gospel of Matthew contained a great deal more matter than the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazaræans, Jerome, who translated it into Greek, would have failed to notice the fact. But would the translator of the Hebrew Gospel have dared to make large additions of his own to the work of an apostle of Christ? Yet, if he was bold and unscrupulous enough to do this, the fraud would have been soon detected, for both before and many years after the destruction of Jerusalem there were many Jewish Christians acquainted with the Hebrew (Syro-Chaldee) language, as well as Greek, holding fellowship with the Gentile Christians. In the many translations made of the New Testament books in the early ages, in no instance did the translator add new matter to the Greek text.

Not likely that additions were made by the translator of Matthew.

Nor could the Greek text of Matthew have been enlarged without the additions becoming known; for the Christian Church in the last part of the first century was widely diffused over the Roman empire, and many copies of the Gospel of Matthew must have been made. No one could alter all these manuscripts, or even a large portion of them; and, besides, the result would have been that we would now have no uniform text of this Gospel. On the contrary, there is a remarkable agreement among the numerous manuscripts and versions, showing that they are all the derivations of a single manuscript.

The reception of the Gospel of Matthew by the various Christian sects among the Jews affords strong proof that it came down from the apostolic age, and was regarded as a work that had apostolic sanction. Epiphanius states that the heretic Cerinthus, in the last part of the first century, made use of the Gospel of Matthew, retaining, also, the first two chapters, and endeavouring from their genealogy to establish his doctrine that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary.¹ We have also seen that Hegesippus, about the middle of the second century, quoted the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and in the account he gives of the testimony of James, bishop of Jerusalem, he attributes to him language almost identical with Matt. xxvi, 64.² James says: "Why do ye ask me concerning Jesus, the Son of man? He is even sitting in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come in the clouds of heaven."³

Early reception of Matthew's Gospel by Jewish Christian sects.

Here the question arises, Why did the sects of Jewish believers in

¹ *Hæresis* xxx, 14.

² Similar is Mark xiv, 62. Hegesippus also quotes, "Blessed are your eyes which see, and your ears which hear," etc., Matt. xiii, 16, in Photius, *Codex* ccxxxi.

³ In Eusebius. *Hist. Eccles.* ii, 23.

the second century, and subsequently, receive the Gospel of Matthew only? The most natural answer to this question is, Because Matthew laboured especially among the Jewish people of Palestine, and wrote his Gospel in their vernacular, Syro-Chaldee, for their instruction. Nor is there any *a priori* improbability that Matthew would write his Gospel in that language, especially since it was composed before the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jews in Palestine were still intact. If Matthew confined his apostolic labors to Palestine, where he must have used the Syro-Chaldee language, it is exceedingly improbable that he could have composed a Gospel in Greek.

Josephus states that he first wrote his History of the Jewish Wars in his vernacular tongue (Syro-Chaldee), and afterward translated it into Greek for the benefit of other nations.¹ Why should not Matthew have written his Gospel in the same language? But though written originally in Hebrew, it would soon be translated into Greek, to insure it a more extended circulation. This version was made so early that the name of the translator, it seems, was unknown to the writers of the second and subsequent centuries.

But it may be asked, Why did not the translator of the Gospel of Matthew in the Peshito-Syriac version, executed about the middle of the second century, make his version from the Hebrew, or, rather, Syro-Chaldee, text of Matthew, instead of making it from the Greek, as he evidently did, especially as the Syro-Chaldee was closely allied to the Syriac? To which we would answer, that at that time the Hebrew Gospel was used only by the sects of the Jewish Christians not recognized by the great body of the Church as orthodox, and it had already received some additions, while the Greek Matthew was everywhere used in the Gentile Church as the authoritative text.²

But, notwithstanding the unanimous testimony of the ancient Church that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew, some
Some critics in favour of a Greek original. eminent modern critics have decided in favour of a Greek original. Among these are Lardner, Hug, De Wette, Bleek, and Tischendorf. Our Greek Matthew shows an acquaintance with the Septuagint, but does not always follow it; in some instances it adheres to the Hebrew when that version departs from it. It is clear that the author of this Gospel was acquainted with Hebrew.

¹ Bellum Judaicum, Prooemium. This Syro-Chaldee text is lost.

² The following is the subscription to Matthew's Gospel in the Peshito-Syriac version: "The end of the Holy Gospel, the preaching of Matthew which he published in Hebrew, in the land of Palestine."

The manner in which the quotations from the Old Testament are made furnishes, however, no proof that our Greek Matthew is not a translation. In Matt. ii, 15 the translator could not have followed the LXX without destroying the very sense in which the evangelist uses the passage, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son;" for that version has, "I called his children out of Egypt." In quoting Isa. xlii. 1-3 in chap. xii, 18-20, the words of the LXX are but partly used; while chap. xiii, 14, 15 is the exact language of Isaiah vi, 9, 10 in the LXX. It is not easy to explain this.

The Gospel of Matthew bears internal evidence of having been written for the Jewish Christians especially. The main purpose of the author is to show that Jesus Christ is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament; and he accordingly gives the genealogy of Christ as far back as Abraham. In about eleven places he refers to incidents in the history of Christ as being fulfilments of the Old Testament prophecies, besides those passages in which he represents Christ himself as referring to them. In his Sermon on the Mount Christ contrasts his own teaching with that of Moses, which is rarely done in the other evangelists. To the Jews he says: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled" (chap. v, 17, 18). In a Gospel addressed to Jewish Christians these passages in our Lord's discourses are naturally recorded, but in one addressed especially to Gentile Christians they could, with propriety, be omitted, though Luke xvi, 17 has a similar passage to Matthew v, 17, 18. Nor does the evangelist anywhere attempt to explain the customs of the Jews—which is very natural on the supposition that this Gospel was intended for Jewish readers, but quite strange if it was designed for Gentile Christians.

Internal proof
that Matthew's
Gospel was de-
signed for Jew-
ish Christians.

Utterly untenable is the position of Hilgenfeld,¹ that our Matthew is the Hebrew Gospel of that evangelist, enlarged and adapted to the Gentile Christians. Would such a reviser have allowed such a passage as this to stand: "Think not that I come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled" (chap. v, 17, 18). Nor is the command of Christ to his apostles, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (chap. x, 5, 6), adapted to

Hilgenfeld's
theory consid-
ered.

¹Einleitung, pp. 457-497. Leipzig, 1875.

Gentile Christians. Wholly unsuitable, also, for these Christians is the language Christ addressed to the Syrophenician woman (chap. xv, 26). The references made to the Old Testament prophecies would not be so appropriate if addressed to Gentile as to Jewish Christians. Nor is there the least probability that all these references were not found¹ in the Hebrew Gospel, for Jerome states that the Gospel of the Nazaræans had the two references in the second chapter to the Old Testament: "Out of Egypt have I called my Son;" and, "He shall be called a Nazarene."

There are, it is true, two parables referring to the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles: that of the vineyard (chap. xxi, 33-43), and that of the marriage of the king's son (chap. xxii, 2-14). Also the declaration, "That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness" (chap. viii, 11, 12), refers to the same events. But it was to be expected that Christ would make declarations of this kind, and the denial of them is a rejection of his foreknowledge. Nor are they inappropriate in a Gospel addressed to Jewish Christians especially. The command given the apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations (chap. xxviii, 19, 20) rises above the particularism of the Jews, and is perfectly in keeping with the great designs of the Founder of Christianity. But such outcroppings of the intended universality of Christianity were to be expected even in a Gospel designed especially for Jewish Christians.

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

The oldest testimony upon this point is that of Irenæus (about A. D. 180), who states that "among the Hebrews Matthew published in their own dialect a written Gospel when Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel in Rome and founding the Church."² Respecting the time when Peter arrived in Rome we know nothing, and the time of the arrival of Paul in that city is to be determined from his history in the Acts of the Apostles. This event most critics place in A. D. 60-63, and Paul's death about A. D. 67 or 68. If the statement of Irenæus is correct, the Gospel must have been written during this interval, somewhere between A. D. 60 and 68. Clement³ of Alexandria says that it was the tradition of

¹ Against Hilgenfeld.

² *Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ Γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν Ἐυαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτροῦ καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐναγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.*—*Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii, cap. i, sec. i.

³ In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, 14. He was a teacher in the Catechetical School of Alexandria, A. D. 190-202.

the most ancient presbyters that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first. Eusebius¹ states that Matthew wrote for the Hebrews his Gospel when about to leave for other people. There is nothing very definite in respect to time in these last two statements.

There can be no doubt that the Gospel of Matthew is the oldest of the four. "All considerate inquirers," says the skeptical critic Keim, "agree in the admission that the Gospel of Matthew was written about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. . . . Preponderating are the indications that it originated before this destruction." He fixes upon the year A. D. 68,² about two years before that catastrophe.³ Hug,⁴ De Wette,⁵ and Ewald⁶ place it *before* the destruction of Jerusalem; and Bleek⁷ in the year of the destruction, but before it rather than after it.

Baur supposed that our Matthew is a revision of the Hebrew Gospel, or Gospel of Peter, made during the second Jewish war (A. D. 132-135), and adapted to general circulation by slight modifications, but, upon the whole, reproducing the evangelical history with great fidelity. His latest view substantially was that our Gospel is a revision of the Gospel written in Greek, of a strictly Jewish cast, by the Apostle Matthew between A. D. 50 and 60, but which received small additions, about ten years later, to adapt it to universal circulation.⁸

Strauss⁹ thinks that our Matthew was formed by successive additions, based possibly upon the original Gospel, which may have proceeded from an apostle, and finished at a quite late period.

Renan regards our Matthew as having its origin in "the discourses of Jesus collected by the Apostle Matthew," and seems to think that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and that not without reason it bears the title: "The Gospel according to Matth-

¹ Euseb., iii, 24.

² Geschichte Jesu, pp. 24, 25. Zürich, 1873.

³ Keim, however, regards the parable of the marriage of the king's son (chap. xxii, 2-14) as not belonging to the original Matthew, but added about A. D. 100. He thinks that Christ could not have spoken this parable, because it too clearly predicts the overthrow of the Jewish State. But if this addition had been made when the Gospel had already been in circulation forty years, the section would have been wanting in most of the MSS.—which is not the case. He also thinks chapter xxiv, 14 a later addition.

⁴ Einleitung, Zweiter Theil, 8-13.

⁵ Einleitung, p. 200.

⁶ Die Drei Ersten Evangel., u. s. w., p. 89. Göttingen, 1871.

⁷ Einleitung, von Mangold, pp. 318, 319. Berlin, 1875.

⁸ He regards the Gospel of Matthew "as relatively the most genuine and the most reliable source of the Gospel history." —Kirchengesch. der Drei Erst. Jahr., p. 23

⁹ Das Leben Jesu, p. 50. Leipzig 1874.

ew." He thinks, also, "that beyond doubt at a very early period the discourses of Jesus were written in the Aramaic language, *as*, likewise, were his remarkable deeds recorded. He supposes, however, that in the course of time this Gospel received some additions and suffered some changes.'

It is clear from Matthew xxiv that this Gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and has been preserved intact. For the form in which Christ predicts the destruction of that city, connecting *apparently*² the future judgment closely with it, and the highly figurative and indefinite manner in which it is expressed, are conclusive proofs that it was neither made up after the event, nor in the least degree moulded by it.

It seems proper in this place to consider the assertion of Strauss ~~As to alleged~~ and Renan, that this Gospel received considerable additions to its original matter at various times. In proof of this assertion not a particle of evidence is furnished. In the first place, it is contrary to general usage. Who supposes that Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates received important additions from later hands; or that his Anabasis has been largely interpolated; or the History of Herodotus? To interpolate an author is a fraudulent act; but what shall we say of the frequent interpolation of the writings of an apostle by Christians? We do not charge the Mohammedans with corrupting the Koran.

But even if a few so-called Christians were unscrupulous enough to interpolate the Gospel, it is impossible that such interpolations should escape detection. For immediately after the publication of the Gospel many copies of it would be disseminated among the Christian Churches in all parts of the Roman empire, and but few copies could receive the same interpolations. The result would be that the ancient manuscripts and versions would present a great variety of texts, from which it would have been impossible to fix with any certainty the original text. But we have no such disagreement of manuscripts and versions, but a wonderful harmony.

The very form in which we have the Gospel shows that it has not been made up of heterogeneous elements, but that it is a well arranged history of Christ. Let any one compare it with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which it was closely connected and he will see at once in what condition our Matthew would have been had it received additions to its original form.

The Hebraisms of this Gospel show that it must have been written

¹ Vie de Jésus, Introduction. Paris, 1867.

² We say *apparently*, for we do not think that Christ intended that, whatever the apostles may have thought at the time.

by one whose vernacular was Hebrew or Syro-Chaldee, and if interpolations were made in it, they must have come from persons of similar education. But after the close of the first century the Jewish believers in the Church were not numerous. Further, each of our evangelists has his peculiarities stamped upon his Gospel. The foregoing observations are applicable in nearly their whole extent to all four Gospels. We are authorized to conclude that Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Syro-Chaldee language in Palestine some time between A. D. 60 and 67—most likely in the earlier part of this period—and that it was soon afterward translated into Greek, and has come down to us in its integrity.

The only known instance in antiquity of the denial of the genuineness of this Gospel is that of Faustus, an African bishop of the Manichæans (about A. D. 400), a man of ^{Faustus a rejecter of Matthew.} natural shrewdness, but destitute of culture. Augustine says that this man “published a volume against the true Christian faith and catholic truth.” In promoting his heresy he denied the genuineness of this Gospel, declaring that the use of the third person by the evangelist, when speaking of Matthew (ix, 9), is inconsistent with the author’s being Matthew.¹ Such an argument shows the ignorance of the man or his want of candour.

THE GENUINENESS AND CHARACTER OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

We have seen the strength of the external evidence showing that this Gospel proceeded from Matthew. Now, the question arises, Is there any thing in the Gospel itself inconsistent with its apostolic origin? It would be a singular, and, we may add, a sad, spectacle if a Gospel, received everywhere throughout the Christian world from its first publication without doubt as the work of the Apostle Matthew, should, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, be discovered to have originated from no apostle at all. What documents belonging to antiquity, either of a sacred or profane character, could we in that case receive with any confidence? The unanimous judgment and testimony of the ancient world respecting matters of fact should command our belief and trust; otherwise, we are driven to universal skepticism.

But the examination of the contents of this Gospel reveals nothing inconsistent with the claim that it is from Matthew, the apostle of Christ. It clearly sets forth the original, sublime, distinctive, and incisive doctrines of Christ, and relates his godlike acts with freshness and simplicity of language, always maintaining the apostolic

¹ In Augustine. *Contra Faustum*. lib. vii, cap. i.

dignity, and avoiding every thing of a trivial character. The Sermon on the Mount bears upon it the stamp of the originality of Christ, and nowhere else in the evangelical history have we such a full and clear statement of Christ's doctrines. But in spite of the high character of this Gospel, and the universal testimony borne to it by antiquity, doubts have been raised by some critics in modern times respecting its having originated from Matthew.

De Wette, who in some respects may be called the chief of sceptics, can find nothing in the account that the evangelist states respecting Matthew (ix, 9) that would lead us to infer that he is the author of the Gospel. It is true that in that passage he speaks simply of his being a tax-gatherer, and being called to follow Christ. Whether he should say more than this was a matter of taste. In the Memoirs of Socrates, written by his disciple, Xenophon, but little is said of the author, and nothing to connect him with the composition of the book; and when he describes himself in the Anabasis,¹ not the least hint is given that he wrote the work. De Wette thinks that an eye-witness

Doubts of late critics considered.

of the life of Christ would not have passed over his ministry in Jerusalem, which is related by John. The passage, "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" (Matt. xxiii, 37) clearly shows that our evangelist knew that Christ had exercised his ministry also among the people of Jerusalem. In not describing our Saviour's earlier visits to Jerusalem, and his ministry there, our evangelist does not stand alone. The same omission occurs in Mark and Luke. Luke, however, mentions a visit which our Saviour made to Martha and Mary (chap. x, 38-42); and on another occasion he speaks of our Saviour being in a village of the Samaritans, with his face set as if he was going up to Jerusalem (chap. ix, 53); and of his "journeyings towards Jerusalem" (Luke xiii, 22). He also says: "As he went to Jerusalem" (chap. xvii, 11). Although our Saviour's abode was in Galilee, where he chiefly exercised his ministry, there can be no doubt that, as a Jew, he obeyed the law and went up to Jerusalem to the great festivals, during which he exercised his ministry in that city. But the fact is, that our evangelist devotes about *one third* (the last) of his Gospel to Christ's teachings, acts, and the closing events of his earthly career in Jerusalem. Matthew knowing that the most important events in the life of our Lord occurred at Jerusalem, at the end of his mission, may have deemed it unnecessary to give the visits of Christ to that city, since it was not his design to write a full history of the

De Wette's objection considered.

¹ Book iii, chap. i, sec. 4, etc.

Redeemer. The same reason may have governed Luke¹ in writing his Gospel; and Mark also, unless we regard him as imitating Matthew.

The only way in which the omission of Christ's earlier visits to Jerusalem could militate against the evangelist being an eyewitness of Christ's life, would be to show that he knew nothing about them. But that supposition is refuted by the Gospel itself, and is utterly incredible when we consider the early period at which it was written. Luke, who assures us that he had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first," as they were delivered by the eyewitnesses of Christ's life (chap. i, 2, 3), also passes over the early visits to Jerusalem. Now, the Gospel of John beautifully supplements the first three, and is confined almost entirely to the narration of Christ's teachings and acts at Jerusalem and in its vicinity. There can be no doubt that John intended it to be the complement of the other Gospels.

De Wette also objects that Matthew does not always follow the order of time in his narration of Christ's discourses. But it is clear that our evangelist *does* generally follow the order of time, and if any incidents seem to be out of natural connexion, that fact can furnish no valid objection to the apostolic origin of the Gospel.² As our Saviour inculcated the same lessons in different places, the evangelist may not in every instance have accurately discriminated the occasions, after the lapse of many years. Christ promised the apostles that the Father would send them the Holy Spirit to bring to their remembrance whatever he had said unto them, but this did not necessarily imply the exact order of time in which each thing was said. In the observance of the chronological order of events Matthew is more accurate than either Luke or Mark. Yet it must be observed that the evangelist may not have cared to observe closely the exact order of time. But we are not sure that Matthew has at all failed in this particular. It is easy to infer from some preconceived theory that certain events and teachings should stand in a different connexion from that in which they appear, but we have no sufficient proof that they are wrongly placed.

It has also been alleged that our evangelist does not describe

¹ It is exceedingly probable that Luke, when he wrote, had not seen Matthew's Gospel. According to Irenæus' statement, when Matthew wrote Luke must have been at Rome, where he wrote about the same time, or soon after. Mark was evidently acquainted with our Matthew.

² Even the most famous of modern biographers do not always observe the order of time.

events with all the clearness and vividness that might be expected from an eyewitness. But the power of describing events in a vivid manner is not possessed by all. Further, some narrators almost invariably go into all the details of a subject, while others are content to touch upon the most important points. It is very evident that, in the limited space to which Matthew confines himself, he could not give a great number of particulars. Yet it is to be observed that in his delineations he is generally more original than Luke.

In his account of the miracle of the feeding of five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes (chap. xiv, 15-21) he states that Christ commanded the multitude to sit down on *the grass*. This language probably indicates an eyewitness. The mention of grass is wanting in Luke.¹ Matthew is more specific than the other evangelists in stating that there were five thousand fed, besides the women and children. In chap. xiii, 1 he gives a very exact statement, wanting in Mark and Luke—"the same day." But it must be observed the greatest part of Matthew's Gospel is occupied with the discourses of Christ, and, consequently, there are not so many occasions on which the evangelist could give particulars.

Bleek does not attribute our Gospel to the Apostle Matthew, nor does he inform us who he thinks wrote it, except that it is not the work of an apostle. He remarks: "It holds a lower position than the Gospel of John, but in general it stands in the same rank with that of Luke, and in its essential contents for the Christian faith it remains permanently a credible and important source."² Undoubtedly the early composition of our Gospel, and its universal authority at the close of the apostolic age and afterward, show that it contains the history of Christ as delivered by the eyewitnesses of his life, whoever may have been the author. But we cannot allow the opinion of Bleek³ to weigh much against the unanimous judgment of antiquity—beginning with that of Papias, in the first part of the second century—that *Matthew the apostle wrote it*; and the testimony of antiquity is accepted by the great mass of modern scholars.

¹ Mark speaks of the green grass; John, of much grass; John was an eyewitness, Mark, if not an eyewitness, may have derived his account from Matthew.

² Einleitung, by Mangold, p. 332.

³ Even Hilgenfeld acknowledges that our Gospel has the genuine writing of the apostle Matthew for its foundation, written A. D. 60-70, which was revised immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. Einleitung, p. 197. Leipzig, 1875.

CONTENTS OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

THIS Gospel opens with the genealogy of Christ, from Abraham to Joseph the husband of Mary, and gives an account of the miraculous conception and birth of our Lord. This is followed by the visit of the Magi to the infant Saviour; the attempt of Herod to murder him; the flight of Joseph and Mary with the child into Egypt; the slaughter of the infants by Herod; the return of the family from Egypt, and their settlement in Nazareth (chaps. i, ii). John preaches repentance and baptizes the people in the Jordan. Christ is also baptized by him; fasts for forty days in the desert of Judea, and is tempted by the devil, who is vanquished. After this Christ goes into Galilee, preaching everywhere the kingdom of God, and performing all kinds of miracles for the relief of men. He calls Peter, Andrew, James, and John to be his disciples. Great crowds follow him (chaps. iii, iv). He delivers the Sermon on the Mount, in which he sets forth the moral and religious principles of his kingdom, partly in contrast with the Mosaic system (chaps. v-vii). He heals a leper, restores to health by a word the centurion's servant sick of the palsy, cures Peter's mother-in-law, and casts out devils. To a scribe wishing to follow him he declares he has not where to lay his head. He rebukes the winds and the seas. In the country of the Gergesenes he casts out of two men devils, whom he suffers to enter into and destroy a herd of swine (chap. viii). He heals a man sick of the palsy, and declares his power on earth to forgive sins. He calls Matthew to be his disciple, declares that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance, and justifies his disciples in not fasting. He heals a woman who had an issue of blood, restores to life the daughter of a ruler, gives sight to two blind men, and speech to a dumb man possessed of a devil (chap. ix). He instructs and sends forth his twelve apostles to preach to Israel (chap. x). John sends two of his disciples to Christ to ascertain whether he is the Messiah. He tells them to tell John what they have seen and heard. He characterizes John, and upbraids the cities where most of his own mighty works had been done, proclaims the intimate relations existing between himself and his Father, and invites the weary and heavy-laden to come to him and find rest (chap. xi). Christ justifies his disciples in plucking and eating corn on the Sabbath day, then heals the withered hand of a man on the Sabbath, and justifies the action. The Pharisees take counsel to destroy him, and he withdraws. He casts the devil out of a man blind and dumb, who speaks and sees. The Pharisees charge Jesus with casting out devils through the prince of the devils,

whereupon he declares that there is no forgiveness for blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, rebukes the people for their wickedness, describes their miserable condition, and affirms that his disciples are his nearest kindred (chap. xii). The parables of the sower, tares, and hidden treasure are delivered. The people are astonished at Christ's doctrines (chap. xiii).

Herod beheads John, on hearing which Christ departs to a desert place, where he feeds five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes. The disciples in crossing the Sea of Galilee meet a storm, in the midst of which Christ appears walking on the water, and rescues them. On arriving at the west coast of the sea, he heals many. He rebukes the hypocrisy of the Pharisees for laying great stress on minor matters, while they violate the great moral principles of the law. He shows what things defile a man, goes into the region of Tyre and Sidon, heals the daughter of a woman of Canaan, and returns to Galilee, where he heals many that are afflicted, and feeds four thousand men with a few loaves and fishes (chaps. xiv, xv).

Christ rebukes the Pharisees and Sadducees, who demand a sign from heaven, warns the disciples to beware of the leaven of these men, commends Peter, upon his expressing faith in his divine character, and foretells his own death and resurrection at Jerusalem. He also shows how he is to be served, and declares that he will reward every one according to his works (chap. xvi). He is transfigured. He heals a lunatic, and pays tribute (chap. xvii). He teaches humility and the duty of forgiveness, treats of marriage, instructs a rich man how to be made perfect, declares the difficulty of a rich man entering the kingdom of God, and makes large promises to those who have forsaken all for him (chaps. xviii, xix). The parable of the labourers in the vineyard is given. Christ rebukes the mother of Zebedee's children for asking great honour for her two sons, and heals two blind men near Jericho (chap. xx).

Christ makes a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. He drives out of the temple the sellers and buyers, and overthrows the tables of the money changers. He curses a fig tree. In the temple the chief priests and the elders dispute with him respecting his authority. He relates the parables of the householder and of the king's son, silences the Herodians who question him respecting paying tribute to Cæsar, refutes the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection, points out the two great commandments, and tests his disciples respecting their knowledge of himself (chaps. xxi, xxii). Christ warns his disciples against the practices of the Pharisees, upon whom he pronounces woes, and remonstrates pathetically with Jerusalem (chap. xxiii). He foretells the destruction of Jerusalem and the great calamities

that shall precede it, and also his coming to judgment, and exhorts his disciples to be faithful. He delivers the parables of the ten virgins and the talents, and describes the judgment of the world (chaps. xxiv, xxv).

The Jews consult to put Christ to death. He is anointed by a woman at Bethany. Judas agrees with the chief priests to betray him for thirty pieces of silver. Christ eats the passover with his disciples, and afterward goes with them to the garden of Gethsemane. He suffers agony in the garden; he is betrayed by Judas, arrested, and brought before Caiaphas, the high priest, who examines him—he is declared worthy of death, and insulted. Peter denies him (chap. xxvi). He is brought before Pilate, who, though declaring him innocent, delivers him to the Jews to be crucified. A description follows of the crucifixion and the events connected with it.

Christ is buried in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, and a guard of soldiers is stationed at the tomb (chap. xxvii). An account of his resurrection, his appearance to his disciples, and the commission which he gives them to preach the gospel to all the nations (chap. xxviii) closes this Gospel.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK.

THE PERSON OF THE EVANGELIST.

THE author of the second Gospel is the "John, whose surname was Mark," to the house of whose mother Peter went when released from prison (Acts xii, 12). From this it appears that he was a resident of Jerusalem, and that his mother was a Christian. He first appears as the companion of Paul and Barnabas in their missionary journey from Antioch to Seleucia, Cyprus, and Perga in Pamphylia, where he left them, and returned to Jerusalem (Acts xii, 25; xiii, 5, 13; xv, 38). He also accompanied Barnabas to Cyprus (Acts xv, 39). This is the last mention of him in the Acts. In Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, written at Rome about A. D. 62, it is said: "Mark, the cousin (*ἀνεψιός*) of Barnabas, saluteth you" (chap. iv, 10). This relationship, in all probability, explains the partiality of Barnabas for him (Acts xv, 37-39). Also in the Epistle to Philemon, written at Rome about A. D. 62, Mark sends salutations (verse 24). It is, therefore, evident that Mark was at Rome while Paul was a prisoner there. Peter, also, in his First Epistle, speaks of "Mark, my son," by which term he seems to design.

nate our evangelist as his spiritual son. This Epistle was written from Babylon, where, according to Josephus, a multitude of Jews lived.¹ It would seem that our evangelist was at that time with Peter in Babylon. It is not improbable that, after Paul wrote to the Colossians and Philemon, Mark left Rome for the East, and joined Peter in the region of Babylon, and then accompanied him to Rome, where they arrived probably some time during A. D. 64-67. Peter was evidently acquainted with Mark (Acts xii, 12). That Mark probably left Rome for the East appears from Colossians iv, 10, where Paul, speaking of him, says: "Touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him." Eusebius remarks: "They say that Mark first established Churches in Alexandria itself."² He seems to place his death in the eighth year of Nero's reign³ (about A. D. 62), as he says that Annianus succeeded him as bishop at that time. But this date of Eusebius is too early. Epiphanius⁴ says that Mark, after he had written his Gospel, was sent into Egypt by Peter. Jerome calls him the first bishop of the Church in Alexandria.

It appears from Papias that he was not an eye-witness of the life of Christ; it is not improbable, however, that he saw Christ during some of the Lord's visits to Jerusalem. But from the facts that he was living in Jerusalem a few years after the crucifixion of Christ, and that he returned there some years after he had accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their missionary tour to Cyprus (Acts xiii, 5, 13), and that he was intimately associated with the apostles and other eyewitnesses of the life of Christ, he had the finest opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the Lord's history and doctrines. Indeed, in the circle in which Mark moved the works and teachings of Christ were subjects of daily discussion among the eyewitnesses of his wonderful history.

CHARACTER OF THIS GOSPEL.

The Gospel of Mark does not contain more than two thirds the amount of matter found in Matthew. The principal omissions are the genealogy and birth of Christ, and the events connected with his infancy, contained in Matthew's first two chapters; the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v-vii);

¹ Πλάθος ἢ Ἰουδαίων. Antiq., xv, 22. The time of which he here speaks was about B. C. 40. About A. D. 30 or 40 there were also many Jews in Babylon. Antiq., xviii, cap. ix. This Babylon was on the Euphrates, about the site, it seems, of the ancient city. There is no good reason for supposing Babylon in 1 Pet. v, 13 to be the mystic name for Rome.

² Hist. Eccles., lib. ii, ca. xvi.

³ Ibid., ii, 24.

⁴ Hæresis, li. 6.

the larger portion of Christ's address to the twelve apostles, when he sent them to preach (Matt. x); the parable of the king who took account of all his servants (Matt. xviii, 23-34); the parable of the householder and his vineyard (Matt. xx, 1-16); that of the marriage of the king's son (Matt. xxii, 1-14); nearly all Matthew xxiii, and all xxv. On the other hand, he furnishes us with some particulars not found in Matthew or Luke, among which may be mentioned the account of Christ's restoring sight to a blind man at Bethsaida (chap. viii, 22-26), found in no other Gospel; the mention of hired servants in connexion with Zebedee (chap. i, 20); the uncovering (digging up) of the roof to let down the man sick of the palsy (chap. ii, 4); Christ's grief for the hardness of the hearts of the people (chap. iii, 5); Christ's surnaming Simon, Peter, and calling James and John Boanerges, sons of thunder (chap. iii, 16, 17); the attempt to arrest Christ on the ground that he was not in his right mind (chap. iii, 21); the parable of the seed and the blade (chap. iv, 27, 28); the "shining" of our Saviour's garments when he was transfigured, "so as no fuller on earth can white them" (chap. ix, 3); the displeasure of Christ when his disciples rebuked those who brought young children to him (chap. x, 13, 14); the statement that the rich man came running, and kneeled down to Christ (chap. x, 17); the name of the blind beggar Bartimeus, at Jericho (chap. x, 46); the *names* of the apostles who asked Christ respecting the destruction of the temple (chap. xiii, 3); the definite sum, three hundred pence (chap. xiv, 5); the statement respecting a young man with a "linen cloth cast about his naked body" (chap. xiv, 51, 52). In chap. i, 35, Mark says that Christ rose up a "great while before day," in which he corrects the statement of Luke iv, 42, "When it was day;" of Simon, he adds: "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (chap. xv, 21).

These facts sufficiently show that, although Mark made great use of Matthew, following him, indeed, as an authority, yet he possessed independent sources of his own for the history of Christ.¹ And he is thus a valuable witness to the authority of Matthew's Gospel. Although his connexion with Peter was so intimate, he adheres closely to the truth of history, even when it reflects severely upon that great apostle: "But he began to curse and to swear, I know not this man," etc. (chap. xiv, 71). The passage in Matt. xvi, 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," which tends to glorify Peter, is omitted by Mark, when relating the incidents with which it stands connected (chapter viii, 30, 31), but our Saviour's rebuke of him is recorded (verse 33).

¹ Hilgenfeld concedes that he is not a mere abbreviator of Matthew. Einl., p. 516.

It is very probable that Mark had, also, before him the Gospel of Luke, but it does not appear that he made much use of it. It is clear that Mark wrote his Gospel for Gentile Christians, for we find him making explanations that would have been unnecessary in writing for Jewish believers: "And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashed hands, they found fault. For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pots, brazen vessels, and of tables" (chap. vii, 2-4); "because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath" (chap. xvi, 42).

Ewald's theory of the origin of Mark's Gospel is complex and peculiar. He supposes, first, a brief evangelical history; Ewald's theory of this Gospel. secondly, a collection of the discourses of our Saviour made by Matthew, though not entirely void of narrative matter; third, a Gospel written by Mark. This last Gospel, he supposes, was in some way blended with the two preceding works, soon after it was composed, and thus a complete Gospel of Mark was formed, but by whom is uncertain. This last work still passed for the Gospel of Mark, as the basis of the work was his. The oldest form in which this complete Gospel existed, unknown from history, is that in which it lay before the author of our present Matthew, and which was largely used by him. Luke also possessed it, in a still more complete form than we have it now. In the course of time this Gospel lost considerable portions, so that we do not now possess it complete.¹ For such a theory as this there is not the least probability, nor a particle of historical evidence.²

Mark does not always observe the order of time found in Matthew. Chapter v is placed too late.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK, AND THE DATE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

The first witness we have to the genuineness of Mark's Gospel is Testimony of the fathers. Papias,³ bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century. He informs us that John, the presbyter, a

¹ Die Drei Erst. Evang., pp. 57-78. 1871.

² That Mark's Gospel cannot be a combination of other Gospels is evident from certain peculiarities it has. *Παρεῖμαι*, *to go*, occurs twenty-nine times in Matthew forty-nine times in Luke, and in John sixteen times. But nowhere in Mark except in the spurious addition, chap. xvi, 9-20.

³ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. xxxix.

contemporary of the apostles, stated that Mark wrote from the preaching of Peter, whose interpreter he was. A similar statement is made by Clement¹ of Alexandria, by Irenæus,² Tertullian,³ Origen,⁴ and the fathers in general. This Gospel was universally ascribed to the Mark mentioned in the Acts and in several apostolic Epistles. Nowhere do we find a single dissenting voice in the ancient Church. In the judgment of antiquity respecting its author, modern critics, with rare exceptions, concur. De Wette⁵ concedes, without any hesitancy, that its author is Mark. Bleek observes: "There is no sufficient ground for denying it to be the composition of the *John Mark* to whom the universal tradition of the Church ascribes it. Much rather does this supposition find its confirmation in several circumstances." Renan⁶ considers our Mark to be based on a collection of anecdotes and personal instructions which Mark wrote from the recollections of Peter. He supposes some additions were afterward made to it.

Respecting the time of its composition the earliest testimony is that of Irenæus (about A. D. 180), who states that after the departure of Peter and Paul, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also himself having written down the things preached by Peter, delivered them to us.⁷ By *departure* (*ἐξόδος*) he evidently means *death*. These two apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero about 67 or 68, so that, according to Irenæus, this Gospel must have been published some time after A. D. 67 or 68. Clement of Alexandria (about A. D. 190 or 200) states that Mark undertook the writing of his Gospel at Rome at the request of many Christians, with the knowledge of Peter, who in no way interfered with it.⁸ But Clement does not say that it was finished and published during Peter's life; so that there is no real discrepancy of time between him and Irenæus. The statement of Clement, as Eusebius informs us,⁹ was derived from the most ancient presbyters. To the statements of Irenæus and Clement respecting the date of the composition of this Gospel De Wette offers no objection.¹⁰ According to Clement of Alexandria Mark wrote his Gospel, as he had learned from the most ancient presbyters, after Matthew and Luke.

¹ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, cap. xiv.

² Lib. iii, cap. i.

³ Advers. Marcionem, iv, cap. v.

⁴ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, cap. xv.

⁵ Einleitung, p. 203.

⁶ Einleitung, pp. 334, 335.

⁷ Vie de Jésus, p. 34.

⁸ Lib. iii, cap. i, 1.

⁹ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, cap. xiv.

¹⁰ Eusebius also states: "They say that Peter gave his authority to this Gospel, and approved of its being read in the Churches." He also states that Clement makes this historical relation, which, he says, is confirmed by Papias, ii, 15. It is possible that, in this statement, he has blended what Clement says with accounts from other sources.

¹¹ Einleitung, p. 206.

Bleek places the composition of Mark after Matthew and Luke, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, and thinks it probable that it was preceded by the Gospel of John, since Mark in some places seems to have used the Gospel of this apostle.¹ But this is contrary to the testimony of antiquity and to the position the Gospel of John holds in the canon in all the Greek manuscripts and in the Peshito-Syriac version, in all of which it stands after the other three. No one would have thought of placing John after Mark had not the latter preceded it in time of composition.

Hilgenfeld places its composition soon after A. D. 81, in the first part of Domitian's reign, "when Mark, if still alive, must have been very old, so that it is possible that the Gospel was called *according to Mark* from him as its voucher, rather than its real author. But in no event was it, indeed, forged."² But what probability is there that Mark would not write until fifteen or twenty years after Peter's death? But, even if written at about A. D. 85, we have no reason for supposing that Mark was too old then to write it himself. The first mention of him is in Acts xii, 12, 25; in the latter passage it is stated that Paul and Barnabas brought Mark with them from Jerusalem to Antioch. This was about A. D. 44, when he may not have been more than twenty-four years old, so that, in A. D. 85, he would be no more than sixty-five, not too old to write a Gospel.

We have already seen that Mark states that Simon, who bore our Saviour's cross, was "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (chap. xv, 21). It appears that these were Christians well known when Mark wrote. Now we find in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, written about A. D. 58, Rufus mentioned as a Roman Christian: "Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord" (chap. xvi, 13). The reference to Rufus in Mark is quite natural, if he wrote shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, but would not be if he had written long after that event.³

There is nothing in Christ's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (chap. xiii) to indicate that this catastrophe was already past. On the contrary, as given in Mark, it is strikingly similar to Matt xxiv, which was evidently composed before that event. Upon

¹ Einleitung, p. 333.

² Einleitung, pp. 517, 518. Leipzig, 1875.

³ It is hardly necessary to refute the absurd statement of Keim (Geschichte Jesu p. 37), that Mark's Gospel was written, about A. D. 120! Papias in the first half of the second century, as we have already seen, states that the Presbyter John, a contemporary of the apostles, said that Mark wrote from Peter's preaching. But according to Keim, in the time of the Presbyter John this Gospel had no existence, but arose in the next century, in the very time of Papias! This is *free thinking* in the literal sense of the word!

the whole, we may conclude that our Gospel was composed some time in A. D. 65-69.

THE PLACE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THIS GOSPEL.

As we have already seen, Clement states that Mark wrote at Rome, and this is implied in the language of the ancient fathers, that he wrote from the preaching of Peter, as it was the universal tradition that the last part of Peter's life was spent at Rome. And that this Gospel was composed there would seem probable from internal grounds.¹ We find in it several Latin words and phrases, e. g., *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *executioner* (chap. vi, 27); *ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱκανόν*, *to do the sufficient*, Latin, *satisfacere*, *to satisfy* (ch. xv, 15); *κεντυρίων*, *centurion* (ch. xv, 39, 44, 45). There are other Latin words in this Gospel; but, belonging also to some of the other Gospels, even to Matthew, no special stress is to be laid upon them. Nor do we think those we have adduced have any great weight in proving that the book was written at Rome. The mention of the Roman Christian, Rufus, is most naturally explained by the supposition that the Gospel was written there.

At the end of this Gospel in the Peshito-Syriac version it is written: "The end of the holy Gospel, the preaching of Mark, which he spoke and published in Latin in Rome." But the Gospel was certainly written in Greek; at least, we have no proof that it ever had a Latin original.

De Wette,² Bleek,³ and Hilgenfeld⁴ favour the original appearance of this Gospel in Rome.

THE INTEGRITY OF MARK.

The last twelve verses (chap. xvi, 9-20) of this Gospel offer an inexplicable phenomenon, whether we consider their history, their connexion with the rest of the Gospel, or the peculiar character of the text. We find that they have no place in the two oldest Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus, both written about the middle of the fourth century. These two manuscripts end with the words: "For they were afraid." They are wanting in the Latin Codex Bobbiensis of the fifth century, in old manuscripts of the Armenian version, and in some of the manuscripts of the Æthiopic version.

¹ It is probable that Mark interpreted Peter's preaching into Latin for the Roman people.

² De Wette thinks the passage in Mark respecting a woman putting away her husband (chap. x, 12) presupposes the Roman law of divorce. *Einleitung* p. 206.

³ P. 335.

⁴ Pp. 516, 517.

Tischendorf observes: "The scholia of very many manuscripts bear witness that the Gospel of Mark ended at verse nine in the more ancient and (as many add) in the more accurate copies."¹

According to Eusebius, "This section is not found in all the copies of Mark's Gospel. For the accurate copies contain the end of the history, according to Mark, with the words of the young man who appeared to the woman and said to them, 'Fear not, ye seek Jesus of Nazareth,' and with the following words which he adds, 'and having heard, they fled, and said nothing to any one, for they were afraid.' *In this way end nearly all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark.*"²

Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, in the latter part of the fourth century, observes: "In the more accurate copies the Gospel according to Mark ends with the words, 'For they were afraid.' In some copies these words are added: 'Having risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.'"³ Of great importance is the testimony of Jerome, who, in speaking of verses 9 and 10 of the last chapter, observes: "Either we do not receive the testimony of Mark, *which is found in few Gospels, nearly all the Greek manuscripts lacking this section at the end of the chapter, . . . or we must reply,*" etc.⁴ Also, Victor of Antioch, about A. D. 400, remarks that in most copies the last part of the sixteenth chapter, beginning with the ninth verse, was not found.⁵ Tischendorf remarks that "these last verses are recognized neither in the sections of Ammonius, nor in the canon of Eusebius."

On the other hand, the verses in question are found in the Codex Ephræmi of the fifth century, in the Alexandrian manuscript of the last part of the same century, in twelve uncial manuscripts extending from the sixth to about the tenth century, and "in the cursive copies that have been collected." They are also found in the Peshito-Syriac⁶ version of the second century, in copies of the old Latin, in the Latin Vulgate, and in the Memphitic, Gothic,⁷ and Æthiopic versions, and possibly in the Thebaic. The 19th verse is quoted by Irenæus (about A. D. 180): "In the end of his Gospel Mark says: 'And

¹ Editio Octava Critica Major, Lipsiæ, 1869, p. 404.

² Questiones Ad Marinum.

³ In Christi Resurrectionem, Orat. ii.

⁴ Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur evangelia, cum aibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus.—Epistola cxx, ad Hedibam, cap. iii.

⁵ In Tregelles' Printed Text, etc., p. 248.

⁶ In Cureton's Fragments of the Gospels in Syriac belonging to the fifth century verses 17-20 of the last chapter of Mark are found.

⁷ The Gothic is defective on these verses: it contains verses 9-11, and ends with the first part of verse 12. "But after this." It doubtless contained originally the rest of the verses.

indeed the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God.'"¹ It is uncertain whether Celsus had the disputed verses in his copy of Mark.²

The next question is, What light does the text of the verses in dispute throw upon the subject? First of all, we are struck with the incongruity between the contents of these verses and the statement in the seventh verse: "Tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." This refers to Christ's promise: "But after that I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee" (Mark xiv, 28). But in the last verses of Mark there is no account of Christ's appearing to the disciples in Galilee in fulfilment of the promise, or the declaration of the angel, that they should see him in Galilee. This is certainly strange if Mark wrote these last verses. Among the signs, which Christ is represented as promising as the attendants upon believers, are the following: "They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them." Here great stress is laid upon mere external advantages, as the prerogatives of believers indiscriminately. This language was hardly to be expected from Christ.

But is the circle of words used in this section the same that is found in the body of Mark's Gospel? Here the answer is decidedly in the negative. We shall give the results of the investigation we have made with the assistance of Schmidt's Greek Concordance. In Mark xvi, 2, "the first day of the week" is called τῇ μὲν τῶν σαββάτων, literally, "the one of the Sabbaths" (weeks), used Hebraistically; but in the section under discussion, it is πρώτη σαββάτου, "first of week." In this section we find ἐσθίην, *that*, used for *she*; ἐκεῖνοι, *those*, for *they*; ἐκεῖνοις, for *them*, the word occurring *five* times. But Mark never uses the word thus in his genuine Gospel, but always employs it as a demonstrative³ qualifying a noun expressed. Πορεύεσθαι, *to go*, occurs three times in this section, but in the genuine Gospel never. This is very remarkable, as the word occurs twenty-nine times in Matthew, forty-nine times in Luke's Gospel, and sixteen in John's Gospel. In verse 10 the disciples of Christ are called "Those who were with him," which is contrary to the usage of all the Gospels, as they term them μαθηταί, *learners*: it is rather in the style of Xenophon. Θεάομαι, *to see, to behold*, occurs twice in this section, but nowhere in the genuine Gospel, but four times in Matthew, three in Luke, and seven in John

¹ Contra Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. x, sec. 6. ² See Origen Contra Cel., ii, 59, 70.

³ In one instance, however, Mark, for emphasis, uses ἐκεῖνο after the neuter article with the participle (chap. vii, 20).

In this section of Mark it is used quite classically. Παρακολουθεῖν, in the sense *to accompany*, occurs in verse 17 of this section, but is found nowhere in the Gospels except in Luke's preface to his Gospel, *to follow up closely, to give diligent heed to*, a thing. And in this sense it is found in 1 Tim. iv, 6 and 2 Tim. iii, 10. The word is found nowhere else in the New Testament. The word used in the New Testament, *to follow, to accompany*, simply, is ἀκολουθεῖν, which is found nineteen times in Mark, twenty-five in Matthew, seventeen in Luke, and nineteen in John's Gospel. Κύριος, *Lord*, is *twice* used historically for Jesus in this section, which Mark, in his genuine Gospel, never does. Wherever he employs the word it is the language of some one else that he is relating. In speaking of Christ, Mark always calls him Jesus, using the word nearly ninety times. The other evangelists use it a still greater number of times. Nor does Matthew ever in his own person call Christ Lord. Luke and John, however, do in some instances.

All the foregoing linguistic peculiarities of the section seem to prove conclusively that it was not written by Mark. To these considerations, if we add the fact that it seems incongruous with what precedes, and that it is wanting in the most ancient manuscripts of the Gospel, nothing remains but the conclusion that Mark did not write it. It was most probably added to the Gospel in the first century, upon what authority we do not know. The Gospel terminates abruptly at the 8th verse of chapter xvi, without giving the appearances of Christ already foretold. It is incredible that the evangelist should have left his Gospel intentionally in that condition. Something must have interrupted him before completing it, or the manuscript must have lost the concluding verses of the original. No one would have thought of mutilating the Gospel, and the absence in it of the appearances of Christ led some one to add some of them from reliable sources. The appearance to Mary Magdalene appears to have been taken from John xx, 11-18; that to two persons who went into the country, from Luke xxiv, 13-31; the appearance to the eleven (in Jerusalem), from Luke xxiv, 33, etc.

The two great recent critical editors of the Greek Testament, Tischendorf and Tregelles, leave it out of their texts, as not belonging to the original Gospel of Mark. Tregelles remarks, however: "I thus look on this section as an authentic anonymous addition to what Mark himself wrote down from the narration of St. Peter."¹

Among those who favour the genuineness of the disputed section

¹ On the Printed Text of the Greek Testament, p. 259.

are, R. Simon, Mill, Wolf, Storr, Matthæi, Eichhorn, Hug, De Wette, Bleek, Olshausen, Ebrard, and J. P. Lange. Among those opposed to the claim of its genuineness may be mentioned Griesbach, Credner, Wiesler, Norton, Reuss, Neudecker, Ewald, and Mangold.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE.

THE PERSON OF THE EVANGELIST.

OF Luke, the author of the third Gospel, but little of a personal character is known. In Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, written at Rome some time after A. D. 60, he says, "Luke, the beloved physician, greets you" (chap. iv, 14). In the Epistle to Philemon, written about the same time and at the same place, he speaks of Luke as one of his fellow-labourers, greeting Philemon. Writing to Timothy from the same place somewhat later, he says, "Only Luke is with me" (2 Tim. iv, 11). Irenæus speaks of Luke as the constant companion of Paul, and his co-labourer.¹

Eusebius states that Luke was a native of Antioch, and a physician by profession.² The same statement is made by Jerome.³ Notices concerning Luke. It appears both from the Epistles of Paul and from the Acts of the Apostles—as he uses the term "we"—that he was a companion and assistant of Paul for a long time. From several of Paul's Epistles, already quoted, it is clear that Luke remained some years in Rome after that apostle arrived there (about A. D. 60 or 62). It is uncertain when and where he died. Jerome⁴ says "that he was buried in Constantinople, to which city his bones were brought along with the remains of the Apostle Andrew in the twentieth year of Constantius" (about the middle of the fourth century). But he does not state where he died, and it is not likely that if he had been originally buried in Rome his bones would have been removed from such a splendid city. He may have left Rome after the death of Paul.

Luke was evidently a man of fine Greek culture, as his writings show. It is probable that he was of heathen extraction, as his name⁵

¹ iii, cap. xiv, 1.

² Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. iv.

³ De Viris Illustribus, cap. vii. Jerome, however, says he was of Antioch (Antiochenus), but does not state in the passage whether he was born there or not.

⁴ Ibid., cap. vii.

⁵ Λουκᾶς, a contraction of the Latin Lucanus.

would indicate, but whether he was a proselyte to Judaism before embracing Christianity cannot be determined.

He was every way qualified to write the history of Christ and his apostles. Brought up in the great literary city of Antioch, led by his very profession to be a close observer and to form scientific habits, an extensive traveller, for years a companion of the Apostle Paul, associating with apostles and others who were eyewitnesses of the life of Christ, and he himself having spent about two years in Jerusalem¹ and in other parts of Palestine, where flourishing Christian Churches had been established, many of whose members had themselves seen and heard Christ less than thirty years before, how was he not fully competent to write the history of the Founder of Christianity and the Acts of his Apostles, especially in Jerusalem and in the chief places of the Roman empire?

THE AUTHOR OF THE THIRD GOSPEL AND OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES EVIDENTLY THE SAME PERSON.

The author of the Gospel sets forth the circumstances under which he writes, and the sources of his information. "Since, indeed," says he, "many have undertaken to arrange a narrative of those things which are most firmly believed among us, as those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word delivered them to us, it seemed good to me also, having traced up every thing accurately from the beginning, to write them for you in regular order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the certainty of the things in which thou hast been instructed" (chap. i, 1-4). In the beginning of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, the author says: "The first treatise I have made, O Theophilus, concerning all things which Jesus began both to do and to teach until the day in which he was taken up, after he through the Holy Spirit had given commands to the apostles whom he had chosen" (chap. i, 1-2). It is evident from this latter passage that the author of the Acts also wrote the Gospel addressed to Theophilus, who appears to have been a distinguished Gentile Christian. The author states in the preface to his Gospel that he derived his information from the eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, and that he had traced up the history from the beginning. It is clear from this that the preface refers to the sources for the history of Christ, and has no reference to the sources for the history of the apostles. For

¹In Acts xx, 5-xxviii, the writer, by using the plural "we" and "us," shows that he accompanied Paul to Jerusalem and to Rome. Paul and Luke abode in Palestine at least two years. Acts xxiv, 27.

"the eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," are those who were the eyewitnesses of Christ's life, and the preachers of his doctrines and acts. The history of the actions of the apostles the author derived partly from those who were themselves the chief actors in the scenes, and partly from his own personal knowledge as a companion of the Apostle Paul.

That the author of the Acts was the companion of Paul appears from Acts xvi, 10-17 and xx, 5-xxi, 18; xxvii, xxviii. Luke unquestionably Paul's travelling companion. The writer uses the first person plural for the first time when Paul is at Troas.¹ After Paul "had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* for to preach the Gospel unto them" (chapter xvi, 10). The writer accompanies Paul to Philippi, and speaks of the party there in the first person plural: "The same followed Paul and *us*" (chap. xvi, 17). After the arrest of Paul and Silas at Philippi, the first person plural does not again appear until about six years afterward, when Paul, passing through Macedonia on his way to Jerusalem, is accompanied by several fellow-travellers, who, "going before, tarried for *us* at Troas. And *we* sailed away from Philippi," etc. (chapter xx, 5, 6). After this we find that the writer continues to use the first person plural until he arrives with Paul in Jerusalem, and they visit James (chap. xxi, 18). In the account of the charges brought against Paul at Jerusalem, and his defence, there is no place for the historian to introduce himself, and, accordingly, the first person plural disappears until Paul has appealed to Cæsar, when he again appears in the history: "And when it was determined that *we* should sail into Italy. . . . *we* launched, . . . *we* touched," etc. This use of the first person plural is continued until Paul arrives in Rome, in whose company the writer places himself by remarking: "When *we* came to Rome" (chap. xxviii, 16).

It is to be observed that the first person plural ceases first at Philippi, and that when, six years afterward, this same person in company with Paul leaves Philippi, the use of the "we" is resumed (comp. Acts xvi, 17 with xx, 5, 6). Is it not clear from all this that the author of the Acts was the companion of Paul during a great part of his travels?

Here the question arises, Who is this companion of the apostle, the author of the Book of Acts, and also of the third Gospel? Now we know that Luke was Paul's fellow-labourer, and it appears from the Epistles of Paul, already quoted, that Luke was with him at Rome

¹ Alexandria-Troas, a city on the coast of the Trojan Plains, about seven miles south-east of Tenedos. See Strabo, lib. xiii, 581-616.

some time after A. D. 60. About this time also the companion of Paul in his travels was in Rome, as appears from the Acts, so that it is clear that Luke may have been that companion. Nor is there any thing in the Epistles of Paul, either of a positive or negative character, inconsistent with the hypothesis that Luke was this fellow-traveller. We have seen that in three Epistles of Paul, written from Rome after his arrival there, he calls "Luke the beloved physician" (Col. iv, 14), his "fellow-labourer" (Phil. 24), and speaks of him as the only person with him (2 Tim. iv, 11). Paul and the writer of the Acts, as appears from his use of the first person plural, first met at Troas, and travelled together as far as Philippi, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles. After this short acquaintance with Paul he does not meet him again until about six years later, when at Philippi he joins¹ Paul, accompanies him to Jerusalem, and afterward to Rome. During both of these periods, when the writer (Luke) was with the apostle, *the latter addressed no Epistles to the Churches*. Is it, then, strange that he does not mention Luke except in some of the Epistles written from Rome? It is true that Paul wrote 2 Corinthians from Macedonia, after he had become acquainted with Luke, but the apostle does not give the names of any persons who salute the Corinthians, but in a general term he says, "All the saints salute you."

Bleek supposes that Timothy was the writer of the sections in which the first person plural is used, but this is refuted by *Bleek's theory*. the history itself, in which the "we" and the "us" exclude him. In chap. xx, 4-6 it is stated: "There accompanied him (Paul) Sopater, son of Pyrrhus, of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These, going before, tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi,"² etc. Here the party to which Timothy belonged stands in contrast with the "us" and "we." After Paul, Silas, and Timothy leave Philippi and pass through Macedonia as far as Berea, Paul leaves his two companions and passes by Athens on his way to Corinth, where they afterward join the apostle, who labours there a year and a half; and in his two Epistles to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth, Silvanus (Silas) and Tim-

¹ It is not improbable, however, that the author of the Acts may have seen Paul in the visit to Macedonia a few months before (Acts xx, 1-3).

² We follow here the eighth critical edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament, which is supported by the Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, the oldest texts. Tregelles, in his critical edition, retains ἀχρι τῆς Ἀσίας, "as far as Asia," but puts it in brackets. In the fifth verse, "these going before" is, in Tischendorf's edition, οἱ πρὸς ἐλθόντες; in Tregelles, the same, except that he has πρὸς- instead of πρὸς-ελθόντες.

othy are named with himself as addressing them. But in Acts xvii-xix the writer, in speaking of Paul, Silas, and Timothy, does not use the first person plural; hence Timothy cannot be included in the "we" in other parts of the book. Besides, the account of Paul's labours in connexion with those of Silas and Timothy is, for the apostle's sojourn of eighteen months in Corinth, exceedingly meagre. This is hardly consistent with the supposition that Timothy wrote memoirs of the apostolic labours in those regions which were made the basis of his history by the author of the Acts. We also find the missionary journey of Paul and Timothy through Phrygia and Galatia as far as Troas despatched in a few verses (chapter xvi, 4-8). Of this journey it seems that Timothy wrote no memoirs. But how minute is the history into which the "we" enters! How circumstantially is the voyage to Rome described! No one can doubt that the writer was in the very midst of the scenes. Nor do we find any mention of Timothy as having accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, and yet a less important man, Aristarchus, is named as sailing away with Paul from Cæsarea (chap. xxvii, 2).

It is quite certain, then, that Timothy was not with Paul at Jerusalem, and must be excluded also in this case from the "we."

Equally untenable is Schwanbeck's hypothesis that Silas is the writer who speaks in the first person plural. He is first mentioned in Acts xv, 22, along with Judas, as "chief men ^{Silas not in-} among the brethren;" it is not likely that he furnished ^{cluded in the} "we." this statement. In the missionary journeys made by Paul and Silas we can find nothing to indicate that the latter wrote memoirs of them. We find no indications that he was with Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem and voyage to Rome. In none of the Epistles, written from Rome by Paul after his arrival, is there any mention of Silas (or Silvanus). But the idea that the author of the Acts found memoirs of the labours of Paul and his companions, and struck out the first person plural in some places, and allowed "we" and "us" to stand in others, in such a way that readers for more than seventeen centuries have supposed it to be the author of the book who thus speaks, is incredible. All this done, too, in such a manner that after the "we" disappears from the history, after six years, it appears again on the stage! Nor is it to the point to assert that in the Middle Ages writers sometimes incorporated into their books fragments from other authors without adapting them to the rest of their work. The *first* century was far removed in its literary characteristics from the Middle Ages. Where can we find such usage as this in the apostolic age? Who doubts that Herodotus and Strabo, when they say "we" in their histories, actually describe

what they themselves heard, saw, or did? Or are we to suppose that they are silently inserting the documents of others?

Hilgenfeld acknowledges that the sections in which 'we' occurs were written by Luke, in which he says Overbeck agrees with him. But then he makes the author of the Acts a different person from Luke. But the most complete refutation of the theory that the author of the sections in which the writer uses the first person plural is another person than the author of the Acts and the third Gospel, is furnished by the unity of the book of Acts and the entire similarity of language in it and the Gospel.¹ As examples of the peculiar use of words in these books may be noticed *ἡ ὁδός*, *the way*, used for the *Christian religion*, Acts ix, 2; xix, 9, 23; xxii, 4; xxiv, 14, 22. Such a use of the word as this is found nowhere else in the New Testament. *Ὁδυνάσμαι*, *to be in pain*, occurs in Luke ii, 48; xvi, 24, 25, and in Acts xx, 38; nowhere else in the New Testament. *Ὁμιλέω*, *to converse with*, occurs only in Luke xxiv, 14, 15; Acts xx, 11; xxiv, 26. *Ὁμοθυμαδόν*, *of one accord*, is found eleven times in the Acts, from chaps. i, 14 to xix, 29; nowhere else except Romans xv, 6. In giving the name of a person, the usage in Acts is to add *ὀνόματι*, *by name*; this occurs twenty-one times, from chaps. v, 1 to xxviii, 7. In the Gospel of Luke it is used five times. It is a peculiarity of the Acts that an adjective has frequently a negative particle prefixed to assert strongly the opposite: *οὐ μετρίως*, *not moderately*, chap. xx, 12; *οὐκ ὀλίγος*, *not a little*, chaps. xii, 18; xiv, 28; xv, 2; xvii, 4, 12; xix, 23, 24; xxvii, 20; *οὐ πολλοί*, *not many*, Luke xv, 13; Acts i, 5; *οὐ πολὺ*, *not long*, Acts xxvii, 14; *οὐ μακράν*, *not far*, Luke vii, 6; Acts xvii, 27; *οὐκ ὁσημος*, *not undistinguished*, chap. xxi, 39; *οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα*, *not a chance or common thing*, Acts xix, 11; xxviii, 2. After the verb *εἶπον*, *to say*, the *dative* case is used with scarcely an exception in Matthew and Mark, and in John with but few exceptions, without a preposition, but in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts a very common usage is to put *πρός* after it with the accusative. *Καταγγέλλω*, *to announce*, is used ten times in Acts iv, 2-xxvi, 23; but only seven times in all the rest of the New Testament. *Εὐλαβής*, *pious, devout*, found in Luke ii, 25; Acts ii, 5; viii, 2; xxii, 12; nowhere else in the New Testament. *Εὐαγγελίζομαι*, *to preach the Gospel*, occurs ten times in Luke and fifteen times in Acts; it is found once in Matthew; nowhere else in the Gospels, though in other books of the New Testament. *Τῇ ἐχούμενῃ*, *on the next day*, Luke xiii, 33; Acts xx, 15; with *ἡμέρῃ* expressed, Acts xxi, 26. This

¹ Lekebusch devotes more than forty pages of his work, *Die Composition und Entstehung der Apostel Geschichte*, in illustration of this point.

usage is found nowhere else in the New Testament. *Ἐνισχύω*, *to strengthen*, found only in Luke xxii, 43, and in Acts ix, 19. *Μένων*, occurs twenty-five times in all parts of the Acts, once in Luke, and *five* times only in all the rest of the New Testament.

A peculiarity of the language of Acts and of the Gospel of Luke is the use of the accusative with the infinitive after *ἔγενετο*, *it came to pass*, e. g., *ἔγενετο . . . διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διαπορεύμενον*. Luke vi, 1; vi, 6; xvi, 22; Acts iv, 5; ix, 3, 32, 37, 43; x, 25; xiv, 1; xxi, 1, 5; xxii, 6; xxvii, 44; xxviii, 8, 17. Outside of these two books, this construction seems to be found only in Mark ii, 23. Winer¹ regards this construction as an imitation of the Hebrew *וַיָּבֹא*, *and it came to pass*. The use of *τοῦ* with the infinitive to express a purpose, as, *εὐσῆλθε τοῦ μένειν σὺν αὐτοῖς*, *he came in to remain with them* (Luke xxiv, 29), occurs both in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts; and Winer² observes, "This construction is especially peculiar to Luke (and Paul)."

The foregoing are but a portion of the linguistic peculiarities of the Gospel of Luke and of all parts of the Acts, running through the sections in which the first person plural "we" and "us" occur. They establish the unity of the authorship of the Acts beyond any doubt, and at the same time show that the author of the Acts was also the author of the Gospel, and that he was a companion of Paul, and spent about two years in Jerusalem and in other parts of Palestine, was acquainted with the Apostle James and many others who had seen and heard Christ, and that his Gospel rests upon the most solid foundation as an authentic history of Jesus Christ.

Lekebusch truly observes that "an unprejudiced critic must be convinced that through the entire Acts of the Apostles, and partly also through the Gospel (of Luke) in general, The opinion of Lekebusch and Ewald. the same kind of language and method of representation runs, and therefore our book, independent of written sources in general, is an original work that has flowed from a single pen. For when the same expressions everywhere recur, when a great series of words which appear only in the Gospel and in the Acts, or at least comparatively very seldom in the rest of the New Testament writings, uniformly recur in all parts; if definite forms of words, peculiarities of connexion, construction, and phraseology, even entire sentences, recur in the different sections, we can no longer think of a composition of pre-existing written documents belonging to different authors; and it is established 'without doubt that we must consider our writing as the work of one author who has impressed upon it a definite style and literary stamp.'" (Zeller)."

¹ New Test. Diction., 339, Eng. Trans.

² Ibid., 341.

⁴ Die Composition und Entstehung der Apostel Geschichte, Gotha, 1854, p. 79.

Ewald¹ also expresses his conviction that Luke was the author of both the third Gospel and the Acts; that he was the companion of Paul, and is included in the "we" and "us" of the writer of the Acts. Similar are the views of Schneckenburger, Meyer, Klostermann, Holtzmann, and Mangold.

Rénan has expressed himself very clearly on the same side. "In the opinion of respect to Luke," says he, "there is little possible doubt. The Gospel of Luke is a regular composition based upon previous documents. It is the work of a man who selects, prunes, combines. The author of the Gospel is certainly the same as that of the Acts of the Apostles. Now the author of the Acts appears to be a companion of St. Paul, a title which perfectly suits Luke. I know that more than one objection can be made to this reasoning; but one thing, at least, is beyond doubt, that the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts is a man of the second apostolic generation, and that is sufficient for our object."²

In the ancient Church there never was any doubt that Luke, the companion of Paul, wrote the third Gospel. We have already seen the testimonies of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and others, upon this point. We have also seen that Marcion, about A. D. 138 or 140, abridged this Gospel, and made it, along with ten of Paul's Epistles—which he selected and more or less curtailed—his Canon of Scripture. It is very evident that he selected the Gospel of Luke because it was well known that this evangelist was a companion of Paul. No other reason can be assigned for his preference.

In all the ancient manuscripts, in the ancient versions, this Gospel bears the name of Luke. In the Canon of Muratori (about A. D. 160) it is attributed to Luke the companion of Paul. Its genuineness is in every respect entirely unassailable.³

THE DATE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

We have already seen that Clement of Alexandria states that the Gospels which contain the genealogies were written first, which fact he had learned from the most ancient presbyters. Irenæus states that Luke wrote after the departure of Peter and Paul, by which he seems to refer to the death of these apostles. It does not appear that Luke, when he wrote, was acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew, which was written some time after A. D. 61. As Matthew was written in Syro-Chaldee in

Ancient testimonies as to the date.

¹ Die Drei Erst. Evang. und Apostel Geschichte. Zweite Hälfte, pp. 50-47

² Vie de Jésus, p. xlix. Paris, 1867.

³ Even De Wette concedes its genuineness without hesitancy.

Paestine, and Luke was at Rome about that time, it is easy to see how the Gospel of Matthew would be unknown to him if he wrote soon after that apostle.

In his preface Luke speaks of the attempts of many to set forth a regular history of the teachings and actions of Christ. But Matthew in all probability is not included among them. He clearly states that he had derived his materials from the eyewitnesses of Christ's life, and makes no reference to information derived from written documents, of which he stood in no special need.

As the Acts of the Apostles ends with the statement concerning Paul that he "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him," it was generally inferred that the Acts must have been written at the end of those two years, otherwise no good reason could be assigned for the abrupt termination of the history in that way. The Gospel must, in that case, have been, written still earlier. Distinguished modern critics do not generally coincide in that view. De Wette,¹ Bleek,² and Lekebusch,³ place it after the destruction of Jerusalem. Rénan remarks: "The date of this Gospel can be determined with sufficient exactness from considerations drawn from the book itself. The twenty-first chapter of Luke, inseparable from the rest of the work, was certainly written after the siege of Jerusalem, but not very long after."⁴

Ewald⁵ places this Gospel a little after A. D. 75; Baur, some time after A. D. 70.⁶ On the other hand, Tholuck⁷ thinks it was probably written by Luke while with Paul in Jerusalem and Cæsarea (about A. D. 58-60). Ebrard⁸ places it at the end of A. D. 63;⁹ Olshausen, before A. D. 66.

The probabilities seem decidedly in favour of a date preceding the

¹ P. 208.

² Einleitung, p. 320.

³ Apostelges., p. 422.

⁴ Vie de Jésus, pp. xlix, l.

⁵ Die Drei Erst. Evang. Zweite Hälfte, p. 47.

⁶ Die Drei Erst. Jahrhundert., p. 73.

⁷ Glaubwürdig. Evang. Geschich., p. 139.

⁸ Wissen. Kritik der Evang. Geschichte, p. 1,038. 3te Auflag.

⁹ Hilgenfeld places the Gospel near the end of the first century; Keim about 100 or later; Zeller some time in A. D. 110-130. Hilgenfeld and Zeller—perhaps, also, Keim—thus deny that Luke, the companion of Paul in the Acts, wrote this Gospel. But we have already shown that the uniformity of language in the Gospel, and in all parts of the Acts, demonstrate that the author of the Gospel was this companion. How could Marcion, about A. D. 138 or 140, have selected this Gospel as containing the most authentic teachings of Christ, if it had not come into existence until 100-130 in his own lifetime? About the same time it was used by Justin Martyr as having been written by a companion of the apostles.

Written before the fall of Jerusalem. destruction of Jerusalem, most likely during the imprisonment of Paul in Rome about A. D. 63. It is very probable that Luke collected materials for his Gospel and the first part of the Acts while he was with Paul in Jerusalem and Cæsarea (about 58-60).

Luke must have written down the incidents when they occurred, and the speeches when made, as recorded in Acts xx, 5-xxviii; especially the incidents in chaps. xxvii and xxviii. And this was done, in all probability, with the intention of writing the Acts of the Apostles in connexion with the history of Christ. Now what motive could there be for the postponement of the publication of the history of the Apostles, especially as he had already written a large portion of it? And no reason can be assigned why Luke should conclude the history of Paul at the end of his two years' imprisonment without stating whether he was released, or making any reference to the result of his appeal to Cæsar. Of course, the composition of the Gospel preceded that of the Acts. Nor is there any thing in the Gospel of Luke that requires it to be placed after the destruction of Jerusalem. Luke speaks in his preface of many persons having attempted to write the history of our Lord; but this does not necessarily imply that more than thirty years had elapsed since the manifestation of Christ. It would be strange, indeed, if a considerable number of persons had not within that period written of these wonderful events which had occurred within their own time, especially in an age of so much literary activity.

In Christ's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, it is said the Jews "shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (chap. xxi, 24). But this is scarcely more definite than what is found in Matt. xxii, 7, in the parable of the marriage of the king's son: "He (the king) sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city." Similar also is Matt. xxi, 41. Luke also represents Christ as weeping over Jerusalem when he drew near and beheld the city, and as uttering the prediction that Jerusalem would be utterly destroyed by her enemies (chap. xix, 41-44). Are these tears and this prophecy Luke's own manufacture?

Matthew also states that Christ foretold, "There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down" (chap. xxiv, 2). But there is nothing in Luke respecting the Romans, no allusion to the city's having been already taken; but, on the contrary, there are passages in Christ's teachings, as recorded by him, which would have required an explanation from the evangelist, if he had

written only a few years after the destruction of Jerusalem—passage, indeed, that he would never then have written unless constrained by the force of truth. For after Christ predicts his own coming in glory, with its attendant circumstances, he adds: "Verily I say unto you. *This generation* shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled" (chap. xxi, 32). It is to no purpose that Hilgenfeld tells us that a generation may be seventy¹ years; for Christ says, *this generation, the people now living*. Parallel with this, and explanatory, is Luke ix, 27: "But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God." And we find that the evangelists do give explanations of Christ's sayings that were misunderstood or needed explanation. As examples, may be cited John ii, 21; xxi, 22, 23; Mark iii, 30.

The Gospel of Luke was most probably written at Rome. Jerome,² however, says that he composed it in the regions of Achaia and Bœotia. But the lateness of this testimony destroys much of its value.³

CONTENTS OF LUKE COMPARED WITH THOSE OF MATTHEW.

The Gospel of Luke is about a hundred verses longer than that of Matthew. The chief additions to what we have in the latter evangelist are the following: An account of the birth of John the Baptist; several particulars respecting the birth of Christ and his circumcision in the temple; incidents that occurred when he was twelve years of age; the date at which John the Baptist commenced his ministry; the age of Christ at his baptism; his descent from Adam (chaps. i, 5—iii. 2, 23—38); the indignation of the people in the synagogue of Nazareth against Christ, and their attempt to destroy him; his casting a devil out of a man in the synagogue (chap. iv, 23—30, 33—36); the raising of the widow's son at Nain (chap. vii, 11—17); several particulars respecting the anointing of Christ by a woman (chap. vii, 36—50); the casting of seven devils out of Mary Magdalene (chap. viii, 2); Christ's rebuke of James and John, who wished him to call down fire from heaven upon the Samaritans who would not receive him on his way to Jerusalem (chap. x, 32—56); the sending of seventy disciples to

¹ Herodotus says: "Three generations of men are a hundred years" (ii. 142). Thucydides seems to have held the same view (i, 14). Matthew reckons not generally different, the step from father to son, fourteen generations from the Babylonian captivity to Christ (i, 17).

² Comment. in Mat. Prologus.

³ The superscription to Luke's Gospel in the Peshito-Syriac version is, "The Holy Gospel, the preaching of Luke, the evangelist, which he spoke and published in Greek in great Alexandria."

preach (chap. x, 1-20); the parable of the good Samaritan (chap. x, 30-37); the account of Martha and Mary (verses 38-42); the description of the foolish rich man (chap. xi, 16-21); the statement respecting the slaughtering of the Galileans by Pilate, and the killing of eighteen men by the falling of the tower at Siloam, and the inferences to be drawn from the occurrences (chap. xiii, 1-5); the parable of the barren fig tree; the releasing of a woman from an infirmity of eighteen years' standing (chap. xiii, 6-17); Christ's advice to men when hidden to a festival to take the lowest seats, and when making a feast to call in the poor, the maimed, and the blind; the parable of the builder and the war-making king (chap. xiv, 7-14; 28-33); the parable of the lost pieces of silver; of the prodigal son (chap. xv, 8-32); the parable of the unjust steward (chap. xvi, 1-12); the rich man and Lazarus (chap. xvi, 19-31); the healing of ten lepers by Christ on his way to Jerusalem (chap. xvii, 11-19); the importunate widow, the Pharisee and Publican (chap. xviii, 1-14); Zaccheus the publican; the lamentation of Christ over Jerusalem when he comes within sight of the city, and his prediction of its utter destruction (chap. xix, 2-9, 41-44); the widow's mite (chap. xxi, 2); the strife of the apostles at the last supper respecting the pre-eminence, and Christ's rebuke of them (chap. xxii, 24-32); Christ's address to the women while he was on the cross (ch. xxiii, 28-31); the penitent thief (chap. xxiii, 40-43); several particulars respecting the resurrection of Christ, especially his appearance to two of the disciples on their way to and at Emmaus, and to the eleven at Jerusalem, and his ascension to heaven (chap. xxiv).

The principal *omissions* in Luke of what is found in Matthew are the following: The visit of the Magi; the flight of Joseph and Mary with the infant Saviour into Egypt; the slaughter of the infants (chap. ii); the sermon on the mount (chaps. v-vii), though the greatest part of this is found scattered through Luke, and a large portion is contained in chapter vi, 20-49; the parable of the tares; the treasure hid in a field; the net cast into the sea (Matt. xiii, 24-30, 36-50); the storm at sea in which the disciples are in great danger, and in the midst of which Christ comes to them walking upon the water (Matt. xiv, 20-33); the complaint made against the disciples for eating with unwashed hands, and Christ's rebuke of the hypocrisy of the Jews; the healing of the daughter of the woman of Canaan (chap. xv, 1-28); Christ's promise to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my church," etc. (chap. xvi, 18, 19); the tribute money paid by Christ (chap. xvii, 24, 27); the parable of the king and his servants (chap. xviii, 23-35); nearly all Christ's remarks on marriage (chap. xix, 3-12); the parable of the

Watter not in
Luke, but in
Matthew.

vineyard (chap. xx, 1-16); the parable of the ten virgins (chap. xxv 1-13); the description of the last judgment (chap. xxv, 31-46); the watch placed at the sepulchre of Christ (chap. xxvii, 62-66); the report of the Jews that the disciples stole away Christ's body while the guards slept; the appearance of Christ to the eleven disciples in Galilee (chap. xxviii, 11-18).

THE DESIGN OF LUKE'S GOSPEL.

Luke himself, in the preface, states his purpose in writing the Gospel, that Theophilus might know the certainty of the things in which he had been instructed. At the same time it cannot be doubted that Luke intended his Gospel for general circulation as an authentic history of Christ.

The early fathers regarded Luke as writing the Gospel preached by Paul. But whatever influence this apostle had over him, and however intimate they were, Luke did not derive the material of his narrative from Paul, although he doubtless obtained from him many facts for the Book of Acts. Paul's account of the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's supper (1 Cor. xi, 24, 25) corresponds more closely with the account in Luke (chap. xxii, 19, 20) than either with that of Matthew or Mark.

In Luke xxi, 24, in reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, it is said that it "shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Quite similar to the latter part of this is Romans xi, 25: "Until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in."

Baur, in accordance with his theory of irreconcilable differences between Peter and Paul respecting the law of Moses, asserts that Luke's Gospel shows "its Pauline character, in knowing nothing of the identity of the doctrine of Jesus with the law and with the Old Testament, as it is maintained in the Gospel of Matthew." But in the sermon on the mount in Matthew, Christ revokes the teachings of Moses in various passages. Also in Matt. viii, 11, 12, it is declared that "many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness." The parables in Matt. xxi, 33-43, and in xxii, 1-14, refer to the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles. Christ, in Matt. xi, 13, says: "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John," which clearly indicates a change of dispensation. But the most complete refutation of Baur and his followers is Luke xvi, 17: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass

Considered by the fathers to be a Pauline Gospel.

Baur's theory refuted.

¹ Die Drei Erst. Jahr., p. 74. Dritte Ausgabe. Tübingen, 1861.

than one tittle of the law to fail."¹ How closely does this resemble Matt. v, 17, 18!

Baur also represents Luke as depreciating the other apostles, especially Peter, to make Paul more prominent. But this charge is utterly groundless. Luke, it is true, omits the declaration of Christ to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my church," etc. (Matthew xvi, 18, 19). But Mark, the intimate friend and companion of Peter, also omits this passage. Did he do this to depreciate Peter? Luke, however, gives Peter's confession of faith in Christ, and omits a passage which is depreciatory of Peter, but which is found both in Matthew and Mark: "Get thee behind me, Satan," says Christ to Peter. Both Matthew and Mark state that Peter, when he denied Christ, "began to curse and to swear." Luke omits this, but hardly to detract from Peter. He also omits what is recorded by Matthew (xiv, 28-31), Peter's beginning to sink into the sea for want of faith. Nothing but the most obstinate prejudice can charge Luke with an intention of detracting from Peter.

THE STATEMENT OF LUKE RESPECTING THE TAXING UNDER CYRENIUS (CHAP. II, 1, 2).

"And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled. And this enrolment was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria."

It appears from Tacitus that Augustus Cæsar had written with his own hand in a book "the number of citizens and allies in arms, how many fleets he had, how many kingdoms, provinces, tribute, or revenues,"² etc. Cassiodorus,³ in the sixth century, states that "in the times of Augustus the Roman world was divided into domains, and described by a census." Suidas states that "Augustus Cæsar, the emperor, selected twenty of the best men, and of the best character, and sent them over all the land of his subjects, by whom he made a census, both of men and property,"⁴ etc. Dion Cassius, who wrote of Roman affairs in the

¹ This is the reading of the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian Codices, of the Peshito-Syriac version, old Latin MSS. of fourth and fifth centuries, Memphitic about A. D. 200, and also of the Gothic, and it appears to be found in all the manuscripts and versions. How futile it is, then, for Baur and Hilgenfeld to prefer a reading which, instead of "the law," substitutes "my words," referring them to Christ, which, they say, Marcion had. But as Marcion rejected the Old Testament, he could not allow the text in Luke to stand, but must have altered it, or dropped it, as he did other parts of Luke which did not suit him.

² Cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit . . . quantum civium sociorumque in vr. mis: quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa, aut nectigalia, etc.—Annal., lib. i, cap. xi

³ Variarum, liber iii, epistola lii.

⁴ Article, Ἀπογραφῆς.

first part of the third century, states that Augustus, for the purpose of raising revenue, "sent men to take a census (*ἀπογραφόμενους*) of the property of individuals and of the cities."¹ There can, then, be no doubt that Augustus Cæsar took a census of the empire, and it is very probable, independent of Luke's authority, that a census of Judea was taken in the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great, about the time that Christ was born. Herod, having marched an army into Arabia to redress injuries he had received from plunderers, was so misrepresented to Augustus that, Josephus says, the emperor wrote him a bitter letter, the substance of which was that "he had formerly treated him as a friend, but now he will treat him as a subject."² After this Herod sent splendid gifts to Augustus, which he sent back to Herod without taking any notice of them,³ "and he was compelled to submit to all the injuries which he (the emperor) offered him." Sometime after this, and about the date when Christ was born, we find Josephus stating, "that *the whole Jewish nation took an oath* that they would assuredly bear good-will to Cæsar, and to the king's estate, but these men (the Pharisees) did not take the oath, being over six thousand, and they were fined by the king."⁴

Two points, then, seem clearly established; that Augustus took a census of the empire, and that about the time Christ was born there was a registration of the Jewish people proceeding from him.

The next point to be considered is, in what way Cyrenius (Quirinius) was related to it? After the banishment of Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, Samaria and Idumea (about A. D. 6), Judea became a Roman province, and was annexed to Syria, and Cyrenius was sent as governor of Syria, and took a census of the whole province. This census was made, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium⁵ (B. C. 31), consequently A. D. 6 or 7. It is to this census that Luke refers in Acts v, 37: "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing" (census). To this man, also, Josephus refers as attempting to raise a sedition among the Jews during the census of Cyrenius. He calls him Judas the Galilean, and Gaulanite.⁶

It is very evident, then, that Luke was acquainted with this census, and it is also clear that he does not refer to it in his Gospel (chap. ii, 2). The most natural rendering of the passage is: "This census was the first of Cyrenius, the

The relation of Cyrenius to the census.

Proper rendering of chapter ii, 2.

¹ Lib. lvi, cap. 28.

² Antiq., xvi, 9.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Παντὸς γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὅρκων ἢ μὴν ἐννοήσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλῶς πράγμασι, ἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν, οὐτως ἔπερ ἐξακισχίλιοι· καὶ αὐτοῦ, βασιλῶς ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν.—Antiquities, lib. xvii, cap. ii, 4.

⁵ Antiq., xviii, cap. ii, 1.

⁶ Ibid., xviii, cap. i, 1, 6.

governor of Syria."¹ From this it is evident that Luke regards the census made at the birth of Christ as being earlier than that made after the banishment of Archelaus. But was Cyrenius governor of Syria at the birth of Christ? Augustus Zumpt, in his list of the governors of Syria, which Merivale adopts in his *History of the Romans under the Empire*,² makes Cyrenius (Quirinius) proconsul of Syria *twice*; first, from B. C. 4 to 1, and from A. D. 6 to 11. He was thus proconsul or governor of Syria for the first time about the time of Christ's birth. At all events there is nothing improbable in Cyrenius having been associated with Saturninus, or some other proconsul, in enrolling the Jewish people at the time of the birth of Christ, although he may not have been governor at that time, just as we might speak of *President Grant's* capture of Vicksburg.

Tholuck³ proposed to translate the *πρώτη*, first, *before*, and render the passage: "This census was made *before* Cyrenius was governor of Syria." This use of *πρώτη* for *πρότερα*, is not without examples. So translated it would distinguish the census at the birth of Christ from the well-known one that occurred about ten years later. But this rendering of the passage is not to be favoured, since it is not quite natural, though it is adopted by so great a scholar as Ewald.⁴

The chief point in the history is the fact of the census at the time of Christ's birth. Less important is the officer who had charge of it. But there is no reason to question the accuracy of Luke upon this point. The accurate knowledge which he shows every-where in the Acts respecting Greek and Roman history and geography is very remarkable, and should inspire us with confidence in his statements, though unconfirmed by other testimonies.

THE STATEMENT OF LUKE RESPECTING LYSANIAS.

In Luke iii, 1, in a statement of the different rulers who held office in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, when John the Baptist began to preach, it is added: "And Lysanias being the tetrarch of Abilene." Josephus mentions a Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, put to death about B. C. 36 by Antony to gratify Cleopatra.⁵ But he names no Lysanias as tetrarch about the time that Christ began his ministry, and Strauss has regarded this *second* Lysanias of Luke as a fiction. A few years ago, however, an inscription was found near Baulbec, "containing a dedication of a memorial tablet or statue

¹ The Greek is, *Ἡ αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο πρώτη ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.*

² Vol. vi, 261. ³ Glaubwürdig. der Evan. Gesch., pp. 178-188. Zweite Aufg.

⁴ He translates, "This census took place much earlier than the time when Quirinius was governor"—Geschich. Christus und sein. Zeit., p. 205.

⁵ Antiq., xv, cap. iv. 1.

to Zenodorus, son of the tetrarch Lysanias, and to Lysanias, her children' by (apparently)," says Rawlinson, "the widow of the first and the mother of the second Lysanias. Zenodorus was already known as having succeeded the first Lysanias in his government. It is thus clear that there were, as previously suspected, two persons of the name, a father and a son, and there is not the slightest reason for doubting St. Luke's statement, that the latter was tetrarch of Abilene in the fifteenth of Tiberius."¹ Renan,² while remarking that the mention of Lysanias by Luke may be an error, yet says, "The accuracy of the evangelist on this point can be defended." The Lysanias of Luke is, doubtless, the ruler of that name mentioned by Josephus, who states that Claudius Cæsar "bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanæa, and gave him also Trachonitis with Abila (Abilene). This had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias."³

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.

THE APOSTLE JOHN.

JOHN the beloved disciple was a son of Zebedee, and, it would seem, a younger brother of James, as he is, with scarcely an exception, named after James.⁴ It appears from a comparison of Matthew xxvii, 56 with Mark xv, 40, that his mother was Salome. When called by Christ at the beginning of his ministry to follow him, John was engaged in fishing in the sea of Galilee, with his brother James and his father Zebedee (Matt. iv, 21; Mark i, 19). As mention is made of their hired servants (Mark i, 20), it appears that they conducted the fishing business on quite a large scale, and they may have possessed considerable property. Our Saviour gave him and his brother James the name of Boanerges—*Sons of Thunder*—on account, it is to be supposed, of their demonstrative power and impetuosity.⁵ He was one of the three

Notices of John
in the New
Testament.

¹ Prof Rawlinson's *Lecture on Modern Scepticism*, pp. 301, 302. He refers to Kraft's *Topografie Jerusalems*. Inscript. 29.

² *Vie de Jésus*, lxxxiv. He refers to *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 317, etc.

³ *Antiq.*, xx, cap. vii, 1.

⁴ This James was put to death by Herod Agrippa about A. D. 45. Acts xii, 2.

⁵ Their wish to have fire called down from heaven upon the unkind Samaritans (Luke ix, 54) may be cited as an instance of this.

disciples who enjoyed the greatest intimacy with Christ. In company with Peter and James he witnessed his transfiguration; in his agony in the garden of Gethsemane Jesus had with him Peter, James, and John only. It is very probable that John was one of the two disciples mentioned in John i, 40. He sat next to Christ at table and was said to lean upon his bosom or breast (John xiii, 23, 25; xxi, 20), and is called the disciple whom Jesus loved (John xiii, 23; xix, 26; xx, 2; xxi, 7, 20). He is, doubtless, the disciple who followed Jesus after his arrest, and went into the palace of the high priest, and brought in Peter (chap. xviii, 15, 16). He was at the cross when Christ was crucified (chap. xix, 35), and took the mother of Jesus thence to his own home (chap. xix, 27). After the resurrection of Jesus he appears in the Acts of the Apostles in the account of the healing of the lame man by Peter and himself (chaps. iii, iv), and in the mission to Samaria, to which Peter and himself were sent. After preaching the Gospel to a large portion of the Samaritans, they both returned to Jerusalem (chap. viii, 14-25). After this John disappears from the Acts. From Paul's Epistle to the Galatians it is seen that when that apostle visited Jerusalem about A. D. 52 John was still there, and he is classed with Peter and James "as being considered pillars" (chapter ii, 9) in the Church. When Paul went to Jerusalem about A. D. 58, in company with Luke, they went in unto James (Acts xxi, 18), but no mention is made of John. This, however, does not prove that he was not in Jerusalem—still less that he was not in Palestine.

John probably left Palestine and took up his abode in Ephesus a short time before the Jewish war. For it is not at all likely that he was in Ephesus while Paul abode there (A. D. 54-57). It is the unanimous testimony of the early Church that John spent the last part of his life at Ephesus, and this testimony is of such a character that there can be no doubt respecting the fact.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 177-202), born, in all probability, about A. D. 130, in Asia Minor, speaks of the testimony of the "presbyters in Asia who had associated with John, the disciple of the Lord," and states that John remained in the Church at Ephesus until the times of Trajan as a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.¹ This emperor began to reign A. D. 98. In his Epistle to Florinus, Irenæus states: "When I was yet a boy I saw thee in Lower Asia with Polycarp, behaving splendidly in the royal court, and endeavouring to gain his approbation. For I remember the things that happened then better than those which have occurred recently. For what we

¹ *Contra Hæreses*, lib. ii, cap. xxii, 5; iii, cap. iii, 4.

learn: in boyhood, growing up along with the soul, becomes one with it, so that I can name both the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and discoursed; his going out and his coming in; the character of his life, and the form of his person, and the addresses which he made to the people; how he related his intercourse with John and with others who had seen the Lord, how he repeated their words, and what things he had heard from them concerning the Lord, both concerning his miracles and his doctrine, as Polycarp had received them from the eyewitnesses of the word of life—all these things he related in harmony with the Scriptures."¹ Irenæus also states that Polycarp was appointed bishop of Smyrna by the apostles.² Also in his letter to Victor, the Roman bishop, he says that Polycarp had lived in intimacy with John the disciple of our Lord.³ Irenæus further states: "There are some who heard from him (Polycarp) that John the disciple of the Lord, having gone to bathe in Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped forth from the bath without bathing, but exclaimed, Let us fly, lest the bathing-room fall upon us, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within."⁴ Even if the incident never occurred, it shows at least that as early as the middle of the *second* century it was notorious that the Apostle John had lived at Ephesus.

Another most important witness to the fact that the Apostle John spent the latter part of his life in Ephesus is Polycrates, An account of John by Polycrates. bishop of that city in the last part of the second century. In a letter which he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome, (about A. D. 190 or 195), on the celebration of the passover, he says: "For in Asia great lights have gone out. . . . Also John, who leaned upon the breast of the Lord, who was a priest wearing the mitre, a martyr and a teacher—this one sleeps in Ephesus."⁵ Polycrates, in this epistle, says, "I have been in the Lord sixty-five years." By this we are probably to understand that he was made a disciple in infancy, and the number expresses his age at the time of writing. He must, accordingly, have been born about A. D. 125 or 130. He also states that seven of his relatives had been bishops, some of whom he had succeeded. It seems quite clear from this that he must have known persons who were acquainted with John, and, as the apostle's grave was in the city, there could be no mistake about the matter, nor could John the presbyter be confounded with the Apostle John by a bishop at Ephesus in the second century.

Clement of Alexandria, who flourished in the latter part of the

¹ In Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. v, cap. xx.

² Contra Hær., lib. iii, cap. 3.

³ In Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. v, cap. xxiv.

⁴ Contra Hær., lib. iii, cap. 3, sec. 4.

⁵ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. v, cap. xxiv.

second century and in the beginning of the third, states that "John the apostle returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus after the death of the tyrant,"¹ and he relates an incident in the life of the apostle which occurred in a town near Ephesus, and was carefully transmitted.

Notices of the apostle John by Clement and Origen.

Origen also states that John abode in Asia, and died in Ephesus.² At the end of the Gospel of John, in the Peshito-Syriac version, is the superscription: "The end of the holy Gospel, the preaching of John the evangelist which he published in Greek in Ephesus." This testimony is valuable as coming from a version of the second century used in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, regions not remote from Ephesus.

Lützelberger, in 1840, in his attack on John's Gospel, denied that this apostle spent the latter part of his life in Asia Minor, basing the denial upon the silence of Ignatius in epistles in which a reference to John was to be expected, if he had lived there, especially in Ephesus. But the argument *a silentio* is often a very delusive one, and avails nothing in opposition to strong positive testimony. The Epistles of Ignatius have themselves been a subject of much controversy, and they exist in a shorter and in a longer text in Greek. Cureton translated and published, from an ancient Syriac text brought from the Nitrian desert in Egypt, three Epistles of Ignatius—to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans—in a form still shorter than the shortest Greek text. These three epistles, in their shortest text, as they appear in the Syriac, Cureton thinks are the only genuine Epistles of Ignatius, and in this judgment he is most probably correct.

The only one of these Epistles from which any reference to the Apostle John could be expected is that to the Ephesians, as this apostle had died there fifteen or twenty years before the epistle was written. But there is no reference in it to any apostle,³ though Paul labored there for three years. But why, in an epistle of two or three pages, hastily written, should he refer to the Apostle John? It was hardly to be expected in an epistle to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who had been a hearer of John, that he should allude to this fact.

In the epistle to the Romans Ignatius says: "I do not charge you, like Peter and Paul, who are apostles." But this does not indicate that Paul had been in Rome, for the language could be explained very naturally as referring to Paul's Epistle to the Romans. But as Peter addressed no epistle to the Romans, the inference

¹ Τις ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος, *What rich man is saved?* xlii.

² In Euseb., Hist. Eccles., iii, 1.

³ The Greek text, however, refers to Paul.

would be that he preached to them. There is in the epistle of Ignatius nothing to indicate that these two apostles had suffered martyrdom at Rome. Yet how natural for him would be the language: "I am coming to Rome to die for the name of Jesus Christ, as Peter and Paul did." Does the absence of all reference to their martyrdom in Rome prove that it never occurred?

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN.

We have already seen that Eusebius and Origen knew of no opposition to the Gospel of John, and with the exception of the small party of Alogians at Thyatira about A. D. 180, it was received by the whole Church throughout the ancient world as the undoubted writing of that apostle, the beloved disciple who leaned upon the bosom of the Lord.

No doubt was expressed respecting the genuineness of this Gospel until the year 1792, when an English deist by the name of Evanson attacked it with feeble arguments. About the same time doubts respecting it arose in Germany. But the first systematic and able attack was made by Bretschneider, a German theologian, in Latin¹ in 1820. He was answered by several German scholars, whose vindication of the genuineness of this Gospel seemed entirely satisfactory. On this point Tholuck remarks: "The conviction of the genuineness of the Gospel of John in the consciousness of all German theologians took only the so much deeper root, after Bretschneider left the field with the confession that he was vanquished; and nowhere, perhaps, except in the Introduction of Dr. De Wette, was there still heard an echo of doubt."²

Modern attacks on the genuineness of John's Gospel — Bretschneider.

In 1835 Strauss, in his *Life of Jesus*, resumed and sharpened the arguments that had been used by Bretschneider, and assailed this Gospel. But in the third edition of his *Life of Jesus* he acknowledged that through the many replies that had been given, especially by Neander and De Wette, "he had again become doubtful respecting his doubts of the genuineness of this Gospel." In the fourth edition, however, he retracted this confession, and returned resolutely to his doubts, principally as he himself confesses, because "without them one could not escape from believing the miracles of Christ." In his *Life of Jesus* for the German people, published in 1864, he still denies the genuineness of this Gospel, and greatly approves of Baur's views. Strauss' attack was followed by that of Lützelberger in 1840, who asserted that this

Strauss, Lützelberger, etc., on John's Gospel.

¹ *Probabilia de Evang. et Epp. Joannis Apos.*, etc.

² *Glaubwürdigkeit. Evang. Geschichte, Zweite Aufl.*, 1838, pp. 267, 268.

Gospel was written at Edessa A. D. 130-135. In the following year Schwegler assailed it, and referred its composition to about 150. In 1844 it was assailed by Baur, who places its origin in Asia Minor or in Alexandria, perhaps, about 170. In the following year Zeller published his views, in which he declared his agreement with Baur.

Hilgenfeld¹ also denies its genuineness, and assigns it to 130-140. So does Volkmar, who places it about 155, and Scholten² about 150. Keim³ supposes that it was composed probably about 130. A few German scholars adopted what Bleek calls the *Hypothesis of Separation* (Theilung's hypothese), that is, they distinguish in this Gospel a genuine historical element which they separate from the un-historical. To this class belong Weisse, Schweizer, Schenkel, and Rénan.

It must be observed that the opponents of the Gospel of John belong chiefly to the Tübingen school, at the head of which stood Baur. But this Gospel has not lacked able defenders not only among the evangelical theologians, but also among those of the sceptical school. Of those who have written in defence of this Gospel since the attack of Bretschneider in 1820, may be named Stein, Calmberg, Hensen, Crome, Hauff, Hug, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Schott, Credner, Lücke, Tholuck, Ebrard, Bunsen, Bleek, Ewald, Mayer, Luthardt, Hengstenberg, Norton, Baumgarten, Schleiermacher, Neander, Hase, Tischendorf, Riggenbach, De Groot, Oosterzee, Fisher, and Beyschlag.

De Wette, in the preface to the fifth edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, written in 1847, about two years before his death, remarks: "It will be found that in respect to the Gospel of John I have placed myself still more than formerly upon the side of its defenders, although I am still far from the confidence of my friend Bleek."⁴ This is a valuable testimony from so able and sceptical a critic, who was by no means inclined toward orthodoxy.

In speaking of the attacks that have been made upon the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, De Wette remarks: "They have been especially directed against the external testimony in its favour. On the one hand, the witnesses have been regarded with sceptical eyes, and spitefully criticised; on the other, there have been demanded older and more definite witnesses than could be justly expected. In this respect our Gospel does not stand worse, indeed better, than the first three, and than the writings of Paul."⁵

¹ Einl., p. 738. Leipzig, 1875.

² Die ält. Zeugnisse, u. s. w., by Manchot, p. 186

³ Geschich. Jesu, p. 41. 1873.

⁴ Einl., besorgt von Messner und Lünemann. 1860

⁵ Einleitung, p. 223.

The Gospel of John is especially obnoxious to a certain class of critics on account of its profound spiritual character, and because it sets forth so clearly the divinity of Christ. To others, it is offensive because, if genuine, it establishes the miracles of Christ—since they are related in that case by an eyewitness—and overthrows their pantheistic conceptions of the universe.

The theory of the assailants of John's Gospel, that it was written sometime during A. D. 125-170, is, in view of the facts of the case, the most preposterous that has ever been advanced in the annals of historical criticism. For it is an indisputable fact, that in the last quarter of the *second* century this Gospel was received throughout the whole Christian world as the undoubted writing of the Apostle John. How could this have come to pass had it not come down from the last part of the first century? Could a Gospel written within the lifetime of many in the Church in the last quarter of the second century be everywhere regarded as the work of the Apostle John who had been dead for three fourths of a century or more? When three Gospels had already been in use in the Church, and read every Sunday in the Christian assemblies, how could a fourth one have been added long after the death of its supposed author, and a Gospel, too, that seemed to be at variance with the others? Could the intellectual and the learned men of the Church thus be imposed upon, and would the illiterate have submitted to the innovation? We all know what opposition the masses now make to even a few changes in the translation of the Bible.

The Alogians, a small party at Thyatira toward the end of the second century, in rejecting this Gospel, assigned it to the heretic Cerinthus,¹ who lived in the first century, and was a contemporary of the Apostle John. How easily they would have triumphed if they could have shown that this Gospel came into existence after the death of John! Had it been written in the second century they could have easily known it. Celsus, the learned and bitter opponent of Christianity, who wrote about A. D. 160-170, was, as we have already seen, acquainted with our Gospel, which then bore already the name of John. Now, if this Gospel had made its appearance even in the earliest part of the second century, there must have been many who knew the fact, and from whom he could have learned it. In this case how he would have triumphed over the Christians, and told them that one of the chief Gospels, so far from giving apostolic testimony to Christ, was not written till its supposed author had been dead twenty-five or fifty years! Yet he

Untenableness
of the sceptical
theory.

The account of
this Gospel given
by the Alogians.

¹ Epiphanius, *Hæresis* li, 3.

speaks of the Gospels as written by the disciples of Christ, by which term he meant apostles.

Even Rénan remarks, respecting the date of this Gospel: "One thing, at least, I regard as very probable—that the book was written before the year 100; that is, at an epoch when the synoptic Gospels had not yet a full canonical authority. If written after this date, it is inconceivable that the author on this point should have broken loose from the outline of the Memoirs of the Apostles. For Justin, and it seems for Papias, the synoptical outline constitutes the true and only outline of the Life of Jesus. A forger, writing toward the year 120 or 130 a fancy Gospel, would have satisfied himself with treating the received version in his own way, as do the apocryphal Gospels, and he would not have so completely destroyed what were regarded as the essential lines of the life of Jesus."¹ Truly the forger of this book, if a forgery, in the second century, pursued a most astonishing course, and it is more astonishing that he should succeed in it!

Heracleon, a celebrated Valentinian, who was said to have been an acquaintance of Valentinus, wrote a Commentary on John's Gospel about A. D. 170, which is quoted in several places by Origen in his Commentary on that Gospel, as we have already seen. It appears from an expression of Heracleon's that he attributed the Gospel to a disciple of Christ. Now what could have induced this eminent heretic to write a Commentary on this Gospel, and to attempt to explain it so as to bring it into harmony with his system (a process often requiring a forced construction), except its apostolic origin and its authority in the Church? He must have known that it was written in the first century, and that it was considered the undoubted work of an apostle of Christ. Not only did Heracleon, but the Valentinians in general, use this Gospel in the second half of the second century.

Theophilus, who became bishop of Antioch in A. D. 169, wrote three books to Autolycus on the resurrection of the dead, about 180. Speaking of the Word (*Λόγος*) he says: "Which the holy Scriptures, and all those who are inspired by the Spirit, teach us, among whom John says, '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. . . and the Word was God; all things were made by him,*'" etc. This Theophilus, bishop of the great city of Antioch, was a man of great learning and profound thought, and he must have known whether the Gospel of John was genuine or not. It is very probable that he was born as early as A. D. 110 or 120. He had been converted from heathenism, and must

¹ Vie de Jésus, lxxv-vi.

² Lib. ii, 22.

have examined carefully the Gospels which he places along with the prophets.¹ He calls John's Gospel inspired. Can we believe that the great Christian Church at Antioch, which must have been in communion with that of Ephesus and with other important Christian Churches, and its learned bishop, were all, in the middle of the second century, when John had been dead only about fifty years, deceived in their belief of the genuineness of this Gospel? Further, when Theophilus became bishop of Antioch (A. D. 169) there were doubtless some whose memory reached back to the year 100; quite a large number, whose parents were the contemporaries of St. John in the latter part of his life, and knew when he wrote the Gospel.

From Theophilus we pass to a witness still more important, Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, A. D. 177-202. What makes the testimony of this able and learned man so valuable is the fact that the early part of his life was spent in Asia Minor, and that he had been taught in his youth by Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John. Of the teachings of Polycarp he retained in after life the most distinct recollection, especially what Polycarp had heard from John and others who had seen the Lord respecting his miracles and doctrines, "all of which Polycarp related agreeable to the Scriptures."²

Irenæus states: "John the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he himself also published his Gospel while he abode in Ephesus in Asia."³ Now it is evident that Irenæus had the best opportunity to ascertain the fact, if such, that John wrote the Gospel which bears his name. He was a hearer of Polycarp, as we have seen, and there were many others in Asia Minor, with whom Irenæus was acquainted, who had associated with John. This appears clear from the nature of the case, and from his remark, "And all the elders who in Asia had associated with John the disciple of the Lord testify,"⁴ etc. There can be no doubt that when Irenæus states that John published his Gospel in Ephesus, he bears witness to what he had learned from Polycarp and the elders who had known John. Suppose Irenæus had asserted that the fourth Gospel was not written by John, or had expressed doubts about it, would not the adversaries of this Gospel have declared that this was conclusive proof against its genuineness? Must not, then, his testimony in its favour, and the confidence with which he uses it as the production of the beloved disciple of Christ, be the strongest proof of its genuineness?

Polycarp remained bishop of Smyrna until he died a martyr's death about A. D. 167. About 160 he visited Rome and had a conference

¹iii, 12.

²Contra Hæreses, iii, 1.

³In the Epistle to Florinus before quoted.

⁴Ibid., ii, cap. xxii, 5.

with the bishop Anicetus of that city respecting the passover. Now if Polycarp had not acknowledged the fourth Gospel as that of John the Churches in Asia, that of Rome, and of other cities, must have known the fact, and the authority of this Gospel being rejected by this eminent disciple of John, it could not have been received as the undoubted work of the beloved disciple. But the fact that Irenæus, who was taught by Polycarp, received this Gospel, is a proof that it was acknowledged by Polycarp.

In the letter addressed by the Churches of Lyons and Vienna in Gaul to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia (A. D. 177), describing the martyrdom of their members, they say: "That was fulfilled which was spoken by our Lord, that 'The time will come in which every one that killeth you will think that he doeth God service.'"¹ This is an evident quotation of John xvi, 2. Pothinus, their bishop, ninety years of age, had died in the persecution, and Irenæus had been their presbyter.

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in an epistle on the observance of the passover, addressed to Victor, bishop of Rome, and to the Church of that city, written about A. D. 190 or 195, speaks of keeping "the day of the passover on the 14th, according to the Gospel," and of "having perused all holy Scripture." In speaking of John he says: "And John, who leaned on the breast of the Lord." It is in the highest degree probable that this phraseology was taken from the Gospel of John: "who also leaned upon his breast" (chap. xxi, 20); "that one thus leaning upon the breast of Jesus" (chap. xiii, 25). Except in John's Gospel, this phraseology is found nowhere in the New Testament. When Polycrates wrote this letter he tells us that he had been a Christian sixty-five years, so that his memory of Christian affairs must have extended back as far as A. D. 140. Seven of his relations had been bishops, some of whom he says he succeeded in Ephesus. Now he must have known some in the Ephesian Church who were acquainted with the Apostle John, and a few, probably, whose memories went back to the time when the Gospel was written. He speaks also of many bishops whom he had called together and met.² Is it possible that the canon of Polycrates, which must have been that of the Ephesian Church of which he was bishop, did not include John's Gospel? Polycrates says he had read *all the holy Scripture*, and speaks of what is in accordance with the Gospel, probably that of John. If the Church of Ephesus in the second century received the fourth Gospel as the work of the Apostle John, it must be genuine. If the Church of Ephesus did not receive

¹In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., v, cap. 1.

²Ibid., v, cap. xxiv.

it in the second century, they in all probability would not have received it in the third, for the tradition that it was not written by John could not easily have been obliterated.

Irenæus speaks of the *whole* Church as refreshed by four Gospels, and Origen (186-254) says the four Gospels are received by the Church under heaven; and there is not a vestige of proof that the great Church of Ephesus did not receive the fourth Gospel as the work of John. Had the Ephesian Church rejected this Gospel, or attributed it to any other than John, the Christian writers of the second and two following centuries could not have failed to notice the rejection, just as Epiphanius did in the case of the Alogians in the comparatively obscure town of Thyatira; and Polycrates and others, in discussing the passover, would, in all probability, have brought out the fact.¹ If this Gospel had not been received in the Ephesian Church immediately after the death of John, if not before, it could not have been received by the neighbouring Churches of Asia Minor. Irenæus, as we have already seen, states that John published his Gospel at Ephesus, and as he spent the early part of his life in the region of Ephesus, he must have known that the Ephesian Christians received this Gospel as John's, otherwise he could not have stated that this apostle had delivered it to them.

In the Canon of Muratori (written at Rome about A. D. 160) it is stated: "The fourth Gospel is that of John, one of the disciples. When his fellow-disciples and his bishops urged him to write, he said to them, Fast with me to-day until the third day, and whatever shall be revealed to each, we will relate to each other. In the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should write every thing in his own name in the presence of all of them as witnesses."² In this canon it is also said: "Why therefore is it strange if John so confidently ad-

Testimony of
the Canon of
Muratori.

¹Since writing the above we have found positive proof for what we have argued in the text, that may be thus shown: Polycrates names along with himself, as followers of the Apostle John in keeping the 14th Nisan, Polycarp of Smyrna, Thraseas, bishop of Eumenia in Phrygia, Bishop Sagaris, Melito of Sardis, and Papirius (Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. v, cap. xxiv). Hippolytus (A. D. 200-250) says the observers of the 14th Nisan "agree in other matters with all those things which have been delivered to the Church by the apostles" (Philosoph., lib. viii, sec. 18). Epiphanius (A. D. 367-402) says of this same sect, "These hold everything as the Church (holds); they receive the prophets, apostles, and evangelists" (Hæresis 1). Of course, then they received John's Gospel. Theodoret remarks on them: "They say that the Evangelist John, when preaching in Asia, taught them to observe the 14th day" (Hæret. Fab. Comp., lib. iii, cap. iv).

²QUARTI EVANGELIORUM IOHANNIS EX DECIPOLIS cohortantibus condiscipulis et ep̄s suis dixit conieiunate mihi. Odie triduo et quid cuique fuerit reuelatum

duces the particulars even in his epistles, saying in respect to himself, What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things we have written to you. For he not only professes to be an eyewitness, but also a hearer and a writer in order of all the wonderful things of the Lord."¹

The particulars thus given respecting the origin of John's Gospel are valuable as coming from such an early writer, and one likely to obtain accurate information, as Rome was a place much visited from all parts of the world. As mention is made of the Apostle Andrew in the account of John's writing, it would seem that the Gospel was written probably twenty years before the close of John's life, as it is not likely that Andrew was alive long after that time.

The particulars given in the canon concerning John's Gospel do not indicate that it had already enemies against whom it was to be defended as has been asserted.² For the canon gives particulars about Luke's Gospel also, and states that he had not seen the Lord in the flesh. Doubtless many particulars were given respecting the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, of which all is lost except a few closing words on the latter.

When this canon was written there were in the Roman Church, beyond all doubt, some whose membership and memory dated as far back as the last part of the first century. The testimony borne by this canon to the First Epistle of John, and perhaps to his others, is also very valuable in connexion with the genuineness of the Gospel.

Clement of Alexandria states that "John, last of all, perceiving that physical things were related in the Gospels, and being urged by his acquaintances and inspired by the Spirit, wrote a spiritual Gospel."³ Jerome gives an account of the writing of John's Gospel quite similar to that in the Canon of Muratori, which he remarks "ecclesiastical history relates."⁴ Apollinaris, in the second passover controversy, about A. D. 170, remarks respecting his opponents: "They say that the Lord ate the paschal lamb with his disciples on the fourteenth day of the month, but that he suffered on the great day of the feast of unleavened bread, and explain Matthew as so saying as they think, but their

alterutrum nobis eunarremus eadem nocte reuelatum Andreæ ex apostolis ut recognis centibus cunctis Iohannis suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet uaria singulis euangeliorum libris principia doceantur.

¹ Quid ergo mirum si Iohannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistulis suis proferat dicens in seme ipsu Quæ vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audiimus et manus nostræ palpauerunt hæc scripsimus uobis sic enim non solum uisuram sed auditorem sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profetetur.

² By Mangold and Hilgenfeld.

³ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, 14.

⁴ Pref. Comment. in Mat.

view is not in accordance with the law, and the Gospels, according to them, appear to be at variance with each other."¹ He manifestly refers to John, as compared with the other Gospels, which shows that his opponents as well as himself must have received that Gospel. He also speaks of Christ's side having been pierced, out of which flowed water and blood, in reference to John xix, 34, and it is, therefore, evident that he received it as authentic history.

We have already seen that the Clementine Homilies (about A. D. 160 or 170) make use of John's Gospel, and that about the same time Tatian, who had been the disciple of Justin Martyr, not only makes use of this Gospel, but he formed a Harmony or Combination of this Gospel and the other three. It was evidently used by Athanasius² (about A. D. 177), who speaks of all things having been created by the Logos (or Word), and of the Father's being in the Son, and the Son in the Father (in reference to John i, 1-3; xvii, 21-23). About the same time, or rather earlier, it was quoted as an apostolic document by Celsus, the bitter writer against Christianity. It was known to the heretic Marcion (about A. D. 140), was quoted by Valentinus (about 140), and by Basilides (about 120 or 125) as one of the Gospels.

About the middle of the second century arose in Phrygia, in Asia Minor, a fanatical sect of Christians that made pretensions to extraordinary spiritual gifts. They were called Montanists, from Montanus of Pepuza, who "in an ecstatic state began to announce that the *Paraclete* [Comforter] had imparted itself to him for the purpose of giving the Church its manly perfection" (Gieseler). It is very evident that the term *Paraclete* (which Montanus professed to be) was derived from John's Gospel, in which Christ promises to send the *Paraclete* (Comforter) (chaps. xiv, 16, 26; xv, 26; xvi, 7). This shows that in Phrygia, about 150 or 160, the Gospel of John was most probably regarded as an authentic record of Christ's teaching.

Justin Martyr, in his First Apology,³ addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius about A. D. 138 or 139, uses John's Gospel. In speaking of baptism and regeneration, he says: "For Christ said, Unless you are born again, you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven; because it is evident to all that it is impossible for those once born to enter the wombs of their mothers." Here the reference to John iii, 3, 4 is obvious, and shows that Justin regarded this Gospel as an authentic source for the history of Christ. Justin says of Christ: "And the Logos (Word) is the Son, who in a certain way being made flesh, became man." The Logos (Word) is

¹ Chron. Pasch., in Migne's ed. Pat., tom. 5, pp. 1297-1300.

² Legatio Pro Christianis, sec. 10.

³ Sec. 61.

⁴ Sec. 32.

the first begotten of God."¹ It is clear that these passages are based on John i, 1, 14.

In his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, written about A. D. 150, he also uses John's Gospel. In speaking of John the Baptist, he represents him as confessing, "I am not the Christ,"² which is found only in John i, 20. Hilgenfeld does not deny that Justin used John along with the other three Gospels. We have already seen Justin stating that the Gospels, or *Memoirs of the Apostles*, "written by the Apostles and their companions," were read every Sunday, along with the prophets, in the Christian assemblies. From this language it is clear that two of the evangelists were apostles, of whom the author of the fourth Gospel must have been one. But it may be asked, Why did not Justin make greater use of John's Gospel? To which it may be answered, It did not suit his purpose as well as the other Gospels. He says to the authorities he addresses: "That we may not appear to deceive you, we thought it proper to mention some of the doctrines delivered by Christ himself. . . . The discourses made by him are short and concise, for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God."³ After this he gives many of Christ's precepts, taken mostly from Matthew and Luke, for John was not suitable to his purpose, as it contains longer discourses of a philosophical nature. He uses John, however, when speaking of the incarnation of the Logos, of baptism, and regeneration. In his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* he quotes the Old Testament chiefly, but he has also some passages from the first three Gospels, especially Matthew, and one from John, giving the confession of the Baptist to which we have referred. The Gospel of John was not adapted to his purpose in this discussion. Nevertheless, Justin has many passages, as Professor Semisch shows, which are formed on the basis of John's Gospel.

Justin was of Neapolis (Nablûs) in Palestine; he visited Rome, as appears from a passage in his *Apology*, and Ephesus, where he held his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. We are unable to say when he attached himself to the Church; he had formerly been a heathen philosopher. It is not improbable that he united with the Church as early as A. D. 130. When he was at Ephesus, about A. D. 135 or 140, there must have been a considerable number of Christians who had been acquainted with John (John died there about forty years before), some, doubtless, whose recollection went as far back as A. D. 80, about the probable date of the composition of this Gospel. When he visited Rome, about A. D. 140 or earlier, there must have been some Christians there whose recollection went back as far as

¹ Sec. 21.

² Sec. 88.

³ *First Apol.*, sec. 14.

A. D. 70 or 80. Justin had the best opportunity to know whether the Gospel of John was genuine or not.

In the ancient Syrian Church, whose chief seat was Edessa, in Mesopotamia, we have a most valuable testimony to John's Gospel in the Peshito version of the New Testament, executed as early as the middle of the second century in all probability, if not earlier. The superscription to the fourth Gospel in this version is: "The holy Gospel, the preaching of John the evangelist, which he spoke and published in Greek in Ephesus." Testimony of the ancient versions.

The most ancient Latin version of the New Testament, made about the middle of the second century, and used in Northern Africa especially, contained the fourth Gospel, which it attributed to John, and placed immediately after that of Matthew, as being an apostolic work.

Tertullian, at Carthage, in the last part of the second century and in the first part of the third, is also a witness to the authority of John's Gospel in the North African Church. He observes that the authority of the apostolic Churches will defend Matthew and John, as well as Luke. It is clear from his remarks that he had no doubt that the Gospel of John had been in the Church ever since the death of that apostle.

We have already referred to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, who flourished in the last part of the second and in the beginning of the third century, to John's having written his Gospel at the request of his friends. His information was derived from the oldest presbyters, as Eusebius states in giving the passage. He was instructed by Pantænus, who was said to have heard some who had seen the apostles. On Clement, Neander remarks: "He convinced himself of the truth of Christianity by free inquiry, after he had acquired an extensive knowledge of the systems of religion and the philosophy of divine things known at his time in the cultivated world. This free spirit of inquiry, which had conducted him to Christianity, led him, moreover, after he had become a Christian, to seek the society of eminent Christian teachers of different tendencies of mind in different countries. He informs us that he had had various distinguished men as his teachers: an Ionian in Greece; one from Cœle-Syria; one in Magna Græcia (Lower Italy), who came originally from Egypt; an Assyrian in Eastern Asia (doubtless Syria); and one of Jewish descent in Palestine."¹ All this was before he was instructed by Pantænus. As Pantænus left Alexandria for India about A. D. 180, Clement must

¹ Church Hist., vol. i, 691. Torrey's translation.

have received instructions from him some time before that period. He was instructed in Southern Italy, Greece, Eastern Asia (Syria), and Palestine, before he came to Egypt. These travels may be placed about A. D. 170, or earlier. The testimony of such a man respecting John's Gospel is very valuable, for he must have met with some whose membership in the Church dated back to the time of John's death.

In the Epistle to Diognetus, written probably in the beginning of the second century, there are some passages, as we have already seen, taken from John's Gospel. One, at least, in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, published from the Syriac by Cureton, written about 115. Likewise in the Epistle of Barnabas, belonging probably to the last part of the first century, are also expressions that appear to have been taken from John's Gospel.

In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a work written by a ~~other ancient~~ Christian in the last part of the first century, or in the ~~testimonies.~~ beginning of the second, are several references to John's Gospel. In the Testament of Benjamin (chap. iii) Christ is called "the Lamb of God and the Saviour of the world," from John i, 29; iv, 42. In Levi xiv Christ is "the light of the world given to enlighten every man," a reference to John viii, 12; i, 9. "Then Abraham shall rejoice," Levi xviii, in reference to John viii, 56.¹ "The Spirit of truth bears witness to all things and accuses all," Judah xx, in reference to John xv, 26; xvi, 8. "Until the Most High send us salvation in the visitation of the only begotten Son," Benjamin ix, in reference to the writings of John, especially the Gospel.

At the end of the works of Clement of Alexandria there are about twenty-two pages of Greek, entitled, "Extracts from the writings of Theodotus and from the doctrine called Oriental belonging to the times of Valentinus." Neander calls this epitome: "A document of the highest authority in relation to the Gnostic systems. It is, perhaps, the fragment of a critical collection, which Clement had drawn up for his own use during his residence in Syria"² (about A. D. 170). In this work there are about twenty-five passages from John's Gospel; sometimes they are quoted with the remark—the Saviour, the Lord, or the apostle says. The various sects of the serpent worshippers also made great use of this Gospel in the last half of the second century, and probably in the first half.

We have thus seen that the Gospel of John was universally received in the Christian Church throughout the world, in the last half of the second century, as the work of the Apostle John, and was

¹ The same verb (*αγαλλιάσθαι*) is used both in John and in this Testament.

² Church Hist., vol. i, 693.

very generally received by the heretics themselves as an authority. Now, how could this reception of the Gospel as the work of the beloved disciple of Christ have been unanimous¹ within fifty years of his death, if it had not been really written by him? But, further, the testimonies to this Gospel go back to the beginning of the second, if not to the close of the first, century, so that it certainly made its appearance very soon after the death of John, though in all probability before that event.

To the external proofs of the genuineness of the fourth Gospel already given, we add the following: Apelles, a heretic of the last half of the second century, a disciple of Marcion, taught that "Christ, having risen after three days, showed himself to his disciples, and exhibited *the prints of the nails and of his side*" (Philosophoumena, lib. vii, sec. 38), from which it is evident that he used John's Gospel as an authority. The sect of Montanists, which arose in Phrygia about the middle of the second century, received the same Gospels with the rest of the Christians (Philosophoumena, lib. viii, sec. 19; Epiphanius, lib. ii; Hæresis xlviii). Praxeas, who came from Phrygia to Rome in the last part of the second century, received John's Gospel, as is evident from the manner in which Tertullian replies to him (Adversus Praxeam). Noetus of Smyrna, a Partripassian (about A. D. 230), evidently received John's Gospel, as appears from the answer given him by Hippolytus. Callistus of Rome (about A. D. 200) quotes John xiv, 10 as an authority.² Urban, bishop of Rome (about A. D. 225), quotes John xx, 22, 23. The learned Hippolytus (about A. D. 200-250) received John's Gospel. Novatian, presbyter of Rome (A. D. 250-275), in his work on the Trinity, makes extensive use of John's Gospel. Victorinus, bishop of Petavio (Pettau) in Upper Pannonia (Hungary) in the last part of the third century, quotes the fourth Gospel as John's. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in his Epistle to Cyprian (about A. D. 255), quotes John xvii, 24; xx, 23, 25. Methodius, a man of great learning, bishop of Patara and Olympus in Lycia (in Asia Minor), and afterward of Tyre in Phœnicia, in the last half of the third century, uses John's Gospel. Lactantius, the celebrated Christian writer in Nicomedia (in Asia Minor) (about A. D. 314), quotes as John's, John i, 1-3.³ Gelasius, of Cyzicus, states that the Nicene Council (which was held A. D. 325) expressed through Hosius, bishop of Cordova in Spain, its views respecting the divinity of Christ, beginning with the first verse of John's Gospel, and that a philosopher, in replying,

¹ Of course we except the obscure sect of Alogians at Thyatira about A. D. 170-200, of whom we shall speak in the future.

² Philosophoumena, lib. ix, sec. 12.

³ Divin. Instit., lib. iv, cap. viii

also quoted John's Gospel.¹ Athanasius, who was present at the Council, states that the bishops quoted for the divinity of Christ John x, 30. This great theologian asks his opponents whether they believe the Son when he says, "I and my Father are one" (John x, 30); and, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv, 9)? Certainly, they would say, we believe him, since thus it is written.² There appears to have been no doubt expressed in the Council respecting the apostolic origin and authority of John's Gospel. Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia (about A. D. 330), quotes John i, 1, with the remark: "John, the holy apostle and disciple of the Lord."³ In the council held at Sardica, A. D. 347, we find that the bishops in their confession of faith quote John i, 3; x, 30; xiv, 10.⁴ The Council of Ancyra, in Galatia (semi-Arian), collected from seven provinces (A. D. 358), quotes, in its decrees, the first part of John's Gospel as what the Apostle John delivered.⁵ Basil of Ancyra, and Georgius of Laodicea, members of this Council, and their associates, in their confession of faith, in various passages use John's Gospel as an authority.⁶ In the decree of the Council held A. D. 359, at Seleucia in Asia Minor, it is stated: "We also believe in the Holy Spirit, which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ called the Paraclete (Comforter), having promised that after his departure he would send this to the apostles." This passage manifestly refers to John xiv, 26 as an authentic declaration of Christ. This document is signed by *forty-three* bishops, and among them we find bishops of Phrygia, Lycia, Lydia (including the bishop of Philadelphia), and Mytilene, places lying in the region of Ephesus.⁷ In the decrees of the Oriental Council, held (about A. D. 363) at Laodicea, about a hundred miles from Ephesus, the Gospel of John forms a part of the canon of Scripture.⁸ The reception of John's Gospel by all parties in the general Council of Nicæa, in which the divinity of Christ was discussed and adopted as an article of faith—a doctrine that finds such strong support in this Gospel—shows the deep conviction of its apostolic authority in the whole Church. The recognition of this Gospel as John's in all the regions about Ephesus, where the apostle spent the last part of his life and died, gives the assurance that it really proceeded from him. For how, otherwise, could its genuineness have been universally acknowledged in the first half of the fourth century through all these regions? The

¹ *Historia Concilii Nicæni*, lib. ii, cap. xii, xvii.

² Athanasius, *Epistola ad Afros Episcopos*, sec. 6 and 7.

³ In Eusebius, *Hist. Theol.*, lib. ii, cap. xi.

⁴ In Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. ii.

⁵ Epiphanius, *Hæresis liii*, cap. ii-xi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. xii-xxii.

⁷ In Epiphanius, *Hæresis liii*, cap. xxv, xxvi.

⁸ Photius, *Syntag. Can.*, tit. iii.

Alogians of Thyatira, who rejected this Gospel and the Apocalypse, were very obscure; the name of not a single member of the sect has come down to us. In the councils of the Church no representative of the Alogians appears. It is difficult to say how long the sect lasted. Nothing more clearly shows the ignorance or the recklessness of the sect than their attributing this Gospel to the heretic Cerinthus, whose doctrine concerning the person of Christ was so entirely different from that set forth in the Gospel of John.

THE UNITY OF AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOSPEL AND FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

That the fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John had the same author is entirely certain. In comparing the two The similarity between fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John. works, the identity of authorship strikes us like a sensation; and a minute examination of their contents indelibly fixes conviction. That able but sceptical critic, De Wette, remarks upon this subject: "So much is certain, that both writings, this Epistle [of John] and the fourth Gospel, proceed from the same author; for both bear the most definite stamp of relationship, as well in style as in conceptions; both impress upon the reader the same charm of a kind nature."¹ He gives the following instances of similarity of style in both: *ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, *to do the truth*, 1 John i, 6; John iii, 21: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐν τινι*, *the truth is not in any one*, 1 John i, 8; ii, 4; John viii, 44: *ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι*, *to be of the truth*, 1 John ii, 21; John xviii, 37: *ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου εἶναι*, *to be of the devil*, 1 John iii, 8; John viii, 44: *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι*, *to be of God*, 1 John iii, 10; iv, 1; John vii, 17; viii, 47; *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι*, *to be of the world*, 1 John iv, 5; John viii, 23; *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου λαλεῖν*, *to speak of the world*, 1 John iv, 5, is similar to John iii, 31, *ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖν*, *to speak of the earth*: *ἐν αὐτῷ μένομεν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν*, *we remain in him, and he in us*, 1 John iv, 13, the same phraseology as John vi, 56; xv, 4: *ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἐν τῷ φωτί περιπατεῖν*, *in the darkness, in the light to walk*, 1 John ii, 11; i, 6, 7; John viii, 12; xii, 35: *γινώσκειν τὸν θεόν, ἢ χριστόν*, *to know God, or Christ*, 1 John ii, 3, 4, 13, 14; iv, 6-8; v, 20; John xvi, 3; xvii, 25: *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τιθεῖναι*, *to lay down his life*, 1 John iii, 16; John x, 11, 17, 18; xv, 13: *ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν*, *to have sin*, 1 John i, 8; John ix, 41; xv, 22, 24; xix, 11: *ἔχειν ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἢ τὴν ζωὴν*, *to have eternal life, or life*, 1 John iii, 15; v, 12; John iii, 15, 36; v, 24, 39, 40; vi, 40, 47, 54: *μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*, *to pass from death unto life*, 1 John iii, 14; John v, 24: *νικᾶν τὸν κόσμον*, *to overcome the world*, 1 John

¹ Einleitung, p. 396.

v, 4; John xvi, 33: μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνειν, *to receive testimony*, 1 John v, 9; John iii, 11, 32; v, 34: αἰρεῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, *to take away sin*, 1 John iii, 5; John i, 29. There is a peculiarity in John's writings which De Wette notices, *the union of an affirmative and a negative*: "We lie, and do not the truth," 1 John i, 6; "He confessed, and did not deny," John i, 20. Compare also 1 John i, 5, 8; ii, 4, 10, 27, 28, with John i, 3; iii, 20; v, 24; vii, 18; xvi, 29, 30.

These are only a portion of the similar passages found in the Epistle and Gospel, which De Wette¹ gives in proof of identity of authorship of the two writings. Nothing more clearly shows the value of the testimony furnished by the Epistle to the genuineness of the Gospel, and the desperate straits of the impugnors of this Gospel, than the denial of their unity by some of the ablest opponents of the former, including Strauss and Hilgenfeld.

Nowhere in the ancient Church do we find a single doubt respecting this Epistle; it was never attributed to any other than the beloved disciple who wrote the Gospel.² It was used by Polycarp³—a disciple of John about A. D. 115. Eusebius states that Papias, who lived in Asia Minor in the first half of the second century, and is called by Irenæus a hearer of John, "made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John."⁴ Nor could Eusebius be mistaken in this matter, for he had before him the work of Papias; and the peculiar style of John's Epistle, even though unnamed, is easily recognized wherever quoted.

This Epistle in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon of Muratori, is attributed to the Apostle John, and it formed a part of the earliest Latin version. It is quoted by Irenæus as the writing of John the disciple of the Lord;⁵ also by Clement⁶ of Alexandria, and Tertullian⁷ of Carthage, as John's. It is attributed to John by Origen,⁸ and Eusebius;⁹ and Jerome remarks that it "is approved of by all ecclesiastics and learned men."¹⁰

¹ Einleitung, p. 396.

² It is well known that the Alogians rejected both the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse. But Epiphanius was uncertain whether or not they rejected the Epistles of John. "Perhaps," says he, "also the Epistles they rejected (τάχα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς παρεβάλλειν), for these also agree with the Gospel and with the Apocalypse."—Hæresis li, cap. xxxiv.

³ Polycarp's words are: Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθῆναι ἀντίχριστός ἐστι, "For every one who does not acknowledge that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is antichrist."—Epist. to Philippians, 7. This is almost the exact language of 1 John iv, 2, 3.

⁴ Contra Hæreses, iii, cap. xvi, sec. 5.

⁵ Lib. de Præscrip., cap. xxxiii.

⁶ iii, 23.

⁷ Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, xxxix.

⁸ Stromata, iii, cap. vi, etc.

⁹ In Euseb., Hist. Eccles., vi, 23.

¹⁰ Lib. de Viris Illust., cap. ix.

That the author of this Epistle was an eyewitness of the life of Christ is stated in the clearest manner in the beginning: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life; for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." The writer characterizes himself as bearing witness to his contemporaries of what he saw and heard. If this language does not imply an eyewitness, what would?

The author of the Epistle being an eyewitness of Christ's life, and the unity of authorship of the Gospel and Epistle resting upon the clearest evidence, it follows that the author of the fourth Gospel was an eyewitness of the life of Christ; and all antiquity, as we have already seen, attributed both the Gospel and the Epistle to the Apostle John, the last surviving apostle of Christ. All the ancient Greek MSS. of this Gospel (about five hundred in number) attribute it to John, which shows that this was the superscription of the earliest manuscripts.

The adversaries of this Gospel, being hard pressed by the external evidence in its favour, take refuge in the supposed silence of Papias respecting it. But we do not know that Papias was silent as his work is lost. It is true that Eusebius adduces no quotation from him on John's Gospel, but the fact that Papias made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John gives indirect evidence for the Gospel. We do not know what Papias said, or did not say. We do not know that Papias was discussing the Gospels in general at all. Eusebius states that he remarked that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew, and Mark from the instructions of Peter. There was no reason why he should have given any particulars about John's Gospel, for that evangelist spent the last part of his life not more than a hundred miles from the town of which Papias was bishop, and the facts pertaining to that Gospel were well known in the region of Papias. Eusebius does not tell us whether Papias made any statement about Luke, nor was it necessary that Papias should, as Luke himself, in the preface to his Gospel, gives the source of his information. Eusebius does not state whether Papias used the Epistles of Paul; is that an argument against their genuineness?

Tischendorf,¹ however, is of the opinion that we have proof that Papias did bear testimony to John's Gospel. He finds this proof in the Prologue to the Gospel of John in a Latin manuscript of the Vatican, which is very ancient: "The Gospel of John was published

¹ Origin of the Four Gospels, p. 199.

and given to the Churches by John while still living in the body, as Papias, of Hierapolis, a dear disciple of John, related in the last of his five books."¹ We confess our inability to determine what value should be given to this document.

Irenæus remarks, that the presbyters, in speaking of different conditions of the redeemed in heaven, say that "on this account the Lord said: 'In my Father's (house) are many mansions.'"² Here is a clear reference to John's Gospel (chap. xiv, 2), with which these presbyters were acquainted, and which they acknowledged as an authentic history of Christ. But who were these presbyters that thus used John? Irenæus answers that by calling them "the disciples of the apostles" (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί*). In this class he may have included Papias, though it is not improbable that Irenæus may have derived his information from the work of Papias.

+ INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT THE FOURTH GOSPEL PROCEEDED FROM THE APOSTLE JOHN.

If the fourth Gospel is the work of the Apostle John several things must accord with that fact. 1. The author must show Points of the internal evidence. his acquaintance with the Hebrew, or with the Aramaic language; at least, he must give no proof of his ignorance of it. 2. He must not betray any ignorance of the topography of the regions of Christ's ministry, or of the customs of the Jews at that period. 3. There should be some indications in the narrative that the author was, or may have been, an eyewitness of the life of Christ.

Now these conditions are fully satisfied in this Gospel. But, further, we find some particulars in the narrative of such a peculiar nature that it is clear the author of the Gospel was an eyewitness of the scenes described.

The author shows his knowledge of Hebrew by the translation John shows in his Gospel a knowledge of Hebrew. he has given of Zechariah xii, 10 (in part) in chapter xix, 37: "They shall look on him whom they pierced," which could not have been taken from the Septuagint, nor from the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, in neither of which is there any thing to correspond to the Hebrew *רָצַח*, *to pierce*. He ap-

¹ *Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in exotericis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit.*—*Patrum Apostol. Opera.* Leipzig, 1875. The editors of this work think the passage spurious.

² The Greek in Irenæus (lib. v, xxxvi, sec. 2) is, *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοναῖς εἰσὶν πολλὰς*, *in those of my Father are many mansions*. The Greek in John xiv, 2 is, *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοναὶ πολλαὶ εἰσιν*, *in the house of my Father are many mansions*. The word *μοναί* (*mansions*), occurs nowhere in the New Testament except in John's Gospel, and was rarely used in this sense outside of it.

pearu also to have based the passage (chap. xii, 15) upon the Hebrew text of Zechariah ix, 9. In other passages he follows the LXX. He also shows his knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic by giving the original and its translation into Greek: *Rabbi, master* (chap. i, 38); *Messias, Christ* (ver. 41); *Cephas, a rock* (ver. 42); *Siloam, sent* (chap. ix, 7). He gives the Hebrew or Aramaic word for *Λιθόστρωτον* (*Pavement*), *Gabbatha* (chap. xix, 13), and the meaning of the Hebrew *Rabbouni, master* (chap. xx, 16). *Bethesda*, the name he gives a pool with five porches in Jerusalem (chap. v, 2), meaning *House of Mercy*, is a regular Aramaic name. As Aramaic expressions, we may name *γεύσθαι θανάτου, to taste death*, (chap. viii, 52); the use of *σκανδαλίζω* in a moral sense, *to give offense* (chaps. vi, 61; xvi, 1); *σφραγίζειν*, in the sense *to confirm, approve* (chaps. iii, 33; vi, 27). *Εντρεῦθεν καὶ εντρεῦθεν, hence and hence* (chap. xix, 18), for *on this side* and *on that*, is in imitation of the Hebrew *מִיָּמִין וּמִיָּמִין*. The phrase *ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, the prince of this world*, for Satan (chap. xii, 31), is Rabbinical.¹

The sense in which the author uses *φῶς, light, σκοτία, darkness, σὰρξ, flesh, πνεῦμα, spirit*, is decidedly Jewish. The illustrations drawn from a shepherd and his flock (chap. x, 1-29), and from living waters (chaps. iv, 10; vii, 37, 38), are also Jewish. The author's references to the Old Testament, especially to the prophecies pertaining to the Messiah and his times, are what was to be expected from a Christian who had been brought up in Judaism. He uses the word *law* in several places (chaps. x, 34; xii, 34; xv, 25) for the Old Testament in general, which no one but a Jew would have done.

The author is well acquainted with the customs of the Jews. He speaks of the passover (chap. ii, 13, etc.); the feast of tabernacles (chap. vii, 2); the feast of dedication in winter (chap. x, 22); and the day of preparation (before the sabbath) (chap. xix, 14, 31, 42); their purifications (chaps. ii, 6; iii, 25; xviii, 28); and the penalty of excommunication from the synagogue (chap. ix, 34). He knows in what period of time the temple was built (forty-six years) (chap. ii, 20); and that Annas was the father-in-law of Caiaphas² (chap. xviii, 13).

The author also shows an exact acquaintance with the Samaritans. In the account of the interview of Christ with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well, she says: "I know that Messiah cometh. When he

¹ Lightfoot, in commenting on John xii, 31, adduces a considerable number of passages from the ancient Rabbies in illustration of this usage.

² In John xi, 51 it is stated that Caiaphas was *high priest that year*—that is, the year in which Christ was crucified. This does not imply that the high priest was changed every year, but simply that Caiaphas was high priest at that time.

is come, he will tell us all things" (chap. iv, 25). There can be no doubt that the Samaritans of that age expected a Messiah, for the high priest of that people at Nablûs, about six years ago, stated to me that he expected a Messiah.¹ He based his expectation chiefly upon Deuteronomy xviii, 18. This was, doubtless, a traditional doctrine, and it is not to be supposed that if the ancient Samaritans had held no such view the moderns would have taken it up. The Samaritan woman also said to Christ: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship" (chap. iv, 20). Here the woman refers to the controversy between the Jews and Samaritans respecting the proper place of divine worship. The Samaritans, in rejecting all the Old Testament except the Pentateuch, deprived the Jews of every proof that Jerusalem was the place where worship should be offered. They also changed "Ebal" to "Gerizim" in their Pentateuch, so as to make the latter the place in which Moses commanded that an altar should be built and offerings made (Deut. xxvii, 4-8). On Gerizim—to which the Samaritan woman refers, "in this mountain," close to Jacob's well—the Samaritans had a temple built in the time of Alexander the Great, which was destroyed by John Hyrcanus² (B. C. 129). The high priest of the Samaritans told me that he regarded Gerizim (Nablûs) as the place where worship should be rendered, and that he considered the modern Jews as a species of heretics, acting in many things contrary to the law. How accurate, then, is the account of this people and their relations to the Jews, given by the author of the fourth Gospel!

In the controversy between the Jews and Samaritans Christ decides in favour of the Jews, and declares: "Ye (Samaritans) worship ye know not what: we (the Jews) know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews" (chap. iv, 22). It is very clear that Christ recognizes the authority of the Jewish dispensation in using "we," and that he has no reference to a small portion of the Jews who were spiritual. In short, there is not the slightest trace of Gnosticism in the passage.³ When Christ says, "Salvation is of the Jews," the context requires the meaning to be: "Salvation pertains to and proceeds from the Jews."

The author of the fourth Gospel *shows an accurate knowledge of the country in which Christ exercised his ministry*. The statement in chap. iv respecting Jacob's well, close to Mount Gerizim, and close by

¹ See my interview with the high priest of the Samaritans at Nablûs, in my *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, pp. 183-186.

² Josephus, *Antiq.*, b. xiii, chap. ix, sec. 1.

³ Hilgenfeld's exposition of the passage is very arbitrary.

Sychar,¹ or Shechem, near a parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph, and on the way from Judea into Galilee, is very accurate. The answer of the Samaritan woman, ^{Topographical accuracy of the fourth Gospel} "the well is deep," is also accurate, for it is not less than seventy-five feet² in depth. East of the well, close to it, and lying but little lower than it, is a valley running north and south, which was set in wheat when the writer was there, and from time immemorial has been, doubtless, sowed with this grain. This very field may have suggested the beautiful language of Christ: "Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest" (chap. iv, 35).

In chap. ix, 7 our Saviour says to the blind man, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam." Of this pool Josephus speaks: "The valley called that of the Cheesemakers, which, we said, separates the ridge of the upper city from the lower ridge, extends down to Siloam,³ for thus we called the fountain, which was large and sweet."⁴ We found this fountain just where Josephus locates it, at the end of the valley dividing Jerusalem.

In chap. xi, 18 it is said: "Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem about fifteen furlongs off." When in Palestine we made an estimate of the distance of this village from Jerusalem, and found it about one mile and three fourths to St. Stephen's gate in the east wall.⁵ In chapter xviii, 1 it is stated that "Jesus with his disciples went out beyond the brook Cedron" (Kidron), where was a garden." In speaking of the Mount of Olives, Josephus remarks: "It lies east of Jerusalem, from which it is separated by a deep ravine, which

¹ This form of the name, instead of Συχημ, Sychem (in Acts and often in LXX), Σικιμα, Sikima, as it was sometimes called, may have been a provincialism with the Jews of Galilee, or it may have been derived from שקר, *sheker*, *falsehood*, given the place in contempt. Beelzebub was changed into Beelzebul, for example. It is, however, possible that the village *Askar*, not far from the well, on the shoulder of Ebal, may be intended.

² As we found by trial.

³ John and Josephus in this passage use exactly the same word Σιλωάμ.

⁴ Bel. Jud., lib. v, cap. iv, 1.

⁵ Fifteen Greek furlongs make three thousand and thirty yards.

The reading in chap. xviii, 1 is not uniform in the MSS. Tischendorf adopts τοῦ Κέδρων, from the Codex Sinaiticus, and Tregelles τῶν Κέδρων, from Codex Vaticanus. We would prefer the Alexandrian Codex, which gives τοῦ Κέδρων. The variations in the MSS. arose from the copyists' ignorance of the Hebrew name of the brook, קִדְרֹן, *qidrôn* (*turbid*), which they mistook for the plural of the Greek κέδρος, *a cedar*, and, consequently, they sometimes inserted a plural article before it, as it is also written in 1 Kings xv, 13. Josephus writes it in the singular, Κέδρων. Κεδρώνος. There is no proof that the author of the fourth Gospel supposed the brook was named after cedar trees.

is called Cedron' (*Κεδρών*).¹ In one place he calls it a brook (*χειμάρρος*), just as in John. Cedron occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Just east of the dry bed of the Kidron, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, the garden (Gethsemane) into which our Saviour went is still pointed out.

In chap. iii, 23 we have the statement: "And John also was baptizing in Enon near to Salim, because there was much water (*ὕδατος πολλά*, *many waters* or *fountains*) there." Enon is a Chaldee word, *ܐܢܘܢ*, meaning fountains. To this Enon (or, rather, Ænon) Jerome refers: "Ænon, near Salim, where John baptized, as it is written in the Gospel according to John (chap. iii, 23); and, until the present time, the place is shown, eight miles to the south of Scythopolis, near Salim and the Jordan."²

In chapter vi, 19, in speaking of the disciples crossing the north end of the Sea of Galilee, from the eastern shore to Bethsaida on the western, it is stated: "When they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs"—that is, about three miles, or three and a half—"they see Jesus walking on the sea." When he enters the ship, "immediately the ship was at the land whither they went" (verse 21). The Sea of Galilee is not more than six or seven miles in width in its widest part, and the whole distance that the disciples rowed in crossing could not have been more than four miles. It is clear from this that the author of the fourth Gospel was well acquainted with this sea.

It is a remarkable fact that nowhere in this Gospel does Tiberias, John's notice of Tiberias. on the Sea of Galilee, occupy any prominence, being mentioned only once (chap. vi, 23) as the place from which boats had come. The natural explanation is, that during the ministry of Christ it was a place of no importance, as it was founded by Herod Antipas, who was banished A. D. 39. Tiberias was, however, a place of great importance during the Jewish war, and for several centuries subsequently. How natural it would have been for a forger in the second century to make Tiberias prominent in Christ's history! In several places in this Gospel mention is made of Cana of Galilee (chaps. ii, 1, 11; iv, 46; xxi, 2). This is to be identified with the modern village, Kefr Kenna, containing about six hundred inhabitants, situated about five miles north-east of Nazareth, on the road to Tiberias, and to other points on the coast of the Sea of Galilee. We passed by this place in 1870 on the way from Tiberias to

¹ Bellum Jud., lib. v, cap. ii, sec. 3.

² Onomasticon. This work was originally written by Eusebius (who was bishop of Cesarea in Palestine,) and was translated into Latin, with additions, by Jerome, who spent a large portion of his life in Bethlehem, in Palestine, where he died.

Nazareth, and found in it the remains of a church. Willibald¹ (A. D. 722) visited it on his way from Nazareth to Mount Tabor, and states: "A large church stands there, and near the altar is still preserved one of the six vessels which our Lord commanded to fill with water to be turned into wine." The village is mentioned by Sæwulf² (A. D. 1102) as the Cana of Galilee, six miles north-east of Nazareth, where Christ turned water into wine. When our Saviour was on the way from Jerusalem to Capernaum, he was found at Cana (chap. iv, 46)—where he was visited by the nobleman whose son was sick—which lies on the way from Nazareth to Capernaum. The Cana suggested by Robinson, eleven miles north of Nazareth, is wholly unsuitable to some statements in this Gospel, as well as to some passages in Josephus.³ "The Greek Christians of Palestine," says Dr. Zeller, "never doubted the identity of Kefr Kenna with the Cana of the Gospel."⁴

In chap. xi, 54 it is said that Jesus departed from the vicinity of Jerusalem, and "went unto a country near to the desert, ^{Christ's visit to} into a city called Ephraim." This Ephraim is stated by ^{Ephraim.} Jerome⁵ to be five miles east of Bethel, with which place it is connected by Josephus,⁶ who remarks that Vespasian captured "Bethel and Ephraim, small towns." It was about ten miles from Jerusalem, and near the desert. Respecting this small place, then, our evangelist is exact.

In chap. i, 28 the best MSS., supported by the Peshito-Syriac, read: "These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing." The English version here has Bethabara, but Bethany has been received into the text by both Tischendorf and Tregelles. Nothing is known of this place beyond the Jordan. No one in his right mind can suppose that the evangelist has transferred the Bethany, which he himself tells us is about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem (chap. xi, 18), to the country beyond the Jordan!

The author of the fourth Gospel, in every instance in which he can be tested, shows a most accurate knowledge of the regions where Christ exercised his ministry; such knowledge as could have been possessed alone by one living in that country, unless we are to suppose that the author, if a forger, went to Palestine purposely to study the country and to mark the distances of places, with a view to deceive! But all his geographical statements are too natural to have been the result of design!

¹ Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's edition, p. 16.

² Ibid., p. 47.

³ See the discussion of this subject in my Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land pp. 205-207.

⁴ In Explorations of Palestinian Society.

⁵ Onomasticon

⁶ Bellum Jud., lib. iv, cap. ix, sec. 9.

THE EVANGELIST GIVES MANY PARTICULARS THAT COULD HAVE COME ONLY FROM ONE WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE SCENES DESCRIBED.

He names definitely, "the next day" (chap. i, 35); "about the tenth hour" (ver. 39); six water pots and the contents of each (chap. ii, 6); the definite number of years during which the Jews said the temple was building (ver. 20); the hour of the day (about the sixth) when Jesus sat upon the well (chapter iv, 6); the time Jesus staid among the Samaritans (two days) (ver. 49); the hour at which the fever left the nobleman's son (ver. 52); that the pool of Bethesda had five porches¹ (chap. v, 2); that the impotent man had been afflicted thirty-eight years. The account of the man who was born blind, and to whom sight was given by Christ, and the questions of the Pharisees and the answers (chap. ix), could have been written only by an eyewitness. The evangelist gives many particulars respecting the resurrection of Lazarus which indicate an eyewitness. He gives the name of the high priest's servant² whose right ear Peter cut off (chap. xviii, 10). He states the weight of the myrrh and aloes brought by Nicodemus for the burial of Christ (chap. xix, 39). He gives particulars respecting the grave-clothes after Christ's resurrection (chap. xx, 5-7); the distance that the disciples dragged the net (chap. xxi, 8); and the number of fishes that were in it (ver. 11).

We find also other evidence that the author of this Gospel was an eyewitness of the life of Christ. In chap. i, 14 he says: "And *we beheld* his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father." In chap. xix, 35, after the statement that one of the soldiers pierced the side of Christ, out of which there immediately came blood and water, the evangelist adds: "And he who has seen it, has borne testimony to it, and his testimony is true, and that one knows that he speaks the truth that ye may believe." This language points out the writer himself as the eyewitness of what he describes. The use of the perfect tense *has seen* (ἑώρακώς) and *has borne testimony* (μεμαρτύρηκε) shows that the witness was still living when the Gospel was written; and the declaration that the one who has seen it, and borne testimony to it, knows that he speaks the truth, is fully conscious of it, implies the writer himself. Nor is this inference weakened by the fact that the witness is called *ἐκεῖ-*

¹ They were, of course, destroyed with Jerusalem, A. D. 70.

² He says (chap. xviii, 15), in speaking of Peter and himself, "That disciple (himself) was known unto the high priest." How natural, then, that he should know the name of the servant from his having visited the house, in all probability.

ως,¹ *that one*. That *ἐκεῖνος*, *that one*, can be used by a speaker or writer as referring to himself, is clear from another passage in this Gospel. When our Saviour asked the man to whom he had given sight if he believed on him, and he answered, "Who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him?" Christ said to him: "Thou hast both seen him, and he who is talking with thee is *that one*" (*ἐκεῖνος*) (chap. ix, 37). Here Christ, who is speaking, calls himself *that one* (*ἐκεῖνος*); of course, John could do the same.²

In several places in this Gospel mention is made of the disciple whom Jesus loved (chaps. xiii, 23; xix, 26; xx, 2; xxi, 7, 20), and it is stated that "this is the disciple that testified of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true" (chap. xxi, 24). The whole of this twenty-fourth verse, at least the last part of it, "and we know that his testimony is true," was in all probability written by elders of the Church at Ephesus as an attestation to this Gospel, before it was sent abroad into the Churches; and, at the same time, the name of John was, doubtless, prefixed to it. It would have been unsuitable for the evangelist to say of himself: "*We* know that his testimony is true." Certain it is, indeed, that this verse, at all events, testifies to the fact that this Gospel was written by the beloved disciple. And this testimony refers to the entire preceding Gospel, and forbids the idea that the twenty-first chapter is an addition to the original account. Nor has there ever been a copy of John's Gospel found without this chapter:

But there remains the question, Was this beloved disciple John? This must be answered in the affirmative, as no other disciple satisfies all the requirements of the case. Three of our Saviour's disciples—Peter, James, and John—were the most intimate companions of their Master. These he took with him to be the witnesses of his transfiguration (Matt. xvii, 1; Mark ix, 2; Luke ix, 28); and to be his companions while in his agony in the garden of Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi, 37). On another occasion, "he suffered no man to follow him save Peter, James, and John" (Mark v, 37). It was these three disciples who asked

¹ The Greek is, *ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει*, and *that one knows that he says the truth*.

² In the clouds of Aristophanes, when Strepsiades, having gone upon the roof of the school of Socrates, is setting fire to it, one of the scholars inquires: "Who is setting fire to our house?" To which Strepsiades answers: "*That one* (*ἐκεῖνος*) whose cloak you stole." But it was the cloak of Strepsiades himself that had been stolen; so that he calls himself *ἐκεῖνος*, just as John does. It is to no purpose that Hilgenfeld objects that this is comedy; for it is Greek, and very good Greek, too, expressed in the clearest manner.

Christ privately concerning the destruction of the temple (Mark xiii, 3).

The beloved disciple who wrote the fourth Gospel could not be James, for he was killed by Herod about twelve years after the crucifixion of Christ (Acts xii, 12). Nor could it have been Peter, for the beloved disciple is distinguished from him (John xiii, 23, 24); so that John alone is the remaining intimate companion who could have written the fourth Gospel.¹ The ancient Christian Church never doubted that the beloved disciple was John, who leaned upon the breast of Christ. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the last part of the second century, and Irenæus and Origen speak of it as a well-known fact.

It has, however, been objected, that it seems improper for John to designate himself as the disciple whom Jesus loved, as this is a reflection on his associates. But even *supposing* that it was not in good taste for him to do so, does that prove that he never did it? How many things have been done in what is called "bad taste" by the greatest and holiest of men! Paul tells us that he withstood Peter "to the face, because he was to be blamed" (Gal. ii, 11). Why might not John do something for which he could be blamed? How far a writer may speak of the intimate relations existing between himself and eminent men, or even speak in commendation of himself, is a matter of taste. St. Paul declares that he "laboured more abundantly than they (apostles) all" (1 Cor. xv, 10); and "I suppose," says he, "that I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles" (2 Cor. xi, 5).

But it is by no means clear that there is any impropriety in John speaking of himself as the disciple whom Jesus loved. The Gospel and the First Epistle of John reveal to us a deep moral and religious nature, and a most affectionate disposition. Is it not, then, in the highest degree probable that Christ especially loved him? It is clear from the other Gospels, as we have already seen, that he was one of the favourites of Christ. He does not say in his Gospel that Jesus loved him more than the other disciples, though this might be inferred. He makes his statements on this point with a great deal of delicacy. But, further, when John wrote his Gospel, all the other disciples, except Andrew,² it seems, were dead. What impropriety

¹ The hypothesis has been proposed by Lützelberger that Andrew was the beloved disciple. But it is evident from the Gospels that Andrew was not one of the intimate disciples of Christ, and John i, 40 seems to distinguish him from the author of the Gospel, for one of the two disciples named is Andrew, and the other appears to be John.

² According to the Canon of Muratori, Andrew was still alive when John wrote his Gospel.

was there in his speaking, then, of the love his Saviour had for him? To illustrate this from mere human relations: suppose any one in writing his autobiography, when his mother was dead, and all his brothers and sisters, too, in calling to mind the deep affection of his mother for him, should state, "I was a favourite child of my mother," could he be justly censured by any one? Further, John nowhere makes himself prominent in his Gospel. He nowhere gives his name; but Peter here, as well as in the other Gospels, is the prominent disciple, and exhibits the same traits of character as we find in them; and this is a proof of the true historical character of John's narrative.

It is a remarkable fact, and can be explained only on the supposition that the Apostle John is the author of this Gospel, that John the Baptist is everywhere called simply John. In this Gospel his name occurs nineteen times. In Matthew he is seven times called John the Baptist, in Mark four times, and in Luke four times. But it was quite natural in John the evangelist to make no distinction between Johns, as he knew but one of that name, the Baptist.

The chief objection brought against the fourth Gospel is, that the picture it gives of the person of Christ, the method of his teaching, his long discourses and their contents, are different from what we find in the other three Gospels. Chief objection to John's Gospel as a delineation of Christ. There is in this objection just truth enough to present an apparent difficulty, which, however, disappears upon careful reflection.

In the first place it is to be observed, that there is no reason to suppose that the first three Gospels give an exhaustive view of the person and teachings of Christ, since but one¹ of the authors of them was an eyewitness of the acts of Christ, and heard his discourses. We, indeed, find several events in the Gospel of John which must have occurred, but are not recorded in the other Gospels, especially our Saviour's visits to Jerusalem² at the great festivals. In that city he must have performed miracles, taught, and been drawn into controversies with the Jews, just as is recorded in John's Gospel. The statement of the ancient Church is, no doubt, correct, that John wrote last of the evangelists, and to supply the omissions of the others. It is certain that he was acquainted with the other Gospels, and that his Gospel supplements them.

As the first three Gospels set forth the teachings of Christ chiefly in parables, and his numerous miracles—all of which are easily trans-

¹ Mark also may have been present at some of the scenes he describes.

² Christ's teaching in Jerusalem is implied in Matt. xxiii, 37: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together," etc. It seems also, from Luke xi, 51, xiii, 22, and xvii, 11, that Christ sometimes went up to Jerusalem

mitted to others, and well adapted to the purposes of instruction, but do not enter deeply into Christ's relation to his Father, or to his followers—the Gospel of John, in supplying the omissions of the other three, and in rarely touching the same points, naturally appears different from them. This Gospel, it is true, relates, in common with them, the baptism of Christ, and the incidents connected with his crucifixion and resurrection, which are events that could not be omitted in any history of our Lord.

The relation that John bears to Christ resembles that of Plato to Socrates; he is emphatically the philosophical evangelist. The representations given of Socrates by Xenophon and Plato seem to be different, and Bleek well observes: "Some have held the two to be irreconcilable, and that for the most part Xenophon's representation of Socrates is alone true, and they have deemed the Socrates of Plato to be purely a creature of his imagination. The one-sidedness of this view has been acknowledged in more recent times; for if Socrates had appeared as a teacher merely in the way in which he appears in Xenophon, if the speculative element was not really in him as Plato represents it to be, it would be difficult to comprehend how from him several highly speculative philosophical schools could have proceeded. Rather, each of the two representations gives us Socrates only on definite sides, the union of which affords us a more complete picture of him. But if a human philosopher like Socrates, in his appearance, has exhibited so many traits that two of his intimate disciples could give representations of their master so different, and which, apparently, have so little in common, yet are true, this is still more conceivable of Christ, of *him* who must necessarily present in his person and life a still richer fulness, since he was to be the Redeemer of men of the most varied individualities. It is, therefore, to be taken for granted that we shall naturally find that, even of his more intimate disciples, one has more fully comprehended and appropriated one side of his character and the method of his operation, while another has the other side."¹

We may observe that, as the light of the sun, reflected from different bodies, gives us different kinds of light, all of which exist in the sun, so we have from the different evangelists different reflections of the person of Christ, which, combined, give us a complete image of him.

But there are not wanting in the other Gospels evidences of the same person and character that we find in the Christ of John. How like John is the following passage: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man

Similarities between John and the other evangelists.

¹Einleitung, by Mangold, pp. 224, 225.

knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him" (Matthew xi, 27); similar to this is Luke x, 22. Of like import is the language of Christ to Peter, when the latter acknowledged him as the Christ, the Son of the living God: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. xvi, 17). The language of Christ in Matt. xxviii, 18, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," is quite similar to that in John iii, 35, "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand." Our Lord's argument in refuting the Sadducees, that because God calls himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and not being the God of the dead but of the living (Matt. xxii, 32; Mark xii, 26; Luke xx, 37, 38), therefore they live unto Him, is of a highly metaphysical character, equal to almost any thing of the kind we find in John. The question our Saviour put to his hearers, "If David call him (Christ) Lord, how is he his son?" (Matt. xxii, 45), is also of a metaphysical character.

The Gospel of John, it is true, sets forth the divinity of Christ clearly and strongly, yet it does not contradict what is taught in the other Gospels, as may be inferred from passages already quoted. The power of forgiving sins that Christ claimed and exercised (Matt. ix, 2-6; Mark ii, 5-10; Luke v, 20-24) implies his divinity. The Tübingen school of critics, the chief opponents of John's Gospel, acknowledge the Apocalypse to be the writing of John, and in this the divinity of Christ is strongly asserted.¹ The Apostle Paul asserts the same doctrine in the undisputed Epistle to the Romans,² to say nothing of his other Epistles. But as Paul was at various times in the company of the apostles, and knew many who were acquainted with Christ, it is not to be supposed that in fundamental principles here was a difference between him and the others. He must have known what Christ said of himself.

The main question, however, in respect to the discourses of Christ as recorded by John is, Are they related as they were delivered by Christ, or did John cast them into his own mould? and is it not possible that after the lapse of many years he may have attributed to Christ, in some instances, what was the result of his own experience and reflection? It must be acknowledged that there is a greater liability in men to forget discourses than to forget remarkable works. What the eyes behold is

¹ For example, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty" (chap. i, 8; see also chaps. v, 8-14; xvii, 14; xxii, 13).

² "Christ, who is God over all blessed for ever" (chap. ix, 5).

more deeply fixed than what the ears hear. The miracles of Christ must have been indelibly impressed upon John's mind for all time. But as the discourses of Christ grew out of certain miracles or important events, it is not at all likely that his words, in substance at least, faded from the beloved disciple's mind; and it is not necessary to suppose that John has always given the Saviour's exact language as spoken in Aramaic. That John should intentionally make Christ utter merely *his* ideas is inconceivable. Our Saviour promised to send the Holy Spirit to bring to the remembrance of the apostles all that he had said unto them (John xiv, 26).

We have already remarked on the striking similarity of language and conception between the First Epistle of John and his Gospel, which is to be explained, not by supposing that he attributes his ideas to Christ, but that the doctrines of the Saviour, in the form in which they are presented in the Gospel, produced upon John the deepest impression, moulding his thoughts, and, to a certain extent, their form. The Epistle is the reflex of what he learned from Christ. The philosophical and deeply spiritual truths of Christ's teaching found in the nature of this apostle a sympathetic response. We have every reason to believe that the discourses of Christ, as well as his acts, have been related with great fidelity by this evangelist. It is not improbable that, at a very early period, he made notes of our Saviour's discourses, and perhaps, also, of our Saviour's acts.

A proof of the historical character of the remarks of Christ is found in the obscure references which he makes to his crucifixion and resurrection: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (chap. ii, 19). The Jews supposed the reference was to their temple; but the evangelist remarks, "He spake of the temple of his body." "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me" (chap. xii, 32). "This," remarks the evangelist, "he said, signifying what death he should die." Of an obscure nature, also, without the subsequent history, is the remark: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up" (chap. iii, 14). Christ obscurely refers to his crucifixion and resurrection when he says: "I lay down my life, that I might take it again" (chap. x, 17). He also hints at his resurrection and ascension in these words: "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?" (chap. vi, 62). If the passages referring to Christ's crucifixion and resurrection had been invented, or if his genuine expressions on this subject had passed through one or two hands, they would have assumed a more definite form. In the other Gospels Christ is represented as foretelling his death and resurrection with more precision (Matt. xvi, 21; Mark viii, 31; Luke ix, 22).

A proof of the genuineness of the discourses of Christ may be drawn from the fact that the impression made by them is given, and the misunderstanding of them in several instances is stated (chaps. vii, 33-36; viii, 21, 22, etc.). This, however, will appear more clearly from the consideration of the discourses themselves, which will be found to contain nothing unsuitable for Christ to have taught, and, at the same time, to bear internal marks of genuineness. Chapter iii contains a conversation of our Saviour with Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, in which he sets forth the spiritual nature of his kingdom, and teaches the doctrine of the new birth. That a Jewish ruler should come secretly to Christ by night, for fear of the Jews, to learn his doctrines, is not at all incredible. Nicodemus declares his conviction that Christ is a teacher sent from God, and he was doubtless anxious to know what was the nature of the kingdom that Christ was about to set up. In opposition to Jewish expectation, Christ assures him that his kingdom is spiritual, to enter which it is necessary to be born again. The short, pithy form in which Christ teaches regeneration accords with his general method of teaching in the other Gospels. Regeneration is taught by the apostles in the Acts and in the Epistles, and the doctrine must have been derived from Christ himself. In Matt. xviii, 3 Christ says: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."¹

The conversation of Christ with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well has in it all the marks of genuineness, and contains the profoundest passage in the New Testament (chap. iv, 24). The controversy with the Jews in chap. v grew out of our Saviour's healing the impotent man on the Sabbath day, to which they took exception; and the whole discussion is perfectly in keeping with the character of Christ, and that of his Jewish adversaries. The profoundly spiritual, and, at the same time, metaphorical, discourse of Christ in chapter vi, grew out of his feeding about five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes, also recorded in the other Gospels. The multitude having been fed, it was natural that some of them would follow Christ for the loaves and fishes. These he rebukes, and exhorts to labor for the meat that perisheth not. This has the genuine stamp of Christ's teaching, as appears from the other Gospels. This is followed by the statement that Christ is the bread of life, etc. How natural and connected the discourse is, and how natural was the ef-

¹Strauss, to get rid of the testimony of Justin Martyr to John's Gospel, supposes that this father, when he gives John iii, 3, had in mind Matt. xviii, 3. In that case he must have considered Matthew and John to be identical on this point.

fect of his spiritual teaching, which sifted them. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him" (chap. vi, 66). In Christ's discussion with the Jews in chapter viii it is clear that his words are really given, for in several instances the Jews put upon them a construction different from their true meaning (vers. 22, 33, 57, etc.). The healing of the blind man in chapter ix, and the discussion thereon, has all the marks of reality, and must have been recorded by an eyewitness.

In chap. x Christ puts forth the parable of a shepherd, which the evangelist states "they" did not understand, whereupon Christ declares himself to be the door and shepherd of the sheep. This method of teaching by parable is very similar to what is found in the other Gospels, especially the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii, 3-23; Mark iv, 3-20; Luke viii, 5-15), in which, doubtless, the sower represents Christ himself. In chapters xiii, 31-xvii the evangelist gives us our Saviour's last discourse with his disciples at supper on the night of his betrayal. This address, or rather conversation, did not require more than a half hour for its delivery, at any rate. That such a discourse should be delivered to the disciples was exceedingly appropriate, and quite necessary. This, it is true, presupposes that the Saviour knew that it was his last meal with them—a supposition we are authorized to make from the general statements of the Gospels.

In the very midst of this discourse our Saviour says, "Arise, let us go hence" (chap. xiv, 31); but yet there is no indication that Christ left the room. It appears that he made an attempt to start, but, without really leaving, he continued the discourse. But how unnatural it would have been for any one in making up a speech to insert these apparently useless words in the midst of it!

In two instances the evangelist does not distinguish clearly between the language of the Baptist and his own. In chapter i, 15, in the midst of a description of the glories of Christ, he declares: "John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me." Here end the words of the Baptist, which are thrown in parenthetically, and the evangelist resumes the interrupted thread: "And of his fulness have we all received, and grace for (upon) grace," etc. Any one examining this and the two following verses will see clearly that the evangelist could never have intended them to be understood as the words of the Baptist. In chapter iii, 27-30, ending it would seem with the words, "He (Christ) must increase, but I must decrease," the evangelist gives another testimony of the Baptist to Christ; but the following verses (31-36), not separated

from the preceding ones, do not suit the Baptist, but appear to be a commentary of the evangelist upon his testimony. In the written language of the moderns the use of quotation marks enables us to distinguish accurately between what the writer says in his own person, and what he introduces as a quotation from another. But as these marks were not in use when the evangelist wrote, the language quoted can be determined from the context only, which, in some cases, it may be difficult to do.

THE LOGOS (WORD) IN JOHN'S GOSPEL.

In the very first verse of his Gospel John tells us that "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, ^{The term "Logos" in John not necessarily from Philo.} and the Logos was God." And in verse 14 he states that "the Logos (Word) was made flesh, and dwelt among us." The question here arises, Is this doctrine consistent with the apostolic origin of the Gospel? This must be answered in the affirmative. Even if the idea of the Logos came originally from the Greeks, and was unknown to the Jews of Palestine, the long abode of John in Ephesus among cultivated Greeks must have made him familiar with it, as it appears in the writings of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo (* about B. C. 20); for it is not at all probable that the Gospel of John was written before A. D. 80. But it is not at all necessary to attribute to Philo the origin of the expression used by the evangelist. A foundation was already laid in the Old Testament for the doctrine of the Logos, or Word, possessing the attributes of divinity. When God promises to send his angel before the Israelites, he warns them not to provoke him, "for my name (divinity) is in him" (Exod. xxiii, 21). In the Book of Proverbs we find wisdom personified (chap. i, 20-33), especially in chapter viii, where she represents herself as being from everlasting, present at the creation; "and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." In the apochryphal writer, Jesus the son of Sirach (chap. xxiv), wisdom is personified, and in the Wisdom of Solomon, wisdom is hypostasized and clothed with attributes (vii, 22).

In the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, made into Chaldean about the time of Christ for the use of the Jews of Palestine, we find ^{מִמְרָא} *Memra* (*Word, Logos*), used for a divine personage, especially to avoid an anthropomorphism, as, "They heard the voice of *The Memra* (*The Word*) of Jehovah God walking in the garden (Gen. iii, 8); or an anthropopathism, as, "Jehovah repented through his *Memra* (*Word*) that he had made man upon the earth" (Gen. vi, 6). Buxtorf remarks on ^{מִמְרָא} *Memra*, "The Targunist (Onkelos) is accustomed to use this divine name (Jehovah) by means of *The Memra*

of Jehovah, as the evangelist John says, *ὁ λόγος* " (The Word).¹ The second definition given of *Memra* by Rabbi Levy is, "*The Word* considered as a person, especially *מִיכְרָא* (*Memra of Jehovah*), *the Word of God*, for *The Being (Wesen)*, *the Personality of God*, *ὁ λόγος* " (The Logos).²

In the face of these facts it is not necessary to resort to Philo to explain the Logos of John's Gospel. Further, John's conception of the Logos is entirely different from that of Philo. In Philo the office of the Logos is "to fill up the chasm between the pure Being and the real world, to make possible the creation of the world, and the influence of God upon it; and, at least, where the Greek element in his philosophy prevails, the Logos is regarded as a relatively independent personality, as a second God (*ὁ θεὸς ὁ δεύτερος*), while the formula of the Gospel (*ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, i. e., *the Word was made man*) can designate only the realization of the divine idea in a man. This difference of the conception of the Logos in the evangelist and in Philo is, in its ultimate ground, the consequence of a profound difference in their conceptions of God."³

De Groot well observes that in the system of Philo the idea of the Logos becoming incarnate would have been as absurd as the conversion of light into darkness, truth into falsehood; and that John set himself in opposition to the spirit of the age in his doctrine of the incarnate Word.⁴ It is evident, then, that Justin Martyr and other fathers of the second century derived their doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos from John, an apostolical authority without which they would not have ventured upon the bold assertion that the Logos became incarnate. Also in the Apocalypse (chap. xix, 13) Christ is called the Word (Logos) of God. It must be observed, in conclusion, that John uses the term Logos only in the introduction, and that he never represents Christ as calling himself by that title.

THE ALLEGED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN JOHN AND THE OTHER EVANGELISTS RESPECTING THE DAY OF THE MONTH ON WHICH CHRIST WAS CRUCIFIED.

The evangelists unanimously agree that Christ was crucified on the day before the Jewish Sabbath, but it has been disputed whether this was the 14th or 15th of the month Nisan—the day before, or the first day of, the feast of the Passover. It appears from the first three Gospels that Christ ate the passover on the evening preceding

¹ Rabbinical and Talmudical Lexicon, col. 125.

² Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, Zweiter Band, p. 32.

³ Wittichen, on John's Gospel, pp. 13, 14, (German edition.)

⁴ Basilides, Als Erster Zeuge, u. s. w., p. 125.

the day on which he was crucified (Matt. xxvi, 17-29; Mark xiv 12-25; Luke xxii, 7-20). In the statement made by these evangelists there is no reference to Christ's anticipating the regular day of the eating of the passover—the evening of the 14th day of Nisan—and eating it on the 13th.

John states that "before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own ^{John xiii, 29} which were in the world, he loved them unto the end. ^{compared with John xvii, 26.} And during supper, the devil having now put," etc. (chap. xiii, 1, 2). It is very probable that the supper here referred to is the paschal supper, since it stands in close connection with the words "before the passover." If it was one day before the passover, it is very likely that John would have so stated it. As the other evangelists had given an account of the celebration of the passover by Christ and his disciples, John may have thought that it was unnecessary to relate it. In John xviii, 28 it is stated: "And they themselves (the Jews) went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover." If we are to understand by eating the passover eating the paschal lamb, we shall find John in contradiction with the other evangelists, unless we suppose that Christ anticipated that observance by one day. But there is no necessity for so interpreting the language of John, as the passover festival lasted seven days (Exod. xii, 15, 19; Lev. xxiii, 34-36). According to Num. xxviii, 18, 19, on the first day of the passover festival (the fifteenth day of the month) "two young bullocks and one ram, and seven lambs of the first year" were to be offered to Jehovah, in addition to which other offerings were to be made on that day. These offerings of the day following the evening on which the paschal lamb was eaten, and called by the Rabbies *Chagiga*, may be referred to by John in the phrase, "that they might eat the passover." In this way Dr. Lightfoot, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Olshausen, and others understand the passage, in proof of which reference is made to 2 Chron. xxx, 22, where, in speaking of the passover, it is said: "And they did eat throughout the feast seven days, offering peace-offerings," etc. This view can be supported also by Deut. xvi, 2: "Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God, of the flock and the herd," etc. Here "to sacrifice the passover" mean not only the paschal lamb, but the offerings of the subsequent days. Consequently, "to eat the passover" may refer to the eating of the offerings during the festival.

Further, the defilement contracted by entering the judgment hall of Pilate (about the same as entering the house of a heathen) needed

not to have lasted longer than sunset of that day,¹ so that after that time they could have eaten the paschal lamb, if they had not already done so.² In view of this fact, John can scarcely refer to eating the *paschal lamb* on the eve of that day, but the *offerings on that day*.

John also states that the day on which our Saviour was crucified "was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour" (chap. xix, 14), in which he carefully states the time of the event. But what is the meaning of the phrase: *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, preparation of the passover*? *Παρασκευὴ, preparation*, occurs six times in the Gospels, three of which are found in the first three, in which it unquestionably means *the day before the Jewish sabbath* (Friday), (Matt. xxvii, 62; Mark xv, 42; Luke xxiii, 54). It is also clear that John uses the word in chap. xix, 31, "Because it was the preparation," and also in verse 42, "Because of the Jews' preparation," in the sense of Friday, or the day before the sabbath. With these facts before us, it is most natural to interpret John xix, 14, "It was the preparation of the passover," in the same way—the preparation, or Friday, during the passover—which harmonizes completely with the other Gospels. Josephus³ also calls Friday *preparation*, and there is not a particle of proof that the Jews ever called the day before a festival *preparation*. In the spurious epistle of Ignatius to the Philippians⁴ the phrase, *σάββατον τοῦ πάσχα, sabbath of the passover*, and in the Ecclesiastical History⁵ of Socrates the phrase, *τὸ σάββατον τῆς ἑορτῆς, sabbath of the feast*, are similar in construction to *the preparation of the passover*.

But here arises the question, Would the Jews have condemned Christ to death on the first day of the great festival of the passover? It is difficult to say what bitter hate and a blind zeal for the honour of Jehovah would not do.

Many things occur in the world's history which, in themselves, are very improbable, but are made certain by testimony. We cannot conceive how the first three evangelists could have represented Christ as being crucified on the day following the paschal supper, had it not been really so. They were too intimately acquainted with the facts to make a mistake on such a point as this. Even on the supposition that they had no sure evidence to guide them, they were too intimately acquainted with Jewish customs to assign the condemnation and crucifixion of Christ to the first day of the passover, if it had been abhorrent to the custom of their nation to condemn any one to death on that day. It must be espe-

¹ This defilement the Jews term *קִבּוּץ יָדַיִם, an ablution performed in the daytime*. See Lightfoot on John xviii, 28.

² This is clear from Lev. xxii, 6, 7.

³ Antiq., xvi, 6, 2.

⁴ Cap. xiii.

⁵ Lib. v, 22.

cially borne in mind that Christ was brought before the high priest Caiaphas early in the morning, and that he was delivered to death and executed by Pilate and the Roman soldiers, who were heathen.

That criminals might be condemned to death and executed on a feast day appears evident from ancient Jewish authorities. Tholuck gives the following passages bearing on this point: "The Sanhedrim assembled in the session-room of the stone chamber from the time of the morning offering to that of the evening, *but on the sabbaths and feast days they assembled themselves within* *לחצר*, *which is the lower wall, which surrounded the greater, in the vicinity of the fore court of the women.*"¹ "An elder who does not subject himself to the judgment of the Sanhedrim shall be taken from the place where he lives to Jerusalem, shall be kept there until one of the three feasts, and shall be killed at the time of the feast, for the reason stated Deut. xvii, 13."²

Nor could John be ignorant of the time at which Christ was crucified, whether it was the day after the paschal supper or not; so that it is difficult to see how any *real* discrepancy can exist between him and the other evangelists on this point. And if a writer of the second century, or even in the latter part of the first, without apostolical authority, had written this Gospel, he would have taken especial care to adhere closely to the letter and apparent facts of the other Gospels.

In connection with this subject is the *passover controversy* that arose in the last half of the second century. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and others, kept the 14th of Nisan as the passover festival, while the great mass of Christians kept a Friday in commemoration of Christ's death, and the following Sunday in commemoration of his resurrection, without regard to the day of the month. Polycrates states that the Apostle John also kept the 14th Nisan.³ "In the Christian assemblies," says Gieseler,⁴ "the Jewish passover was at first kept up, but observed with reference to Christ, the true passover (1 Cor. v, 7, 8)." On the other hand, Neander thinks that "in the Churches in Asia Minor the Christians who followed the Johannean tradition went on the supposition that the 14th day of Nisan ought to be regarded as the day of Christ's passion."⁵

If we suppose, in opposition to what we have already argued, that John's Gospel indicates that Christ was crucified on the 14th Nisan, which is the view of Neander, Bleek, and others, and that he celebrated the passover a day earlier than the regular time, and that the

¹Gemara Tr. Sanhedrim, chap. x.

²Mischna Sanh., x, 4. in Tholuck's Commentary on John. Krauth's translation.

³In Euseb., Hist. Eccles., lib. v, cap. xxiv. ⁴Church Hist., vol. i, pp. 166, 167

⁵General Church History, p. 298.

Christians of Asia Minor, with the Apostle John, observed the 14th day, the question arises, How does this affect the genuineness of John's Gospel? To which we answer, It does not affect it at all; for we do not know whether the Christians of Asia Minor kept the 14th in commemoration of Christ's crucifixion, or because on that day he had eaten his last passover with his disciples, or because it was the regular passover day.

The only way in which John's observance of the 14th Nisan as a passover festival would apparently stand in contradiction to the fourth Gospel is by supposing that the latter places the crucifixion of Christ on the 14th Nisan, and that the festival kept by the Apostle John on the 14th was in commemoration of the eating of the paschal lamb by Christ on that day. But neither of these suppositions is established, and if both were true, the practice of John would not be necessarily in conflict with the fourth Gospel. For, on his coming from Palestine to Ephesus, some time after A. D. 60, and finding the Churches in that city and vicinity, founded by Paul and his associates, celebrating the 14th of Nisan as the time of the last paschal supper of Christ, he would naturally unite with them in celebrating the regular passover day. Or are we to suppose that he would have insisted upon their keeping the 13th? It is clear from the New Testament that the apostles laid little stress on festive days.

THE REJECTION OF JOHN'S GOSPEL BY THE ALOGIANS (ALOGI).

Toward the end of the second century there arose in Thyatira, a small town in Asia Minor, a party who distinguished themselves by the rejection of both the Gospel and Apocalypse of John, and are called *Alogi* (*Alogians*) by Epiphanius, in the last part of the fourth century, because they rejected the *Logos* (*Word*) proclaimed by John.*

It is, doubtless, to this same party that Irenæus refers in the following language: "Others—that they may make void the gift of the Spirit, which in the most recent times according to the pleasure of the Father has been shed upon the human race—do not admit that form (of manifestation) which is according to the Gospel of John, in which the Lord promised that he would send the Paraclete (Comforter), but at the same time they reject both the Gospel and the prophetic spirit"† (Apocalypse).

* This party received John's Gospel. See p. 589.

† *Hæresis*, li, cap. iii.

‡ Alii, vero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusus est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quam est secundum Joannis evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et evangelium et propheticum repellunt Spiritum.—*Contra Hæreses* lib. iii, cap. xi, 9.

Hippolytus, it seems, wrote against this sect in his work entitled, *Απολογία ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως*, *A Defense of the Gospel according to John and the Apocalypse*. These Alogians were violent opponents of the Montanists—who laid claim to extraordinary spiritual powers, based chiefly on the gift of the Paraclete promised in John's Gospel—and of the Millenarians, who derived their chief support from the Apocalypse; and it seems that they were led to reject these two important works of John in order to take away the very foundation of the doctrines of their adversaries. The sect was obscure, and neither Origen nor Eusebius makes any mention of it. As far as we know, the Alogians were the only opponents of John's Gospel. They alleged no want of evidence for its apostolic origin, but represented it as being at variance with the other Gospels, and attributed it to Cerinthus, a noted heretic in the last part of the first century, which fact is a strong proof that this Gospel belongs to the first century. Nor can the Tübingen school, the chief modern opponents of John's Gospel, consistently lay any stress on its rejection by the Alogians, as they also rejected the Apocalypse, which these sceptics defend as the writing of the Apostle John.

CONCLUSION.

Rénan remarks on this Gospel: "Every one who will undertake to write the life of Jesus without a fixed theory respecting the relative value of the Gospels, allowing himself to be guided only by the feeling of the subject, will be led in many cases to prefer the narrative in the fourth Gospel to that of the synoptics. The last words of the life of Jesus, in particular, are explained only by this Gospel; several facts respecting the Passion, unintelligible in the synoptics, assume in the narrative of the fourth Gospel probability and possibility."¹ Upon the discourses of Christ in this Gospel he does not set much value, and considers them to be, for the most part, the views of the evangelist put into the mouth of Christ. This Gospel, he thinks, was written in the last part of the first century by some one in the circle of John's followers in Asia Minor, who has given in the name of his master a free edition of it.²

But why should the evangelist profess that he was an apostle, if he was not? If he derived his history of Christ from John, why should he not have so stated it, just as Luke states the sources of his Gospel? Mark, according to the testimony of the ancients, derived the material of his narrative from the preaching of Peter, yet the name of Peter was never prefixed to it. Rénan concedes that the Gospel and the First Epistle of John have the same author, and in each the

¹ Vie de Jésus, p. lxxvii.

² Ibid., lxvii.

author professes to be an eyewitness of Christ's life, so that if John, or at least an apostle, was not their author, both works are forgeries. But if any one during the lifetime of John had written a Gospel in the name of that apostle, he would certainly have disclaimed its authorship; and after his death such a work could not have been successfully forged in his name, for it would have been well known that John wrote no Gospel. And in order that such a work should meet with any favour whatever, it would have been necessary that it should set forth the Gospel as preached by John, and in that case what could a forger accomplish by his spurious production? It is, indeed, clear that our Gospel could never have been composed from mere tradition, as its statements are too definite to have proceeded from any one except an eyewitness. Rénan thinks highly of the narrative portion of John, as we have seen, but does not attribute a high value to the discourses. But the discourses are so blended with, and so arise out of, the narrative portion, that it is difficult to separate them. The idea of a Christian in that age making discourses for Christ, especially different in style from what is contained in the other Gospels, is absurd. It is well known that the Apocryphal Gospels adhere closely to the history of Christ as contained in our Gospels, and rarely attribute any saying to him not found in them.

Neander truly remarks on this Gospel: "It could have emanated from none other than that 'beloved disciple' upon whose soul the image of the Saviour had left its deepest impression. So far from this Gospel having been written by a man of the second century (as some assert), we cannot even imagine a man existing in that century so little affected by the contraries of his times and so far exalted above them. Could an age involved in perpetual contradictions, an age of religious materialism, anthropomorphism, and one-sided intellectualism, have given birth to a production like this, which bears the stamp of none of these deformities? How mighty must the man have been who, in *that* age, could produce from his own mind such an image of Christ as this? And this man, too, in a period almost destitute of eminent minds, remained in total obscurity! Was it necessary for the master-spirit, who felt in himself the capacity and the calling to accomplish the greatest achievement of his day, to resort to a pitiful trick to smuggle his ideas into circulation?"¹

Credner, a distinguished German Rationalist, truthfully and beautifully says respecting this Gospel: "If we had been left without any historical testimonies respecting the author of the fourth Gospel, who is not named in the writing

Estimates of
Neander, Cred-
ner and Ewald.

Credner's tes-
timony to the
Gospel of John.

¹ Life of Christ, translated by M'Clintock and Blumenthal, pp. 6, 7.

itself, yet from internal grounds lying in the Gospel itself—from the nature of the language; from the freshness and vividness of the narrative; from the accuracy and definiteness of its statements; from the peculiar manner in which the Baptist and the sons of Zebedee are mentioned; from the enthusiastic love and fervour which the writer shows toward Jesus; from the irresistible charm which is diffused over the whole Gospel history written upon a definite plan; from the philosophical reflections with which he begins the Gospel—we would be led to the result that the author of such a Gospel can be a Palestinian only, can be an immediate eyewitness only, can be an apostle only, can only be a favourite of Jesus, can be that John only whom Jesus held captive by the entire heavenly charm of his doctrine.”¹

It is pleasant to see that great Orientalist and biblical scholar, Ewald, with his strong tendencies to free-thinking, whose criticism on the Old Testament is often so destructive, defending the genuineness and the historical character of this Gospel with so much confidence and earnestness. “That the Apostle John,” says he, “is really the author of this writing, and that no other can have composed it than that one to whom it has ever been attributed, can neither be doubted nor denied; rather, from every direction to which we may look, every ground, every indication, and every mark, conspire to forbid any such doubt (of its genuineness) ever seriously arising.”²

In concluding this part of our subject, we may remark that the combined evidence, external and internal, in favour of the genuineness of the fourth Gospel is well nigh overwhelming. It bears upon its very face the impress of truth and of its apostolic origin, and has ever been regarded as one of the great bulwarks of Christianity. It has commanded the admiration of the profoundest men in all ages of the Church, whose theology it has contributed so much to mould.

THE TIME AND PLACE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

The position of this Gospel in all the ancient Greek manuscripts, and in the early Peshito-Syriac version, shows that it was written after the other three, as no other reason can be assigned for its standing in the fourth place, and this conclusion is confirmed by the testimonies of the second century.³

John's Gospel
written after
the other three.

It would also appear that it was written after the other Gospels, from the fact that it supplements them. But as the Gospels of Mark and Luke were written a short time before the destruction of Jeru-

¹ Einleitung in Das Neue Testament. Erster Theil, p. 208. Halle, 1836.

² Die Johannischen Schriften, p. 43. Göttingen, 1861.

³ Tertullian, however, places John immediately after Matthew, doubtless because he was an apostle, in which he follows the old Latin version.

salem, it is in the highest degree probable that this Gospel was written after that event.

There is nothing in the Gospel itself to fix its date. The statement, "There *is* (*ἔστιν*) at Jerusalem . . . a pool . . . having five porches" (chap. v, 2), does not necessarily imply that Jerusalem was still standing, for the pool itself is not likely to have been destroyed with the city, though the porches *were* in all probability. John, indeed, speaks of the pool and porches as he knew them, and it is not at all likely that he visited the city after its destruction. Nor do the passages: "Bethany *was* nigh unto Jerusalem" (chap. xi, 18), and "Where *was* a garden"¹ (chap. xviii, 1), imply that these places no longer existed. In fact, they were not destroyed with Jerusalem as far as we know. The language indicates simply the state of things contemporaneous with the events without reference to the present.

It is clear that John wrote his Gospel after he had left Palestine; for he speaks of the customs of the Jews in such a way as no one would likely do who was living there at the time of writing: "There was a feast of the Jews" (chap. v, 1); "The passover, a feast of the Jews" (chap. vi, 4); "After the manner of the purifying of the Jews" (chap. ii, 6); also the statement about the pool and its porches (ch. v, 2), and the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem (ch. xi, 18). But it is impossible to determine how long after the destruction of Jerusalem this Gospel was written. John, according to Irenæus—a valuable witness on this point—lived till about A. D. 98, and we may suppose that he wrote the Gospel about A. D. 80, when he still enjoyed a vigorous life.

CONTENTS.

This Gospel opens with an introduction on the dignity of the person of Christ, followed by the testimony of John the Baptist, and various particulars respecting the way in which several of Christ's disciples became acquainted with him (chap. i). Then follow the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, and the conversion of water into wine; Christ's visit to Jerusalem, and his conversation with Nicodemus (chaps. ii, iii). His interview with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well, and his return to Galilee, and his healing of the nobleman's son (chap. iv). He goes up to Jerusalem, where he heals a sick man on the Sabbath, which cure gives rise to a controversy between him and the Jews (chap. v). He crosses the Sea of Galilee, and feeds five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes, and holds a discussion with the Jews on his

¹ The garden still remains: it must, however, have been greatly injured in the destruction of Jerusalem.

being the bread of life (chap. vi). Christ goes up to Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, where he disputes with the Jews (chaps. vii, viii). Then come an account of Christ healing a man blind from his birth (chap. ix); the parable of the shepherd and the sheep, and his disputation with the Jews (chap. x); the death and the resurrection of Lazarus, and the effect upon the Jews (chap. xi); the anointing of Christ by Mary at Bethany; his triumphant entrance into Jerusalem. He hints at his death, and utters various moral and divine truths (chap. xii). While at supper, he washes his disciples' feet, to teach them humility, and predicts that one of them shall betray him, indicating by a sign to John that it is Judas, who immediately leaves (chap. xiii, 1-30). Christ utters his last discourses with his disciples (chaps. xiii, 31-xvii). We next have his arrest in the garden, and trial before Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate; he is condemned to death; a description of the crucifixion (chaps. xviii, xix); his resurrection and appearance to his disciples (chap. xx). He afterward appears to them at the Sea of Galilee, enjoins upon Peter to feed his lambs and sheep, and predicts that apostle's death (chap. xxi). It is thus seen that comparatively few of Christ's miracles are recorded. No account is given of his cleansing the lepers, or casting out devils. On the other hand, John alone records Christ's raising of Lazarus from the dead, which was a most important event in Christ's life, the culmination of his miracles. It brought on the crisis which led to his crucifixion. Its absence from the other Gospels is to be explained by their omission of Christ's ministry at Jerusalem at the time.

Although John wrote, it would seem, to supplement the other Gospels, he had at the same time a higher object; and while stating that Christ performed many other works, he remarks: "But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name" (ch. xx, 31).

INTEGRITY OF JOHN'S GOSPEL.

This Gospel seems appropriately to conclude with the last quoted words. Hence a very large number of critics, including Neander, De Wette, Lücke, and Bleek, regard chap. xxi ^{Opinions respecting chapter xxi.} as added by a later hand. Neander remarks: "The account in this chapter (xxi) was in all probability received from John's own lips, and written down after his death by one of his disciples."¹ Ewald thinks that John wrote his Gospel, ending with chapter xx, about A. D. 80, and in this condition it remained ten years or more. As the report had already spread that Jesus had told John he should

¹Life of Christ, p. 434. M'Clintock and Blumenthal's Translation.
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not die, the apostle was anxious before he died to correct the error, and his friends accordingly assisted him in adding chapter xxi as an appendix to the Gospel which had not yet been put into circulation. In this chapter the error was corrected. Ewald thinks it very closely resembles in style the preceding twenty chapters.¹ Hengstenberg believes that chapter xxi was written by John, while Olshausen, Tholuck, Godet, and others attribute to John the whole chapter with the exception of the last two verses (24, 25); and this seems to be the correct view. Chapter xxi, 24 states: "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and *wrote* these things," etc. It is difficult to see how it could be said that "this disciple wrote these things," when they had been written by another hand.

The particulars given in this chapter forbid the supposition that it could have been written by any one but an eyewitness (chap. xxi). It is found in all the ancient manuscripts and in all the ancient versions of this Gospel, which is a conclusive proof that it was originally published in this form. Had the addition been made after the Gospel had been put into circulation, chapter xxi would have been wanting in some ancient manuscripts and versions. The last two verses, however, were probably added by the Ephesian Church as a testimony to the Gospel before it was published.

It is very probable that John intended to close his Gospel with the end of the twentieth chapter; but before publishing it, he concluded to add the last chapter to correct the inference that had been drawn from a remark of Christ to him, that he should never die. In like manner, Paul's Epistle to the Romans finds a suitable close with chapter xv, the next chapter being an appendix.

The section (chaps. vii, 53-viii, 11) containing an account of the woman taken in adultery formed no part of the original Gospel of John. It is wanting in the oldest two Codices, the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, and also in the Alexandrian;² in the Peshito-Syriac version, as well as the Memphitic,³ Theban, Gothic, and Armenian,⁴ and in Latin MSS. of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. It was unknown to Origen, who, in commenting on John, connects chap. vii, 52 with chap. viii, 12. It appears to have been unknown also to Tertullian.⁵ The critical editors, Tischendorf and Tregelles, omit the section in their editions of the New Testament. In fact, the connexion is broken by this section. Nevertheless, the incidents related in it appear to be real,

¹ Die Johan. Schriften, pp. 54-57.

² It is first found in Codex Bezae.

³ In Memphitic MSS. of Wilkins. Schwartz remarks, "This narrative is wanting in the Memphitic and Sahidic versions."

⁴ Edition of Zohrab.

⁵ De Pudicitia, cap. vi.

and the conduct attributed to Christ bears the stamp of his character. The source of the narrative is uncertain. Eusebius remarks that Papias, in his work, gave an account of a woman who was accused before the Lord of many sins, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains.¹ It is not improbable that this was originally the same incident that is now contained in the section under discussion.

The account of an *angel troubling the pool* (ch. v, 3, 4), beginning with the words, "Waiting for the moving of the water," is not found in Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, and ^{Angel troubling the pool (chap. v, 3, 4).} in some other very ancient MSS.; in most of the MSS. of the Memphitic² and Sahidic versions, and in some very ancient Syriac fragments of the Gospels published by Cureton; and the section is accordingly omitted by Tischendorf and Tregelles, who have the following text: "There is in Jerusalem at the sheep (gate) a pool which is called in Hebrew Bethesda,³ having five porches. In these were lying a multitude of sick, blind, lame, withered. There was a certain man there who had been sick thirty-eight years. Jesus seeing him lying," etc. The additional words found in manuscripts and versions, including the English, were in all probability written upon the margin of some manuscripts at a very early period as an explanation of the healing properties of the pool. The text is far better without this addition. With the exception of the two sections named, and xxi, 24, 25, we have the Gospel as originally delivered by John.

CHAPTER XVIII.

APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

IN the ancient Christian Church, from the last part of the second century, there are occasional references to uncanonical Gospels, generally called Apocryphal, containing matters pertaining to the evangelical history. From the Apocryphal Gospels, however, we must exclude the Syro-Chaldee Gospel used by the Nazarenes, very often called the Gospel according to the Hebrews, since, as Jerome testifies, this was nearly the same as our Matthew, probably a mere revision of it. From this was derived the Gospel of Peter,

¹ Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. xxxix. Reference is also made to this narrative in Constituciones Apost., lib. ii, cap. xxiv, written near the end of the third century.

² Schwartze, in his edition of the four Gospels, in the Memphitic dialect, says this passage is wanting in the Memphitic and Sahidic versions. ³ Tischendorf has Βηθζαδ

which is mentioned by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, as being used in the Church at Rhossus, in Cilicia, at the end of the second century. He says that the most of its contents were in accordance with the true doctrines, but some things in it were of a different character.¹

The Protevangel of James, professing to be written by him, contains a description of the grief of Joachim and Anna on account of their being childless, and the subsequent birth of Mary, the mother of Jesus, her early life, her deliverance for safe keeping to Joseph, the birth of Christ in a cave in the region of Bethlehem, the visit of the Magi, and the star that appeared at his birth, Herod's command to slaughter the infants, and its execution, Elizabeth with John (the Baptist) escapes to a mountain, while Zachariah, the father of John, refusing to give Herod any information respecting him, is slain by Herod's servants. The narrative is decked off with miraculous legends. The Greek text, in which it was originally written, has been published by Tischendorf.²

There is no proof that Justin Martyr had any acquaintance with this Protevangel. For the reference which he makes to Christ having been born in a cave in the suburbs of Bethlehem³ was in all probability derived from tradition, as Samaria was his native place. Nor does the Protevangel say that Christ was born in the suburbs of Bethlehem, though it mentions the cave.

It seems probable that Clement⁴ of Alexandria was acquainted with it, as he gives one of its statements respecting Mary, with the remark, "some say," yet it is not at all certain that he refers to this work. Origen also refers to it,⁵ and Epiphanius⁶ has a passage from it, to which he prefixes the remark: "For if both the history of Mary and traditions say that it was announced," etc. Gregory of Nyssa⁷ says: "I have heard of a certain apocryphal history," etc., in which he refers to the narrative concerning Mary, found partly at least in this Protevangel. These seem to be about all the references made to it in the first four centuries. It never had any authority in the Church. It appears to have been written about the middle or near the end of the second century, and is undoubtedly a spurious production.

¹ In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, cap. 12, Origen also refers to this Gospel in *Comment. in Matt.*, tom. x, sec. 17.

² In the *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 1-50, republished since Tischendorf's death Leipzig, 1876.

³ *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 78.

⁴ *Stromata*, vii, cap. xvi.

⁵ *Comment. in Matt.*, tom. x, 17.

⁶ *Hæresis lxxix*, sec. v.

⁷ *Oratio in Diem Natal. Christi*.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIANS.

This Gospel is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria in the last part of the second century. He refers to some sayings of Christ, and remarks: "I think they are found in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they say that the Saviour himself said,"¹ etc. after which he gives some expressions not found in our Gospels. In another place, quoting a passage that the heretic, Cassianus, attributes to Christ, he remarks: "In the first place we have not this expression in the four Gospels delivered to us, but in that which is according to the Egyptians."² It is also mentioned by Origen as a Gospel rejected by the Church.³ It was mystical, and in all probability composed in Egypt about the middle of the second century, or perhaps as early as A. D. 125. It never had any authority in the Church.

Among other Apocryphal Gospels may be named that of Thomas in Greek and Latin, treating of the early history of Christ and the flight into Egypt. It was written very probably about the middle of the second century. The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew in Latin, containing matters pertaining to Mary, her parents, and the childhood of Jesus. It was not written till several centuries after Christ. The Gospel concerning the Nativity of Mary in Latin, of uncertain age. The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, not written until several centuries after Christ. The History of Joseph the Carpenter in Latin, translated from the Arabic, written several centuries after Christ. The Acts of Pilate in Greek (Part I), which gives an account of the proceedings before Pilate respecting Christ, and is a vindication of the Saviour's character. The book was probably written in the fourth century. The Acts of Pilate (Part II) in Greek, treating of Christ's sufferings and resurrection. The Gospel of Nicodemus (Part II), or The Descent of Christ into Hades. This is a continuance of the two preceding books, and was probably written in the fourth or fifth century. To these we may add: The Epistle (in Latin) of Pontius Pilate to the Emperor Tiberias, respecting Christ. The Report of Pontius Pilate concerning our Lord Jesus Christ sent to Augustus Cæsar in Rome (written in Greek). The Report of Pontius Pilate, the Governor of Judea, sent to Tiberias Cæsar in Rome. The Punishment of Pilate (in Greek). The Death of Pilate, who condemned Jesus. The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea. The Vindication of the Saviour.⁴

It must be observed that these "Apocryphal Gospels" abound in

¹ Stromata, lib. iii, cap. ix.

² Ibid., cap. xiii.

³ Homilla i, in Lucam.

⁴ All the foregoing have been published by Tischendorf.

the most glaring errors, absurdities, and ridiculous legends, and are not to be named with our four Gospels. Bleek truly says respecting them: "No single one of these writings has any historical value. So far as they do not agree with the contents of the canonical writings, they are not derived from historical tradition, but are—at least generally—arbitrary inventions, the unhistorical character of which strikes us at once, partly representing the Redeemer in a manner distorted, and entirely unworthy of him; but they exhibit very clearly to us the value and the historical character of our canonical Gospels."¹

Great liberties have been taken with the MSS. of these Apocryphal Gospels, and the texts differ widely in many instances, and this shows that but little importance was attached to them.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

WE have already seen² that Luke is the author of the Acts, as well as the Gospel which bears his name, and that to him both works were assigned by the unanimous judgment of antiquity. We have also seen that there are peculiarities of language pervading the whole, which establish the unity of the entire Book of Acts, and show it to be the work of one author.

The book may be appropriately divided into *two* sections. The *first*, embracing chapters i–xii, contains an account of the selection of Matthias to take the place of Judas, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, their ministry, especially that of Peter and John, in Jerusalem (chaps. i–v); the selection of seven deacons, the arrest of Stephen, his Address to the Sanhedrim, and his martyrdom (chaps. vi, vii); the ministry of Philip, Peter, and John in Samaria, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (chap. viii); the miraculous conversion of Saul while on his way to Damascus, his preaching in that city and escape from it, his visit to Jerusalem and Tarsus, and the prosperity of the Church (chap. ix. 1–31); Peter's ministry at Lydda and Joppa; his preaching the Gospel at Cesarea to Cornelius the centurion, who is the first convert from the Gentiles. Peter, on returning to Jerusalem, is blamed by those of the circumcision for eating with the uncircumcised. He defends himself by relating his vision at Joppa and the circumstances

¹ Einleitung, pp. 381, 382.

² In discussing Luke's Gospel.

of Cornelius's conversion (chaps. ix, 32-xi, 18); the preaching of the gospel by believers dispersed from Jerusalem, to Jews only, as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch; the bringing of Saul from Tarsus to Antioch by Barnabas; the sending of relief by the disciples in Antioch to the brethren in Judea during the famine; the martyrdom of the Apostle James by Herod, the imprisonment of Peter, his release by an angel, and the miserable death of Herod (chapters xi, 19-xii).

The *second* section, embracing chapters xiii-xxviii, is chiefly occupied with the ministry of the Apostle Paul. This apostle and Barnabas, being sent forth from Antioch, preach the gospel in Cyprus, where Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of the country, is converted. After this they preach the Gospel in Antioch, in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and Perga, and return to Antioch (chaps. xiii, xiv). The question, Whether the Gentile Christians are bound to keep the law of Moses, is discussed by the apostles and brethren in Jerusalem, and decided in the negative (chap. xv, 1-35). Paul and Silas visit the Churches in Syria and Cilicia. Paul visits Derbe and Lystra; at the latter place he finds Timothy, whom he takes with him on a missionary tour through Phrygia and Galatia, and arrives at Troas, from whence Paul sets out for Macedonia, and preaches in Philippi, passes through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and proclaims the gospel in Thessalonica and Berea. He leaves Macedonia for Athens, and preaches at the Areopagus in that city (chaps. xv, 36-xvii.) Paul visits Corinth. Incidents of his ministry in that city (ch. xviii.) Paul's ministry in Ephesus and the uproar made there by the makers of silver shrines for Diana (chap. xix). He passes over into Macedonia, visits Greece, returns through Macedonia, and sails away from Philippi, and lands at Troas, where he preaches. On his way to Jerusalem Paul visits Miletus, where he addresses the elders convened from Ephesus. Sailing from Ephesus, he touches at Tyre, and afterward sails to Cesarea, from whence he goes up to Jerusalem and visits James, who advises him respecting conformity to the law of Moses (chaps. xx-xxi, 25). Chapters xxi, 26-xxvi give a detailed account of the persecutions of Paul by the Jews in Jerusalem, his addresses to them, his imprisonment in Cesarea, his address to Agrippa and Festus, and his appeal to Cæsar to get rid of his Jewish enemies. In the two following chapters (xxvii, xxviii) there is a description of Paul's voyage to Rome, his shipwreck, but safe arrival in the city, and his preaching there.

THE SOURCES OF THIS HISTORY.

Luke possessed ample opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the history he relates. We have already seen that as a companion of Paul in the latter part of the Acts, he describes what he saw and heard. He spent about two years in Jerusalem with Paul,¹ became acquainted with James² and the elders in Jerusalem, many of whom were eyewitnesses of what occurred in the earliest stage of the progress of Christianity. His long intimacy with the apostle to the Gentiles enabled him to ascertain Paul's whole history as a persecutor of the Church, and as its zealous defender. Under these circumstances, written sources were not necessary. It is quite certain, however, that the Epistle addressed by the apostles and the rest of the Christians in Jerusalem to the Gentile Christians (chap. xv, 23-29) has been incorporated substantially in its original form.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE HISTORY IN THE BOOK OF ACTS.

The Acts of the Apostles is one of the most authentic books in existence. It everywhere shows that its author possesses the most exact knowledge respecting the affairs of the Greeks and Romans, the early Christian Church, and the geography of the extensive region over which Paul traveled. A remarkable confirmation of its history is furnished by the Epistles of Paul.

In the last part of the last century Dr. Paley published his celebrated work, *Horæ Paulinæ*, or *The Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul Evinc'd*. On this subject he remarks in his evidences of Christianity: "Between the letters which bear the name of St. Paul in our collection, and his history in the Acts of the Apostles, there exist many notes of correspondence. The simple perusal of the writings is sufficient to prove that neither the history was taken from the letters, nor the letters from the history; and the *undesignedness* of the agreements (which undesignedness is gathered from their latency, their minuteness, their obliquity, the suitableness of the circumstances in which they consist to the places in which those circumstances occur, and the circuitous references by which they are traced out) demonstrates that they have not been produced by meditation, or by any fraudulent contrivance. But coincidences, from which these causes are excluded, and which are too close and numerous to be accounted for by accidental concurrences of fiction.

¹ Acts xxi, 17; xxiv, 27; xxvii, 1, etc.

² Chapter xxi, 18. Luke came to Jerusalem with Paul about twenty-seven years after the crucifixion of Christ.

must necessarily have truth for their foundation." Paley's work, referred to above, shows these undesigned coincidences between the Acts and the Epistles of Paul in a most masterly manner, proving the truth of Paul's history with a force almost equal to a mathematical demonstration. Yet the impugners of the Acts, found chiefly in the Tübingen school, so far as we know, take no notice of Paley's work. This perhaps may be explained by a remark of Bunsen (himself a German): "Modern criticism has been left to the Germans, for whom reality has no charm."¹ "What they know how to handle best is thought, the ideal part of history; what is farthest from their grasp is reality."²

Baur, the head of the Tübingen school of extreme rationalists, regards the Acts of the Apostles "not as a purely historical writing, but only a representation following a definite ^{Baur's estimate of the Acts.} tendency," the peculiar object of which was the solution of the question, In what relation did the Apostle Paul stand to the older apostles? He thinks that the original doctrine of Paul is found in the Acts only in a modified form, that is, it yields too much to the Jewish Christians. Speaking of Paul, Baur remarks: "When we compare the description which the Acts of the Apostles gives of his character and deportment, with the picture with which his personality presents itself to us in his own writings, nothing is more striking than the great contrast in which the Paul of the Acts stands toward the Paul of the Pauline Epistles. And as he, according to the Acts of the Apostles, made concessions to the Jewish Christians, which he, according to the principles proclaimed by himself in the most decided manner, cannot possibly have made, so, on the opposite side, the Acts present Peter in a light in which we can no longer recognize him as one of the chief representatives of Jerusalem Jewish Christianity."³ That is, manifestly, Peter is not Jewish enough.

Baur's theory rests upon the assumption that there was an irreconcilable difference between the doctrines of Paul and ^{Baur's theory of the purpose of the Acts examined.} Peter respecting the observance of the Jewish law, and the nature of Christ—that early Christianity was of an Ebionitish cast. If we are to believe Baur, the Acts of the Apostles was written to bring into harmony the Churches founded by Peter and those founded by Paul. It is clear, then, that his theory requires that the Acts should have been written a considerable length of time

¹In speaking of the Apostolical Constitutions.

²Hippolytus and his Age. Both of these passages I have taken from Tregelles' Canon of Muratori, pp. 66, 67

³Die Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte, pp. 126, 127, Dritte Ausgabe. Tübingen, 1863

after the death of these apostles. On the contrary, it is probable that the Acts were written in their lifetime.

But Baur can be completely refuted from those very Epistles of Paul that he acknowledges, viz., Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians.

What, then, is the testimony of Paul respecting the relations existing between himself and Peter? "When they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles); and when James, Cephas [Peter], and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision." (Gal. ii, 7-9). Do we see here any indication of hostility between Peter and Paul, or any manifestation of a difference of doctrine? It is true, he afterward states that Peter was to be blamed because, before certain persons had come from James, "he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. . . . I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (chap. ii, 12, 14). It appears evident from this that Peter did associate with the Gentiles, and did not feel himself under obligation to observe the rites of the Mosaic law. But in the present instance, through fear, he did not adhere firmly to his principles. Now, as far as Peter is concerned, we find nothing in the Acts inconsistent with what is here stated respecting him. We find in Acts x, xi, 1-18, that he goes to the heathen, Cornelius, and preaches the Gospel to him and his household. But does Paul mean to say that Peter was accustomed to enjoin upon the Gentiles the observance of the Mosaic law? That is impossible under the circumstances. For it is inconceivable that Peter should think that he, himself a Jew, was free from the rites of the Mosaic law, but that the Gentiles were subject to them! All that can be intended by Paul is that Peter, through fear, did not carry out his principles; and that the example he was setting by his timidity made the impression that it was necessary for the Gentiles to live in accordance with the Mosaic law in order to be in full fellowship with the Jewish Christian Church. Hence there is no discrepancy between what Paul here states of Peter, and what the latter himself says in Acts xv, 10 respecting the enjoining of the law of Moses upon the converts from

Reproof of Peter by Paul explained.

among the Gentiles: "Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" We hear nothing of any dispute between Peter and Paul afterward. Peter's "error," says Olshausen, "was a purely personal one, by which his official character as an apostle is not in the least compromised."¹ Nowhere in the Acts is there any thing inconsistent with what is otherwise known of Peter, or that is at variance with his apostolical character.

Respecting the Apostle Paul, the assertion of Baur is utterly false, that his Epistles present him in a different light from his Paul the same as exhibited in the Acts and the Epistles. conduct as set forth in the Book of Acts. In Gal. ii, 3 he says: "But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised." The inference to be drawn from this is, that if he had been a Jew it might have been necessary to circumcise him. When, therefore, we are informed in the Acts (xvi, 1-3) that Paul took Timothy, whose mother was a Jewess, and his father a Greek, and circumcised him on account of the Jews, there is no violation of the principles announced by Paul respecting circumcision.

When Paul, on the completion of this missionary tour, returned to Jerusalem, he found a report among the Jews that he taught all of their nation who were "among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." Therefore, on the advice of James and the elders, he took four men who had a vow upon them, and purified himself along with them, being "at charges with them." Is there any thing in his Epistles inconsistent with this conduct? On the contrary, is not the language which he uses indicative of just such a course of conduct? "And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law" (1 Cor. ix, 20). "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor. ix, 22).

Paul, it is true, in writing to the Galatians, says: "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace" (Gal. v, 2-4). It must be borne in mind that Paul charges the Galatians with departing from the great doctrine of justification by faith, and with seeking salvation through the observance of the Mosaic law. If they therefore relied upon circumcision for salvation, it is evident that Christ was useless

¹ Comment on Galatians.

to them. But the practice of circumcision, without attributing to it any efficacy, could not in the least degree impede their salvation, and Paul was ready to accede to its performance in obedience to custom, when no importance was attached to it by the person circumcised. Paul also tells them that in seeking salvation through circumcision it was necessary also to keep the whole law, of which circumcision is but a part. Just as a man baptized into the Christian faith takes upon him the observance of all the precepts of Christ. In Acts xviii, 18, mention is made of Paul having shorn his head in Cenchrea, as he had a vow. This was in obedience to the Mosaic law.

The passage concerning the circumcision of Timothy (Acts xvi, 1-3), to which we have already referred, the passage on the purification of Paul in the temple (chap. xxi, 24, 26), already noticed, and the vow and shaving of Paul's head, are the only passages in the Acts in which his conduct in respect to the Mosaic law is at all shown.

Peter preaches the Gospel to the Jews, and first opens to the improbability of Gentiles the door of admission into Christianity, and opposes the putting of the yoke of the law upon the necks of Gentile converts. In the council, however, in which Peter speaks, the decision is given by James. The views of Peter and Paul are never brought together. They hold no discussion concerning the obligations of the Mosaic law. We cannot tell from the Acts whether either Peter or Paul favoured the circumcision of Jewish Christians. In the twenty-eight chapters of this book we have only two or three incidental passages which give us any information at all respecting Paul's relation to the law, and but one from Peter respecting the relation of the Gentile Christians to it; and that, too, in a book written, according to Baur, for the express purpose of showing how Paul stood toward the older apostles, and to reconcile the two great parties, Pauline and Petrine, in the Church! Wonderful, indeed, that the Christian Church for nearly eighteen centuries could not discover this fact in the plain narrative of Luke! It required the transcendent genius of Baur to make this brilliant discovery, and even after it is made it requires a peculiar kind of genius to see it. Altogether different in this respect from other discoveries, which strike us at once with so much force that we are surprised that we had never thought of them ourselves.

Even if two or three passages had been found in the Acts in which a dogmatic interest is discernible, the credibility of the great body of the history would be scarcely affected by the fact. But no such passages are found, and everywhere in the history we see truth and candour, and are deeply impressed with the reality of this wonderful

narrative of the founding of Christianity by the apostles after the resurrection and ascension of their Divine Master.

We have already observed that the conduct of Paul toward the Jews in the Acts is in perfect keeping with his own ^{other} ~~own~~ ^{conduct} declaration: "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I ^{might} ~~might~~ gain the Jews" (1 Cor. ix, 20). He adds: "To them without law . . . as without law, that I might gain them that are without law" (1 Cor. ix, 21). With this compare his conduct at the Areopagus of Athens, where he begins his discourse with heathenism, and advances by a beautiful gradation to the great principles of Christianity (Acts xvii, 16-34). His whole discussion at the Areopagus, and his remarks to the heathen at Lystra, are in entire accordance with the sentiments which he utters respecting the heathen, in Rom. i, 19, 20.

The great doctrine of justification by faith which Paul sets forth in his Epistles, the Acts also represent him as teaching (chaps. xiii, 39; xvi, 31; xxvi, 18). We have already remarked that the author of the Acts shows a most exact knowledge of Jewish, Greek, and Roman affairs. In the Acts the Sadducees appear as the chief opponents of the apostles, since the doctrine of the resurrection was especially obnoxious to that sect of the Jews. In the Gospels, however, where the resurrection is not so clearly preached, the Pharisees are the chief adversaries of Christ, because he exposed their hypocrisy.

The character Luke attributes to the Athenians, "For all the Athenians, and strangers who were there [in Athens], spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear ^{Historical accuracy of Luke illustrated.} some new thing" (chap. xvii, 21), is confirmed by Demosthenes, who represents them as going about inquiring: "Is there any thing new?"¹ In chap. v, 37 it is stated that Judas of Galilee rose in the days of the taxing, and drew many people after him, and that he perished, and his followers were dispersed. This man is also mentioned by Josephus as Judas the Gaulanite, who resisted the payment of taxes to the Romans in the time² that Cyrenius was governor of Syria. In chapter xi, 28, 29 it is stated that a prophet named Agabus predicted that there would "be great dearth (*λιμός*, *famine*) throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea." Josephus, in speaking of events which occurred about the sixth or seventh year of Claudius Cæsar (about A. D. 46), says: "It happened that the great famine occurred throughout Judea, during which Queen Helene purchased corn at great expense from Egypt,

¹ Philippic i, 10.

² Antiq., xviii. cap. i, 1.

and distributed it among the needy, as I before said."¹ In chapter xii, 1-3 it is stated that Herod the king killed James the brother of John with the sword, and imprisoned Peter also, with the intention of killing him, since he saw that the murder of James pleased the Jews. About A. D. 37 Herod obtained the provinces, Abilene, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. Claudius added Judea and Samaria. These possessions he held for about three years, until his death.² In chapter xii, 21-23 it is stated that in Cæsarea, "upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." Josephus' description is very similar. He states that Herod was celebrating games in honour of Claudius Cæsar in Cæsarea, and that on the second day of the festival, early in the morning, clad in a robe made entirely of silver, of wonderful workmanship, he went into the theater, and the first rays of the sun reflected from the silver dazzled fearfully the beholders. Immediately the flatterers cried out from different sides, calling him a god, adding: "Be thou gracious unto us, even if up to the present time we have feared thee as a man, yet for the future we acknowledge that thou art superior to a mortal nature." The king did not rebuke them, nor did he refuse the impious flattery. A little after this, looking up, he observed an owl sitting on a cord above his head. He immediately perceived that this was a messenger of evil, and he was seized with heart-piercing pain. Immediately the pain in the bowels that began with violence continued to increase. Looking at his friends, he says: "I, your god, am now summoned to die, my fate immediately refuting the false language in which you just now addressed me," etc. After five days he died of this pain in the abdomen.³

Luke is here confirmed by Josephus in very remarkable manner in all essential points, and his exact knowledge is shown in the fact that Herod was king over Judea but three years, a reign that might have been easily misplaced.

In chap. xiii, 7 it is stated that Sergius Paulus was *proconsul* of the island of Cyprus. Here is another instance of Luke's Other confirmation of the accuracy of the Acts of the Apostles. accuracy; for in the distribution of the Roman provinces as made by Augustus, Cyprus was retained by the emperor, and the governor of that province was a *pro-*

¹ Antiq., xx, cap. v, 2, and xx, cap. ii, 5.

² Josephus states that Herod died in the third year of his reign over all Judæa (A. D. 44). Antiq., xix, cap. viii, sec. 2

³ Ibid

praetor. But Augustus afterward took Dalmatia from the Senate, and gave to it *Cyprus*¹ and Gallia Narbonensis. Cyprus, then, as belonging to the Senate,² was governed by a *proconsul* (*ἀνθύπατος*), as stated by Luke. And on a coin³ struck in the time of Claudius Cæsar, the governor of the island of Cyprus is called *ἀνθύπατος*, the very word used by Luke. In chapter xvi, 14 mention is made of "Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira." "The dyeing trade had flourished from a very early period, as we learn from Homer, in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, and is permanently commemorated in inscriptions which relate to the 'guild of dyers' in that city, and incidentally give a singular confirmation of the veracity of St. Luke in his casual allusions."⁴ In chap. xvi, 12 it is said that "Philippi (is) the first city of this part of Macedonia, a colony." Augustus "presented it with the privileges of a 'Colonia,' with the name 'Col. Jul. Aug. Philip.'"⁵ In chap. xvi, 16 mention is made of a place of prayer (*προσευχή*, *oratory*) on the river side. By the decree of the city of Halicarnassus the Jews were authorized "to build *proseuchæ* (*oratories*) on the sea-shore, according to the custom of their fathers."⁶ The locating of these oratories near the water was for the purpose of ablution.

In chapter xvi, 27 the keeper of the Philippian prison is about to commit suicide under the impression that the prisoners had fled. "By the Roman law the jailer was to undergo the same punishment which the malefactors who had escaped by his negligence were to have suffered."⁷ In verse 35 it is stated: "The magistrates sent the sergeants;" but the latter word in the original is *παβδούχοι*, *lictors*, well known Roman officers. The same word is also used in verse 38, but nowhere else in the New Testament.

In chap. xvii. 23 St. Paul speaks of an altar at Athens with the inscription: "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD." Pausanias, who wrote his Description of Greece in the last half of the second century, in speaking of temples in the vicinity of the Piræus, the chief harbour of Athens, remarks: "There are altars both of the gods that are named and those that are unknown."⁸ The word in Luke and in Pausanias is the same, *ἄγνωστος*, (*unknown*). Paul says, "As I was passing through and beholding the objects of your worship, I found an altar with this inscription," etc. That is, As I was coming up from the Piræus, and passing through the midst of your altars and temples, I found an altar dedicated to the UNKNOWN GOD. It is not neces-

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. liii, 12.

² Strabo, lib. xvii, c. 840.

³ See this inscription in Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul.

⁴ Conybeare and Howson.

⁵ Smith's Geographical Dictionary, Art., Philippi.

⁶ Antiq., lib. xiv, cap. x, 23.

⁷ Conybeare and Howson.

⁸ Lib. i, cap. i. 4.

sary to suppose that there was but one such altar, for it did not suit the purpose of Paul to allude to more than one. In chap. xviii, 2 it is remarked, that when Paul came to Corinth, he "found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome." This banishment of the Jews from Rome is confirmed by Suetonius, who, in speaking of Claudius, says: "He banished from Rome the Jews, who, with Chrestus (Christ) their leader, were constantly creating disturbances."¹

In chap. xvii, 12 it is said that "when Gallio was the deputy (*ἀντιπαις*, *proconsul*) of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat." The statement of Luke that this officer was a *proconsul* is confirmed by Strabo and Dion Cassius. Achaia, embracing the Peloponnesus, and Southern Greece as far as Thessaly, is the seventh in the list of provinces governed by proconsuls, according to the former.² And Dion Cassius³ remarks that Hellas (Achaia) belonged to the people and the Senate, and was, of course, governed by a proconsul. That the proconsul should have resided in Corinth was quite natural, as it was both a splendid city and nearly in the centre of the province. The proconsul Gallio, here mentioned, was probably a brother of the philosopher Seneca, who, in Epistle 104, speaks of Gallio having had a fever in Achaia. In chap. xxi, 39 Paul declares that he is "a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city." This was no idle boast of the apostle, for Strabo remarks: "So much zeal is displayed by the men of this place (Tarsus) in the study of philosophy and the whole remaining circle of learning, that they have surpassed both Athens and Alexandria, and every other place that can be named, in which schools and vocations of philosophers have existed."⁴ Antony rewarded it for its attachment to Cæsar "with municipal freedom and exemption from taxes. . . . Augustus subsequently increased the favours previously bestowed upon Tarsus, which on coins is called a '*libera civitas*'"⁵ (a free city). We have no proof, however, that this highly favoured city was endowed with Roman citizenship. Paul's father, or some other ancestor, must have obtained the privilege, which enabled him to declare that he was born in the possession of it.

In chap. xxi, 38 the chief captain asks Paul: "Art thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest

¹ Claudius, cap. xxv.

² Lib. xvii, 840.

³ Lib. liii, 12. Also Tacitus speaks of Achaia and Macedonia being governed by a proconsul. Annal., lib. i, cap. 76.

⁴ Lib. xiv, 673.

⁵ Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography.

out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers?" Josephus, in speaking of deceivers and robbers in the earlier part of the administration of Felix, says: "At this time a man came from Egypt to Jerusalem professing to be a prophet, advising the multitude to go to the Mount of Olives." Josephus further states that he declared that at his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall down, by which they would enter the city, and that Felix with his troops attacked the Egyptian and his party, killed four hundred, and took two hundred alive.¹ In his *Jewish Wars*² he represents this Egyptian false prophet, as he calls him, leading around from the *desert* to the Mount of Olives thirty thousand men. This number seems to be an exaggeration or a corruption of the original text. The general statements are in remarkable harmony with Luke.

In the last part of the Acts we find Ananias, high priest of the Jews (chaps. xxiii, 2; xxiv, 1). According to Josephus, ^{still other confirmations of Luke's accuracy.} he was the son of Nebedæus, and seems to have been made high priest about A. D. 48,³ and we find him still living about the beginning of the Jewish war,⁴ so it is certain that he was high priest when Paul was on his last visit to Jerusalem (about A. D. 60-62).

At this visit we also find that Felix is the governor, which statement accords with what is related in Josephus. He appears to have been sent from Rome as governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Petræa, about A. D. 51. He was succeeded by Porcius Festus⁵ (A. D. 62), who is mentioned in Acts (xxiv, 27; xxv, 1, 4, etc.). Luke states that the wife of Felix was Drusilla, a Jewess. Josephus confirms this, and gives several particulars concerning her.⁶

It is stated that as Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled" (chap. xxiv, 25). The life of this man shows that there were special reasons for trembling, as Drusilla, with whom he was living as his wife, had been induced by him to leave her former husband. Tacitus speaks of him as noted for all kinds of cruelty and lust.⁷ We find also in the last part of this book mention made of King Agrippa (chaps. xxv, 13-xxvi). This Agrippa was the son of the Herod whose death is related in Acts vii, 21-23. He is mentioned in various places by Josephus, and in connexion with Festus, and is called king by him. Josephus states that he built for himself a splendid house in Jerusalem.⁸ In company with Agrippa, Bernice is mentioned (Acts xxv, 13;

¹ Antiq., xx, cap. viii, 6.

² Lib. ii, cap. xiii, 5.

³ Antiq., xx, cap. v, 2.

⁴ Lib. ii, cap. xvii, 6.

⁵ Antiq., xx, cap. viii, 9.

⁶ Ibid., xx, cap. vii, 1, 2.

⁷ Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exersuit.—Hist., lib. v, 9.

⁸ Antiq., xx, cap. viii, 11.

xxvi, 30). This Bernice was a sister of King Agrippa, and also at a later period visited Jerusalem.¹ After Paul had been shipwrecked at Melita (Malta), he left in a ship of Alexandria and landed in Italy at Puteoli (Acts xxviii, 11, 13). Puteoli was the great port of trade with Alexandria in Egypt.² Here, too, Luke's knowledge is exact.

Of all the numerous statements of Luke in the Book of Acts, there is only one that can be charged with inaccuracy—the remarks of Gamaliel in the Sanhedrim respecting Theudas: “For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed” (chap. v, 36). Josephus mentions a Theudas, a magician, who persuaded the greatest multitude to take up their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan. “For he said that he was a prophet, and that he would divide the river by his command, and give them an easy passage through it. By saying these things he deceived many.” He also states that the procurator “sent a squad of horsemen after them, which, falling upon them unexpectedly, slaughtered many of them, and captured many alive. They take Theudas himself alive, cut off his head, and bring it to Jerusalem.”³ This occurred while Fadus was procurator of Judea, about A. D. 45, so that it is not possible that Gamaliel, about A. D. 33, can have referred to this man. The only way in which Luke can be charged with error is to suppose that he put into the mouth of Gamaliel this statement, forgetting at the time that Theudas lived about twelve years later. But this is inadmissible, especially as Gamaliel says: “After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people,” etc. This occurred A. D. 6–8, and is recorded, as we have already seen, by Josephus. How was it possible for Luke to make such a mistake as to place Theudas forty years or more too early? The Theudas of Josephus played his part about fifteen years before Luke, with Paul, visited Jerusalem, and his acts must have been fresh in the minds of all. It is not at all strange that Josephus should omit the Theudas mentioned by Gamaliel, as he had only four hundred followers, who dispersed after he was slain. But the Theudas of Josephus was a far more important character. Respecting the Theudas of the Acts, Dr. Robinson remarks: “He is probably to be placed during the interregnum immediately after the death of Herod the Great, when Judea was disturbed by frequent seditions. See Josephus.

¹ Antiq., xx, cap. vii, 3; and Wars, ii, cap. xv, 1.

² Strabo, lib. xvii, 793. He calls the town Dicæarchia.

³ Antiq., xx, cap. v, 1.

Antiq., xvii, x, 2-10. . . . Some hold Theudas to have been, under another name, either the Judas or the Simon of Josephus, (Antiq., xvii, x, 5, 6)."¹ Paley observes: "It is proved from Josephus that there were not fewer than four persons of the name of Simon within forty years, and not fewer than three of the name of Judas within ten years, who were all leaders of insurrections."²

Upon the whole, it is far more probable that there were two leaders of insurrections by the name of Theudas, than that Luke should have made a mistake in this matter, as we have seen that he everywhere shows such accurate historical knowledge. Nor does Luke, in fact, need the testimony of Josephus, which we have seen in such a striking manner confirms his statements. The fairness, candour, and accuracy of Luke appear on every page of the Acts. As it is, however, Luke and Josephus strongly corroborate each other.

The statement respecting Stephen, that immediately after his speech before the Sanhedrim he was assaulted, cast out of the city, and stoned to death, without any vote of condemnation by the Sanhedrim, or any sentence from the governor, who alone had the power to inflict the death penalty, has been thought to create a difficulty. But it is not necessary to suppose that the members of the Sanhedrim committed the murder, though they doubtless connived at it. In fact, however, the killing of Stephen was a great deal like a case of lynching in our country, when an enraged mob, thinking that the process of law is too slow, and the punishment of the criminal too uncertain, inflict summary punishment themselves.

Equally accurate are the geography and topography of Luke. He knows the distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem—a Sabbath day's journey (chap. i, 12). He is acquainted with the Beautiful gate of the Temple (chap. iii, 10); knows there is a street in Damascus called *Straight*³ (chap. ix, 11); is familiar with the Areopagus at Athens (chap. xvii, 19-34), and is acquainted even with Appii Forum and the Three Taverns (chap. xxviii, 15). But we have touched upon a few points only, for the whole book teems with accurate geographical and topographical knowledge, and indicates that its author must have been a careful and extensive traveler.

When we add to the foregoing proofs of credibility, the evidence furnished by numerous passages in the Epistles of Paul, many of them undesigned coincidences, the resulting evidence in proof of the historical truth of the Acts is overwhelming. And this same

¹Greek Lex. of New Testament: Theudas.

²Evidences of Christianity.

³We traversed the whole length of this street, which extends more than a mile from wall to wall through the old city of Damascus, of which it is the only straight street.

well informed, careful, and conscientious historian wrote also the third Gospel, in which he informs us that he "had perfect understanding of all things from the very first" (chap. i, 3).

Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople about A. D. 400, makes a strange remark in the beginning of his Commentary on the Acts, written in that city: "To many both this book and its author are unknown." He means, probably, many in Constantinople and at that time; yet, even with this limitation, the statement is doubtless an exaggeration. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, A. D. 177-202, makes great use of the Acts, especially in his third book against Heresies. In one instance he quotes it nine times on a single page. It was also used by Clement of Alexandria in the last part of the second century, and about the same time by Tertullian at Carthage. It appears, also, to have been used by Polycarp in the Epistle to the Philippians.¹ In the subsequent centuries it was used everywhere in the Christian world as an undoubted authority. It is true, it was not so much quoted as the Gospels which contain the teachings of Christ himself.

The five books containing the history of Christ and his apostles are the foundations of the Christian faith, and with the acknowledgment of their genuineness the truth of Christianity necessarily follows. The Epistles of the apostles establish the same historical facts respecting Christ and his apostles, and set forth the great doctrines of the Founder of Christianity as developed and explained by his chosen messengers.

CHAPTER XX.

THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.

THE PERSON OF THE APOSTLE.

THIS great apostle to the Gentiles, who wrote at least thirteen Epistles of the New Testament Canon, and who in natural ability and culture was superior to all the other apostles, was born at Tarsus (Acts xxii, 3), the most important city of Cilicia,² highly

¹ "Having loosed the pains [*ᾠδίνας*] of death" (Acts ii, 24). "Having loosed the pains [*ᾠδίνας*] of Hades."—Sec. I. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles alludes to it.

² Jerome says (Com. in Philem.) that he had heard the story (*fabulam*, fable) that the parents of the Apostle Paul were of the region of Giscalis in Judea [in Northern Palestine], and when the whole province was destroyed by the Romans, and the Jews were scattered over the world, they went to Tarsus accompanied by Paul, who was then a young man. This story is manifestly false, as it contradicts the apostle

distinguished for its intellectual culture, and for the freedom and privileges that had been conferred upon it by Mark Antony and Augustus Cæsar.

Paul himself tells us that he was of the tribe of Benjamin, circumcised the eighth day, and of the sect of the Pharisees (Philippians iii, 5). It does not appear by what means ^{Paul's personal history.} his father, or some other ancestor, obtained the rights of Roman citizenship, in the possession of which the apostle was born (Acts xxii, 28). He acquired in his youth the art of tent-making, by which we find him supporting himself while at Corinth (Acts xviii, 3).

The Jews regarded it of high importance that every boy should learn some trade; hence the proverb among them: "Whoever teaches his son no trade, teaches him to steal." He received his training in Jerusalem, having been instructed by Gamaliel, a celebrated rabbi (Acts xxii, 3), grandson of the famous Hillel. It is uncertain how old he was when put under the instructions of Gamaliel. It is said that Jewish boys commenced the study of the law when twelve years of age. But we cannot determine whether Paul was so young when sent from Tarsus to Jerusalem to pursue the study of the law under Gamaliel. Nor do we know when he finished his rabbinical education.

The apostle was well acquainted with Syro-Chaldee, the vernacular language of Palestine, as we find him addressing a crowd at Jerusalem in this tongue, called Hebrew (Acts ^{Attainments of Paul in knowledge.} xxii, 2). He was proficient in Greek, for he addressed at the Areopagus the Athenians there assembled. The Hebrew of the Old Testament he doubtless studied with Gamaliel in connexion with the study of the law. It is impossible to state with any certainty the extent of his Greek culture, though it probably was considerable. At the Areopagus he quotes the Greek poet Aratus (Acts xvii, 28). In 1 Corinthians xv, 33, is a quotation from Menander, and in Titus i, 12 he gives a quotation from Epimenides of Gnosus in Crete. It is not improbable that Paul was in Jerusalem during some part of Christ's ministry there, and that he saw the Redeemer. This seems to be indicated in 2 Corinthians v, 16: "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more."

We first meet with him, under the name of Saul, in the account of the stoning of Stephen, where he is called a young man at whose

himself (Acts xxii, 3), and is inconsistent with the facts of history, as Giscala did not surrender to the Romans until a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem, which was A. D. 70. In *De Viris Illustribus* he states that he was of Giscalia, as if he did not regard it as a fable.

feet the witnesses laid down their clothes. Immediately after this he appears as a bitter persecutor of the Church, and sets out for Damascus with letters from the high priest to the synagogues in Damascus authorizing him to bind and bring from that city to Jerusalem the followers of Christ (Acts ix, 1, 2). When he draws near to Damascus Christ appears to him, strikes him to the earth blind, remonstrates with him, and commissions him to preach the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles. After three days' blindness, he receives sight when Ananias lays hands on him, after which he is baptized, and preaches Christ in the synagogues at Damascus (Acts ix, 3-20; xxii, 4-16; xxvi, 10-20; Gal. i, 12-16, etc.). The Jews lying in wait to kill him, he escapes and goes into Arabia, and returns to Damascus. Three years after his conversion (about A. D. 38) he goes up to Jerusalem to see Peter, with whom he remains fifteen days, and sees James also (Gal i, 17-19; Acts ix, 26, 27). While remaining in Jerusalem he preaches the Gospel, and, his life being thereby endangered, he is sent to Tarsus (Acts ix, 29, 30). A few years later Barnabas brings him from Tarsus to Antioch, and he is sent along with Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem with alms for the relief of the necessitous Christians during the famine (about A. D. 45). After returning from this mission, through the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, he is sent by the Church at Antioch, in company with Barnabas, upon a missionary tour, and visits Seleucia and Cyprus. After the conversion of the proconsul of the island, Sergius Paulus, he is called Paul, the name by which he calls himself in all his Epistles. Jerome¹ supposes that he assumed the name of Paul (or Paulus) from the name of this proconsul whom he had brought over to the Christian faith. This may be the real ground of the change, though it admits of no proof. After this he visits Perga, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and returns to Antioch from his mission. When the dispute arose at Antioch respecting the observance of the Mosaic law, he and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem to consult the apostles and elders. This was Paul's third visit to Jerusalem, to which he refers in Galatians ii, 1: "Then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas." If we count these fourteen years from the visit he made three years after his conversion, this third visit occurred about A. D. 52. After this mission Paul preaches the gospel at Antioch, and in company with Silas he preaches through Syria and Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, Phrygia, and the region of Galatia; he visits Philippi, where he preaches the gospel, is imprisoned, and miraculously delivered. He passes through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and comes to Thes-

¹ De Viris Illus. Paulus.

salonica, where he preaches, and leaves for Berea, where he also proclaims the gospel, and comes to Athens, where he preaches at the Areopagus. From Athens he passes over to Corinth, where he proclaims the gospel for eighteen months, and writes the two Epistles to the Thessalonians about A. D. 54. He next visits Ephesus, sails for Cæsarea, and goes up to Jerusalem; returns to Antioch, and passes over Galatia and Phrygia, and comes to Ephesus, where he preaches the gospel for two years and three months. While here he writes his First Epistle to the Corinthians. About A. D. 58 he leaves Ephesus for Macedonia, where he writes the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and visits Greece, especially Corinth, in which city he writes the Epistle to the Romans.

On his journey to Jerusalem he calls at Miletus, where he addresses the assembled elders of the Ephesian Church, sails for Cæsarea, and goes up to Jerusalem. Here he is arrested, and detained in custody about two years. He appeals to Cæsar, is shipwrecked on the voyage to Rome, but finally reaches the city about A. D. 61 or 62. Here he preaches the gospel for two years in his own hired house, and writes the Epistles to Philemon, to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, and to the Philippians.

At this point the history of Paul, as recorded in the Acts, ends, and the question arises, Was he released at the end of the two years? and if so, where did he preach, and where and how did he finish his career? It appears from Facts reported of the later history of Paul. Philippians ii, 24, "But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly," that Paul was expecting a release at the time of writing, which must have been at the end of two years, from the manner in which he speaks of the effect of his preaching (chap. i, 12-14).

In the Canon of Muratori, written at Rome about A. D. 160, mention is made of "Paul's setting out from the city [Rome] for Spain." This is valuable testimony to the release and departure of Paul. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, written not later than A. D. 96, in speaking of Paul, says: "He taught the whole world righteousness, *and having gone to the bound of the west* (*ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατος τῆς δύσεως*),¹ and having borne witness before rulers, he thus left the world," etc. This comes from the bishop of Rome, who was doubtless acquainted with Paul, and is of the highest value. By "the bound of the west," to which Paul traveled, Spain is in all probability meant. No writer at Rome could call that city "the bound of the west." If Paul preached in Western Europe, he must

¹ This is the exact Greek of the passage, as published by Tischendorf in the facsimile of the MS. of the Epistle, and it is confirmed by the recently discovered copy of the Epistle in Constantinople, published by Bryennius, sec. 5

have been released from the confinement in Rome described at the end of the Acts.

In 2 Timothy iv, 16 Paul says: "At my first answer (*ἀπολογία, defence*) no man stood with me, but all men forsook me." It is evident that this arraignment of the apostle, in which he declares, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand" (2 Tim. iv, 16), is different from any appearance of his before Nero during the first imprisonment at Rome, for Timothy was then with him (Philippians i, 1). Also the direction to Timothy, "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments" (2 Tim. iv, 13), indicates in all probability that, not long before, Paul had left these articles there, and that he must have been released from his first imprisonment. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the apostle was released from his first imprisonment, and visited Spain, Macedonia, and Asia Minor. In Romans xv, 24 he speaks of visiting Rome on his way to Spain; and in Philippians ii, 24 he says: "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." It would be most natural to suppose that he visited Spain first, and afterward went to Macedonia and Asia Minor. But the order in which he visited these places we cannot determine.

Caius, presbyter of Rome about A. D. 200, says, in writing to Paul's death. Proclus: "I can show the monuments of the apostles [Peter and Paul]. For if you are willing to go out to the Vatican, or take the road to Ostia, you will find the monuments [tombs] of those who founded this Church."¹ Jerome states that Paul was beheaded at Rome in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign (A. D. 68) and buried in the road to Ostia,² situated at the mouth of the Tiber.³ Eusebius also states that Paul was beheaded when brought the second time before Nero.⁴

The oldest and most trustworthy account of St. Paul outside of the New Testament is found in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (written A. D. 93-96), to which we have already referred: "On account of envy Paul received the reward of his patience: seven times was he in bonds, he was an exile, he was stoned, and having been a preacher in the east and in the west, he received the honourable renown of his faith; and having taught the

¹In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii, cap. xxiv.

²De Viris Illus. Paulus.

³About one and a quarter miles from the wall of Rome now stands the splendid Basilica of Paul. Under this Church are said to be the remains of St. Paul, with the exception of the head, which is said to be in the Lateran. We observed on the road to the Basilica an inscription stating that here Peter and Paul, going to martyrdom, separated.

⁴Hist. Eccles., lib. ii, 22, 25

whole world righteousness, and having gone to the bound of the west, and borne witness before rulers, he thus departed from the world, and went to the holy place, having become the greatest example of patience."¹ Clement evidently refers to the martyrdom of Paul, since before speaking of him he says: "The greatest and the most faithful pillars have been persecuted, and suffered even unto death."² It is also very likely that Paul suffered at Rome or in its vicinity, otherwise we should not in all probability have the particulars of his history in Clement. Even the skeptical Baur remarks: "That Paul died there [in Rome] as a martyr can be regarded as an historical fact."³

The Apostle Paul is distinguished for profundity, for a firm adherence to great principles, for a broad catholicity, for toleration in things non-essential, and for great practical wisdom. His extraordinary natural gifts were all sanctified by the divine Spirit and consecrated to Christ. His writings are distinguished for their variety, depth, and breadth. All the great doctrines of theology, of experimental religion, and our duties to God and man, are set forth in them with great power. Everywhere his Epistles are permeated with the spirit of Christ, exhibiting a richness, a fulness, and at the same time a conciseness, unparalleled except by the great Master himself. We are continually impressed with the deep conviction of his rich experience and earnestness and his universal love.

*Characteristics
of Paul and his
writings.*

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

THE Epistle is addressed "To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints" (chap. i, 7). The Church in that city embraced both Jews and Gentiles. In chap. ii, 17 the writer says: "Behold, thou art called a Jew, and retest in the law," etc.; and in chap. xi, 13 he says: "For I speak to you Gentiles; inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify my office." And in other parts of the Epistle we find references to both Jews and Gentiles. The Jews at that time appear to have been numerous in Rome.⁴

¹ Sec. 5.

² We have followed here the Constantinople text, as the Alexandrian is defective.

³ Baur's remark we take from Bleek's *Einleitung* by Mangold, from Baur's *Paulus* (2). i, p. 245.

⁴ Horace (Sat. i, 9, 70) refers to them as being in Rome and well-known.

Claudius Cæsar banished¹ them from that city; but in the time of Nero, when Paul arrived there, they had evidently returned, for he called together the chief of them."²

It is not known by whom the gospel was first preached in Rome. Probable origin of the Church in Rome. It is, however, not improbable that some Jews from Rome at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, converted by the preaching of Peter, returning to the Roman metropolis, founded a Christian Church there. In this Epistle the apostle speaks of the Roman Christians as follows: "I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world" (chap. i, 8), and declares that he had often purposed to come unto them (chap. i, 13). The Church there was evidently established at a very early period. Tacitus, in speaking of the Christians when Rome was burnt during the reign of Nero (A. D. 64), says that they were "a vast multitude."³

PLACE AND TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

It is certain that St. Paul wrote this Epistle at Corinth during his written at Cor. inth. second sojourn in that city. He speaks of Gaius as his host (chap. xvi, 23); and we find in 1 Corinthians i, 14 that Gaius was a Corinthian Christian who had been baptized by Paul. He also names Erastus (chap. xvi, 23) as "the chamberlain of the city," that is, Corinth, and with this agrees his statement, "Erastus abode at Corinth" (2 Tim. iv, 20). He commends unto the Roman Christians Phebe, a servant of the Church at Cenchrea (about nine miles from Corinth), and requests them to receive her as becometh saints. These references show that Paul was at Corinth⁴ when he wrote. He also states that he is about to set out for Jerusalem to take to the poor saints in that city the contributions from Macedonia and Achaia (chap. xv, 25, 26), which not only shows that the apostle was in the region of Corinth when he wrote, but indicates the time of writing, as we find in the Acts that Paul immediately before starting for Jerusalem spent three months in Corinth, and then passed through Macedonia (Acts xx, 2-6). Now this was Paul's second sojourn in Corinth, and accordingly the Epistle was written about A. D. 58 or 59.

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

Respecting the *genuineness* of this Epistle there is no dispute. It is one of the Epistles that even the Tübingen school acknowledge

¹ Acts xviii, 2; Suetonius, cap. xxv. ² Acts xxviii, 17. ³ Annal., lib. xv, cap. xlii.

⁴ At the end of the Epistle in the Peshito-Syriac version it is stated that it was written at Corinth.

to have been written by Paul. It was also universally received by the ancient Church as an undoubted writing of that apostle and was evidently used by Clement¹ of Rome in the first century, and by Polycarp,² a disciple of the Apostle John. It is quoted as the divine word, about A. D. 180, by Theophilus, bishop of Antioch,³ and in the Epistles written by the Churches of Lyons and Vienna to the Churches in Asia Minor⁴ (A. D. 177) there is an exact quotation of Romans viii, 18. About the same time Irenæus quotes this Epistle as having been written by Paul to the Romans.⁵

Universal acknowledgment of the genuineness of this Epistle.

Clement of Alexandria, in the last part of the second century, in quoting this Epistle, says: "Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, writes,"⁶ etc. Also Tertullian, at Carthage (about A. D. 200), uses the Epistle as the writing of the Apostle Paul.⁷ It was quoted by the heretic Basilides⁸ about A. D. 125, and formed a part of the canon of Marcion (A. D. 140). The Epistle was written for Paul by Tertius (chap. xvi, 22), and was sent to the Romans no doubt by Phebe, who is commended to the Roman Christians (chap. xvi, 1, 2). We do not perceive any special design in the Epistle, except to set forth the great doctrines of the Gospel to the Roman Christians, and to inform them of the apostle's desire and intention to visit them and preach the Gospel to them.

CONTENTS.

The apostle expresses his earnest desire to see the Christians at Rome, and preach to them the gospel which is able to save all men. He portrays the crimes and vices of the pagan world, and represents the heathen as inexcusable in their sins, as God has manifested himself to them in the works of nature and in conscience, and sets forth the divine retributive justice in rewarding virtue and punishing vice among all men, affirming that both Jews and Gentiles are guilty before him (chaps. i-iii, 20). Sinners can be justified only through the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ. In illustration of this the justification of Abraham by faith is cited, and also the language of David (chaps. iii, 21-iv). The blessed results of justification by faith in Christ are peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (chap. v). The neces-

¹ The doctrine of justification by faith and not by works in sec. 32 of Clement's Epistle is based on Rom. iii-v. Sec. 35 refers clearly to Rom. i, 32.

² Compare Polycarp's Epistle, sec. 6, with Rom. xiv, 10, 12.

³ Ad Autolycum, lib. iii, 14, in which he refers to Rom. xiii, 7, 8; also in i, 14 he refers to Rom. ii, 6, 8.

⁴ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. v, cap. i, *et al.*

⁵ Contra Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. xvi, 3.

⁶ Stromata, lib. iii, cap. xi, etc.

⁷ Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiace, cap. xiii, xiv, and elsewhere.

⁸ In Hippolytus, Ref. Hæres., lib. vii, 25.

sity of leading a holy life, and of not making the doctrine of justification by faith a license for sin, is then set forth (chaps. vi, vii). The nappy condition of those who are redeemed through Christ and walk after the Spirit is next described (chap. viii). The rejection of the mass of the Jews for their unbelief has parallels in their ancient history, and God has always had a faithful people among them. The divine sovereignty is illustrated in the history of Pharaoh. The Jews will ultimately embrace Christianity (chapters ix-xi). The previous part of the Epistle is *doctrinal*. This is followed by a summary of our *duties* to God, to our fellow-men in general, and to our rulers (chaps. xii, xiii). Advice is given respecting those who have weak consciences (chaps. xiv, xv, 4).

The apostle offers a prayer, and delivers an exhortation to the Roman Christians, refers to his widely-extended ministry, and declares the intention of visiting them at a future day, but that he is immediately going up to Jerusalem to convey contributions to the poor saints in that city (chap. xv, 5-33). The Epistle closes with an appendix of salutations (chap. xvi).

INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.

There can be no doubt that the entire Epistle was written by Paul.

Did the Epistle end with chapter xiv? The last two chapters, it seems, were rejected by Marcion, for Origen, in commenting on chapters xvi, 25-27, remarks: "Marcion, by whom the evangelical and apostolical writings have been interpolated, cut off this chapter entirely from this Epistle; and not only did he cut off this, but also from that passage where it is written, *Whatever is not of faith is sin*, he cut off every thing to the end;"¹ that is, he cut off the last two chapters. Baur, also, and Schwegler and Zeller deny the genuineness of these two chapters. But their Pauline origin is acknowledged by Hilgenfeld.² They are found in the oldest extant Greek MSS., the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian; in the Peshito-Syriac, the Memphitic, the Æthiopic, Armenian, and Gothic³ versions. It is evident from an examination of the Epistle that it could not have originally ended with chapter xiv, and the last two chapters bear the Pauline stamp, and contain several undesigned coincidences, which Paley shows in his *Horæ Paulinæ*. We do not know of any critical editor of the New Testament who rejects these two chapters, or has any suspicion of their genuineness. For such suspicion no grounds exist.

¹ This passage we have given from the Latin translation of this Commentary. The Greek is lost.

² Einleitung, 322, 323.

³ Parts only of the two chapters are found in the Gothic, which is but fragmentary.

This Epistle is, perhaps, the grandest of all the writings of St. Paul. The First Epistle to the Corinthians can alone be compared with it. It is a great treasury of the sublime doctrines, duties, and privileges of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

CORINTH, on a narrow isthmus between the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs, was founded at a very early period, most probably by the Phœnicians. Possessing great facilities for commerce, it became a splendid city, and at the time it was destroyed by the consul Mummius (B. C. 146) was "the richest in Greece, and abounded in statues, paintings, and other works of art." It was called by Cicero "the light of all Greece."¹ After having been thoroughly destroyed, it remained in ruins for about a century, until Julius Cæsar sent thither a colony (B. C. 46), and about a hundred years later, when visited by the Apostle Paul, it had again become an important city. Strabo visited it, and in his description, written about A. D. 20, he represents it as situated at the foot and on the north side of a peak (or hill Acrocorinthus) something more than a third of a mile in height.²

The Church in this city was founded by Saint Paul, who came here from Macedonia and Athens about A. D. 52, and preached the gospel at least a year and a half, assisted by Timothy, Silas, and others (Acts xviii, 1-18). The Christian society was large, and composed almost entirely of Gentiles (Acts xviii, 6, 8).

About three years after the apostle had left the Corinthian disciples he was informed that there were divisions among them, and that various abuses had crept into the Church. In the time intervening between Paul's preaching and the writing of the Epistle, Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures, having received full instruction on Christian doctrine at Ephesus, went to Corinth and preached the gospel. In the illustration of Christianity he probably drew largely on the Greek philosophy of Alexandria, and highly delighted the intellectual Corinthians. Some of his hearers preferred him to Paul; others, especially such as had come over to Christianity from Judaism, preferred Peter, as being

¹ Pro Lege Manil., sec. 4v.

² Lib. viii, 379.

an original apostle of Christ, and denied the apostleship of Paul. The most, however, doubtless adhered to Paul. Still others, attaching no importance to any Christian teacher, satisfied themselves with the doctrines of Christ, which had been delivered to them without any exposition from human authority. This seems to have been the real state of the case. The apostle does not charge them with grave errors in departing from the great doctrines of the Gospel, but with creating divisions in the Church.

It appears from chap. vii, 1 that the Corinthians had already written to Paul concerning certain matters, so that he had reasons of a most urgent character for writing to them.

PLACE AND TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

The Epistle was evidently written at Ephesus, near the close of the apostle's ministry of twenty-seven months in that city (Acts xix), about A. D. 57 or 58. Various references in the Epistle compared with the Acts determine this place and this time. In the Epistle (chap. xvi, 8) the apostle says: "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." In harmony with this as the place of writing is: "The Churches of Asia salute you" (chap. xvi, 19). In chapter xvi, 2-6 the apostle gives directions respecting contributions for the poor at Jerusalem, stating that if it is proper he himself will go to Jerusalem along with the persons appointed to take the contributions to that city; and that he will pay the Corinthians a visit when he passes through Macedonia. In chap. iv, 17 he tells the Corinthians that he has sent Timothy unto them; and in chap. xvi, 10 he gives directions, if "Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear." We find in Acts xix, xx that St. Paul, a short time before he left Ephesus, sent Timothy into Macedonia, and then went through it himself to Corinth, where he remained three months, and then returned through Macedonia, and went up to Jerusalem. It appears from Acts xviii, 26 that Aquila and Priscilla were at Ephesus during the apostle's abode in that city; and with this harmonizes the salutation: "Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord" (chap. xvi, 19). It would seem that it was about one year before the beginning of Paul's ministry at Ephesus that Apollos, having come to Ephesus and received full instruction in Christianity, went to Corinth, where he preached the gospel (Acts xviii, 24-xix, 1).

In chapter v, 9 the apostle refers to a former Epistle addressed to the Corinthians, which is no longer extant. It is very probable that the matter discussed was not of a general nature, and that the two subsequent Epistles of Paul, which we now have, so completely cov

ered the ground that the first Epistle had no further interest, and, of course, would naturally perish.

CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLE.

The apostle reproves the party spirit and dissensions of the Corinthian Christians, and justifies himself in not dealing in Greek wisdom when he preached among them. He affirms that this wisdom cannot lead men to God; but that the gospel he preached was accompanied by the divine Spirit, and by miraculous power; and that, further, the natural man is incapable of understanding spiritual truth (chap. ii). He charges the Corinthians with being carnal, since party spirit prevails among them, and affirms that himself and Apollos are merely ministers of the word, and that it is God who gives success. He shows them that, after all, the various ministers of the gospel are theirs, and vindicates his apostolic authority, and speaks of his persecutions and sufferings for the sake of Christ, and declares that he is their father in the gospel (chaps. iii, iv). From the vindication of his apostolic authority he passes to the correction of abuses in the Church, and censures severely the crime of one's having his father's wife, and states how they should deal with such a member, at the same time exhorting them to be holy in life, and to associate with no bad man professing the religion of Christ (chap. v). He disapproves of Christians going to law with each other. He declares that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God, and warns them against impurity (chap. vi). He discusses marriage, which he declares in some cases is necessary, but in the present state of the Church has many inconveniences (chap. vii). He explains that an idol is nothing, yet it is not advisable to eat meat sacrificed to idols when it would offend weak brethren (chap. viii). He affirms that it is right that the ministers of the gospel should be supported, but that he has not availed himself of that privilege, and that he had laboured solely for the cause of the gospel, becoming all things to all men (chap. ix). He warns them against sin from the examples of Jewish history, and cautions them against taking a part in idolatrous sacrifices, and eating any thing sacrificed to idols when it would give offence (chapter x). He gives directions respecting women keeping their heads covered during divine service, and condemns the way in which they celebrate the communion (chap. xi). He discusses the various offices in the Church, which are constituted for the general good (chap. xii). He gives a description of love, without which he declares every other gift is useless, and while every thing else passes away, faith, hope, and love remain, but the greatest of these is love (chap. xiii). He adds directions respecting the manner

in which the spiritual gifts, especially that of tongues, are to be used (chap. xiv). The apostle enumerates the testimonies to the resurrection of Christ, which he declares to be the vital fact in the religion of Christ, and discusses the resurrection of the dead from natural analogies, and exhorts them to steadfastness (chap. xv). In the concluding chapter (xvi) Paul counsels them concerning collections, and promises to visit them some time after Pentecost; gives directions also about the reception of Timothy, their treatment of the house of Stephanus, and other matters, and sends greetings.

GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

Concerning the genuineness of this Epistle there never has been any doubt. Even the Tübingen school of critics acknowledges it to be Paul's. It is referred to by Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians, written A. D. 93-96, *less than forty years* after the apostle wrote it. "Take into your hands," says he, "the Epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he first write concerning you in the beginning of the gospel? In truth, he wrote to you in a spiritual way respecting himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, on account of your having, even then, shown your partisan feelings,"¹ etc. It is also quoted as Paul's by Polycarp: "Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world? as Paul teaches."² Irenæus frequently quotes it, and in several places attributes it to Paul.³ It is quoted by Athenagoras⁴ (about A. D. 177) as the writing of the apostle. Clement of Alexandria⁵ quotes it as the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. So does Tertullian.⁶ In the Epistle to Diognetus it is cited: "The apostle says."⁷ It is also referred to in several places in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. The undoubted genuineness of this Epistle is of the highest importance, as Paul, who had been in the company of the apostles, states the appearances of Christ to the apostles and others after his resurrection⁸ (chap. xv, 4-8).

In importance of doctrine this Epistle stands next to that to the Romans, and the description of *love* (chap. xiii) is the finest passage on that subject in the New Testament.

¹ Sec. 47.

² Sec. 11; compare with this 1 Cor. vi, 2.

³ As in *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii, cap. xviii, 3; lib. iv, cap. xii, 2; cap. xv, 2.

⁴ *De Resur. Mortuorum*, cap. xviii.

⁵ *Pædag.* i, cap. vi.

⁶ *Præscrip.* xxxiii.

⁷ Sec. xii.

⁸ The skeptical Keim of Zürich, in his *Life of Jesus of Nazareth*, bases the resurrection of Christ upon the testimony of Paul in this chapter (xv).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE PLACE AND TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

THIS Epistle was certainly written from Macedonia. In chapter ii, 13 the apostle speaks of having gone into that country; also in chap. vii, 5. In chapter ix, 2 he says, in speaking of the benevolence of the Achæans, "for which I am boasting of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago." This clearly shows that he wrote in Macedonia. From references which the apostle makes to the First Epistle it is clear that the Second was written not long after the First. It is seen in Acts xix, xx, 1, 2, that after Paul left Ephesus he passed through Macedonia on his way to Corinth. While in Macedonia he writes this Epistle, in which he informs the Corinthians that he is on the point of visiting them (chaps. xii, 14, 20, 21; xiii, 1). He refers to the troubles which he had in Asia (chap. i, 8, 10), alluding to the uproar in Ephesus just before he left the city (Acts xix, 24-41). Thus it is clear that it was written about *six months* after the First Epistle, about A. D. 58 or 59.

Paul appears to have sent his first Epistle to the Corinthians by Titus (2 Cor. viii, 16-18), who returned to him in Macedonia from them, and reported the condition of the Corinthian Church, and the good effect the First Epistle had had on them (2 Cor. vii, 6-16). Upon the receipt of this information Paul writes this second letter, to console them, and to prepare the way for his coming, and at the same time to urge them to have their contributions ready. Although especially addressed to the Corinthians, it includes "all the saints that are in all Achaia" (chap. i, 1).

CONTENTS.

The apostle rejoices in the consolation he receives from God in trouble, by which he is enabled to comfort others who are in trouble, affirming that both his sorrows and joys contribute to their salvation. He also refers to his sufferings in Asia and his deliverance from death. He rejoices in the testimony of a good conscience, and declares that it had been his intention to pass through Corinth on his way to Macedonia, but that he had deemed it best for them that he should not come. He describes the sorrow with which he wrote the First

Epistle, and exhorts them to forgive and comfort the excommunicated person. He speaks of his disappointment in not finding Titus at Troas. His preaching, while it saves some, is resisted by others (chaps. i, ii). The apostle declares that he needs no epistles of commendation to them, as they are the Epistles of Christ, written by the Holy Spirit, through the ministration of the apostle, and describes the glorious ministration of the Spirit, by comparing it with the Mosaic dispensation (chap. iii). He gives a description of his preaching and sufferings for the Gospel, and declares his longing after eternal life, and speaks of his faithful discharge of his apostolic duties, and his earnest efforts to bring men to Christ. He describes at length his varied experience, placing in striking contrast its different shades (chaps. iv, v, vi, 1-13). He exhorts them not to be unequally yoked together with unbelievers, but to purify themselves from all sin. He asserts strongly his integrity and his affection for them, and declares how he was comforted when Titus returned from them and informed him of the good effect of his letter (chap. vi, 14-vii). He reminds them of the liberality of the Macedonians, and of the example of Christ, who became poor for us, and exhorts them not to fall short in their contributions in aid of the poor. He informs them that he has sent Titus to conduct the collection, and also another brother, whose praise in the gospel is in all the Churches. He expresses confidence in their liberality, and encourages them to give liberally, as it will redound to their advantage, and cause others to be grateful to God and to pray for them (chaps. viii, ix). He vindicates, against his enemies, his conduct and preaching. He expresses a jealous fear lest they should be corrupted from the simplicity of the Gospel, and enters into a full vindication of his apostolic character, recounts his labours, and declares that he is not a whit behind the chief apostles. He states that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard things not to be uttered; and, that he might not be exalted above measure, a thorn was put into his flesh (chaps. x, xi, xii, 1-12). He declares that he exhibited among them the signs of an apostle; that now he is coming to them for the third time, and that he will not be burdensome to them. He expresses a fear that he will not find them such as he would wish them to be, and exhorts them to examine themselves and prepare for his coming, as he will not spare the guilty (chaps. xii, 13-xiii).

GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

There is no dispute¹ concerning the genuineness of this Epistle; it is acknowledged even by the Tübingen school. It was everywhere received by the early Church as the writing of Paul. It is called the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians by Irenæus,² by Clement³ of Alexandria, by Tertullian,⁴ by the Peshito-Syriac, and the Canon of Muratori.

The Epistle is full of personal allusions, and bears the undoubted stamp of Paul's character. It is not equal to the first in sublimity and grandness of conception, but is almost wholly occupied with the relations existing between the apostle and the Corinthians.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

GALATIA, called also Gallo-Græcia by Strabo, derived its name from the Gauls,¹ who settled in that region in the third century before Christ. It was situated near the middle of Asia Minor, having Bithynia and Paphlagonia for its northern boundary; Phrygia for its western; Lycaonia for its southern; and Pontus and Cappadocia for its eastern. Strabo states that of "the Galatians there are three nations, two of them called after the name of their leaders, Trocmi and Tolistobogii; and the third named from the nation among the Celts, Tectosages."² Jerome states in his time: "The Galatians—excepting the Greek, which all the East speaks—have nearly the same language³ which the Treviri⁴ have."⁵ There can be no doubt that the most of them understood Greek, so that there could have been no difficulty either in preach-

Character of the population of Galatia.

¹ From this remark Bruno Baur is ever an exception, as he denied the genuineness of all the writings of the New Testament. He must not be confounded with C. F. Baur, a man incomparably his superior.

² *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii, cap. vii, i. He quotes it as Paul's, lib. ii, cap. xxx, 7:

"For the Apostle says in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians," iv, cap. xxviii, 3.

³ "The Apostle in the Second to the Corinthians."—*Stromata*, iv, 16.

⁴ *De Pudicitia*, cap. xlii. ⁵ Gauls were called Galatæ by Strabo. ⁶ Lib. xii, 566.

⁷ Jerome could speak from his own personal knowledge, as he had spent considerable time at Treviri (Trèves), and afterwards traveled through Galatia.

⁸ In Northern Gaul, the chief city of which district in modern times is called Trèves.

⁹ *Comment. in Galat.*, lib. ii, cap. iii.

ing or writing to them in that language. It appears also that "as early as the time of Augustus many Jews lived in Galatia, to whom the emperor granted a letter of protection." These Jews, then, and others who doubtless adhered to them, would naturally be first addressed, and the converts from among them would form the nucleus of the Church, which had already become very powerful in that region in the first part of the second century.¹

Paul and Timothy preached the gospel to the Galatians about A. D. 52 (Acts xvi, 6). About three years later the apostle passes through the country of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening the disciples (Acts xviii, 23). These are all the references to the Galatians in the Acts. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians (chap. xvi, 1) Paul states that he had "given order to the Churches of Galatia" respecting a collection. The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written about A. D. 58, and Paul refers here to his visitation of the Galatians about three years earlier, which was his second missionary tour through that country.

It seems from chapter iv, 8 that the greatest part of the Galatian Church were converted Gentiles: "When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods." The Epistle is addressed to no particular society, but in a general way "unto the Churches of Galatia," because, doubtless, the converts were scattered in small towns and villages.

TIME, PLACE, AND OCCASION OF THE WRITING OF THE EPISTLE.

It is altogether probable that Paul wrote this Epistle after his second visit to the Galatians, as he says, "Ye know that through weakness of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you at the *first*" (chap. iv, 13), which implies that he had preached to them a *second* time. This second visit was made about A. D. 55, beyond which the Epistle must be placed. Paul's language indicates that but a few years had elapsed since they were converted: "I marvel that you are so soon abandoning for another gospel him who called you by the grace of Christ" (chap. i, 6).

In discussing the doctrine of justification by faith the apostle gives some of the same illustrations that he uses in the Epistle to the Romans. In both we find that he dwells upon the justifying faith of Abraham. Now, it is very natural, in writing on the same subject at the same time, to use very similar arguments and illustrations, modified only to meet some specific differences. As the Epistle to the Romans was written during Paul's visit to Corinth (Acts xx, 3), about A. D. 58 or 59, it is probable that the Epistle to the Galatians

¹ As appears from an Epistle of Pliny.

was written at the same place and about the same time. But upon these points there is no certainty nor high probability to be derived from internal or external evidence.

Respecting the occasion upon which it was written, it is evident from the Epistle itself that Judaizing teachers had appeared among the Galatians after the apostle left them, and very positively asserted that it was necessary to salvation to observe the rite of circumcision, and to keep the law of Moses. The occasion of the Epistle the havoc made by the teachers of Judaism. It would seem that these teachers, at the same time, declared that Paul was not an original apostle, that he was not an eyewitness of the life of Christ, and had received authority from the Church alone to preach, and was merely a subordinate teacher. The Epistle, accordingly, is devoted chiefly to a vindication of his independent apostolic authority, and a defense of the great doctrine of justification by faith.

CONTENTS.

The apostle severely reproves the Galatians for departing from the gospel which he had preached among them, and he pronounces every one accursed who shall preach a different one. He affirms that he received his gospel immediately from Jesus Christ, and that he did not go up to Jerusalem until three years after his conversion, and saw there of the apostles only Peter and James. He gives an account of another visit to Jerusalem fourteen years later, when he had an interview with James, Cephas, and John, who extended to him the right hand of fellowship, and approved of his labor among the Gentiles. He states that at Antioch he reproved Peter for inconsistency in his conduct respecting the Jews and Gentiles, and at the same time he sets forth the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ without the works of the law (chaps. i, ii). He remonstrates with the Galatians, and charges them with beginning in the Spirit and finishing with the flesh. He shows that Abraham's justification by faith was prophetic, and typical of the justification of the Gentiles by faith in Christ; that the law is our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, who hath freed us from the law's curse, and that now we are no longer under a schoolmaster, or under bondage, but are the sons of God, in proof of which God has given us his Holy Spirit. He reminds them of their former ardent affection for him. Under the allegory of the two sons of Abraham, Ishmael by a bondwoman, Agur, and Isaac by a free woman, Sarah, he shows that the children of the Sinaitic covenant (Agur) are in bondage, while the children of the free woman, the faithful in Christ, belonging to the heavenly Jerusalem, are free. He exhorts them to stand fast in this liberty which Christ has given them, and affirms that in relying upon cir-

circumcision for salvation they receive no benefit from Christ, and are bound to keep the whole law. He warns them not to use their liberty for an occasion to serve the flesh. He affirms that "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is the sum of the law. He gives a list of the deeds of the flesh, and of the fruits of the Spirit (chaps. iii, iv, v).

Paul exhorts the spiritual to restore any one overtaken in a fault, and admonishes them to bear each other's burdens, warns them against self-conceit, and exhorts them not to be weary in well-doing. He tells them that those who wish to have them circumcised wish thereby to escape persecution, but do not themselves keep the law. He prays that he may glory in nothing but Christ crucified, affirming that nothing avails but a new creature (chap. vi).

THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

That St. Paul wrote this Epistle is undoubted, and its genuineness is acknowledged by the Tübingen school. It was universally attributed to Paul by the ancient Church. It is quoted by Irenæus¹ as Paul's, by Clement² of Alexandria, and by Tertullian;³ it is found in the Canon of Muratori, and the Peshito-Syriac version, and was used by Marcion. The Epistle everywhere shows the genuine apostolic spirit and the peculiarities of Paul. It is important for its defence of the great doctrine of justification by faith.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

THE Epistle bears the inscription, "To the Ephesians;" and in the most of the MSS. the reading is, "To the saints who are in Ephesus" not *esus*." Tregelles has adopted, "in Ephesus" in his text, and Tischendorf inserts it in brackets (verse 1), and remarks that he concludes it did not come from Paul. In the Codex Vaticanus of the middle of the fourth century the superscription is, "To the Ephesians;" but in the first verse "in Ephesus" is wanting. In the Codex Sinaiticus, of the same age, "in Ephesus" is also wanting in the first verse, though the Epistle has the superscription, "To the Ephesians." The first verse in these two most ancient

¹ Contra Hæreses, lib. iii, cap. vi, 4; cap. vii, 2. He also quotes it in other places.

² Stromata, lib. iii, cap. xv.

³ De Præscrip., cap. vi.

Codices is: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to those who are saints,¹ and to the faithful in Christ Jesus." Origen² says that he found in the Ephesians only the expression, "To the saints who are" (τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι), and he asks, if it is not redundant, what does it mean? From which it is clear that in his MSS. Ephesus was wanting in the first verse of the Epistle.

Basil the Great, of Cappadocia, about the middle of the fourth century, in writing against Eunomius, remarks: "When he (Paul) wrote to the Ephesians as being truly united by knowledge to him who exists (τῷ ὄντι, *the self-existent Being*), in a peculiar way he called *them existing* (ἀντὸς ὄντας), saying: 'To the saints who are, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For thus those who were before us have delivered it, and we have found it in the ancient copies."³ It is evident, then, that while the superscription was, "To the Ephesians," Ephesus was not in the text of the old MSS.; at least, it was wanting in many of them, and we have already seen that it is wanting in our two most ancient Codices⁴ belonging to the age of Basil.

Tertullian says: "The Epistle which we have with the title *To the Ephesians*, the heretics have, *To the Laodiceans*." Again, he remarks: "This Epistle we have through the integrity of the Church—sent to the *Ephesians*, not to the *Laodiceans*;⁵ but Marcion preferred to change its title, as if he was also a very industrious investigator in this matter. But titles are of no importance, since, when the apostle wrote to certain persons, he wrote to all."⁶ It is clear, then, that Marcion's Epistles had the inscription: "To the Laodiceans." It is to be observed that Tertullian does not charge Marcion with altering the reading "Ephesus" into "Laodicea" in the first verse. Nor does he say that "in Ephesus" was found in the text of the MSS. in use in the Church. Had Marcion altered "in Ephesus" into "in Laodicea," Tertullian would have said so, and would not have satisfied himself with remarking that "Titles are of no importance."

It is not easy to see, in a matter like this, how Marcion could have aided his heretical doctrines by changing the superscription from "Ephesus" into "Laodicea," and he must therefore have found MSS. with the latter superscription. It accordingly appears that the Greek

The Greek is, τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, *To the saints who are, or are existing*—very awkward Greek and English without some word indicating place.

¹ Kramer's Catena, in Tregelles' Greek Text.

² Lib. ii, cap. xix.

³ Ephesus is, however, written on the margin by a later hand.

⁴ Ecclesie quidem veritate epistolam istam *ad Ephesios* habemus emissam, non *ad Laodiceos*; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam.—*Adversus Marcionem*, lib. v, cap. xvii

MSS. of the second and third centuries, and many of those of the fourth, named in the first verse neither Ephesus nor any other place. On the other hand, as the two most ancient Codices have the superscription "To the Ephesians," and as in the Peshito version and in the Canon of Muratori it is supposed to be addressed to the Ephesians, the mass of the Greek MSS. in the earliest centuries must have had this superscription, and doubtless from the superscription in the course of time Ephesus was inserted in the first verse of the Epistle. It is also quoted by the ancient fathers as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

But the great difficulty in the way of supposing the Epistle to have been written especially to the Ephesians lies in the absence of any reference to Paul's having laboured among them, and in the statements of the writer: "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love to all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you," etc. (chap. i, 15); and "If you have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward" (chap. iii, 2). It is difficult to see how this language is consistent with Paul's having preached the gospel among the Ephesians for *more than two years* previous to his writing. In his Epistles addressed to the Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and Thessalonians, he refers to his having preached to them.

But as Marcion's copies had the inscription "To the Laodiceans," and as St. Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians gives a charge not only that the Epistle should be read in the Church of the Laodiceans, but also that the Epistle from the latter should be read by the Colossians, the Epistle to the Laodiceans must be Paul's Epistle addressed to them, and which was to be brought from them. No other explanation seems admissible. Now, this Epistle to the Laodiceans must have been an important one, otherwise the apostle would not have ordered it to be read in the Church of the Colossians. Laodicea was the most important city in that region, and Colossæ was comparatively small, and it is, accordingly, difficult to see how the Epistle to this Church should have been allowed to perish, while that to the unimportant Colossæ should have come down to us. Even Paul's Epistle to Philemon, consisting of a single chapter, has been preserved. We do not know that any Epistle of Paul's to any Church or important individual Christian ever perished, except one written to the Corinthians on some matter which, in all probability, was so completely covered by the two existing Epistles as to render it useless (1 Cor. v, 9).

There is a striking resemblance between this Epistle and that to

the Colossians, and it is very likely that the condition of the Churches in Laodicea and Colossæ was very similar, as they were not more than twelve miles apart, and a quite close connexion seems, from what Paul says in the Epistle to the Colossians, to have existed between them (chaps. ii, 1; iv, 16).

But if the Epistle had been sent especially to the Laodiceans, it is not easy to see how the inscription "To the Ephesians" should have been so general in the ancient Church, and why the apostle did not insert the name "Laodicea" or "Laodiceans" in the text, just as he has inserted the name of the Churches addressed in his other Epistles. Archbishop Usher suggested that the Epistle is encyclical, and that it was directed to several Churches in Asia Minor; that for this reason the place for the name of those addressed was left vacant, to be filled up by the different Churches in which it was read. This is very probable, and implies that Tychicus, with whom the Epistle was sent, had several copies with him, or that copies were made at Ephesus, through which Tychicus would naturally pass on his way to Laodicea and Colossæ. But, then, in speaking of the Epistle, to whom would the early Churches and writers say it was sent? Most naturally, to the chief city of all that region, Ephesus. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians is addressed to "the Church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia." Notwithstanding this, the Epistle is always spoken of as addressed to the Corinthians. The Ephesians would naturally put their own name at the head of the Epistle, and from this great city numerous copies would be spread over the Christian world, bearing the inscription "To the Ephesians." As we have already said, the name Ephesus in the course of time passed from the superscription into the text.

We have already seen that the copies of this Epistle which Marcion had were inscribed "To the Laodiceans." Now, as Marcion was of Sinope in Pontus, a city a hundred miles nearer to Laodicea, a large city, than to Ephesus, it is very probable that his copies came originally from the former city, to which a copy had been brought by Tychicus, and in this way they had the inscription *To the Laodiceans*. It also appears that among the heretics in general, as we have seen, the Epistle bore the title, "To the Laodiceans." Hug, Olshausen, Neander, and Bleek, regard the Epistle as *encyclical*. It was not originally intended for a very wide district, as the apostle states that Tychicus, who was sent with this Epistle and that to the Colossians, will give the readers of the Epistle information respecting him. The encyclical character of the Epistle is seen in the fact that no persons in any particular Church

This Epistle
most probably
encyclical.

Probable origin of Marcion's copy.

are mentioned, just as in the general Epistle "To the Churches of Galatia." It is evidently addressed to Gentile Christians.

THE PLACE AND TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

It appears from chaps. iii, 1; vi, 20, that Paul was a prisoner when he wrote this Epistle, and it is highly probable that it was written about the same time as the Epistle to the Colossians, as there is a striking similarity between the two. Neander well observes: "Let us remember that Paul, when he wrote this Epistle, was still full of those thoughts and contemplations which occupied his mind when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians; thus we can account for those points of resemblance in the second, which was written immediately after the first. And hence it is also evident that of these two, the Epistle to the Colossians was written first, for the apostle's thoughts there exhibit themselves in their original formation and connexion, as they were called forth by his opposition to that sect whose sentiments and practices he combats in that Epistle."¹ Now, it appears from internal evidence that the Epistle to the Colossians was written at Rome during Paul's first imprisonment about A. D. 63, so that the Epistle to the Ephesians was written at the same place and about the same time.

Written when
Paul was a prisoner.

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The apostle thanks God for the privileges enjoyed in the Gospel through the divine predestination, and declares that he ever gives thanks and prays for those to whom he writes, that God may enable them to see the riches of the Gospel, and the greatness of its power as displayed in God's raising Christ from the dead and exalting him to heaven (chap. i). He reminds them of what they once were, when dead in sins, but now he declares they have been saved by grace through faith in Jesus Christ, who is our peace, and has broken down the middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles, and that they are no longer strangers, but fellow-citizens with the saints. He declares that a dispensation of the gospel has been committed to him, to whom it was revealed that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and partakers of the blessings of the gospel, which it is his mission to preach among the Gentiles. He prays that they may be fully established in grace, and be enabled to know fully the love, and to be filled with the fullness, of God (chaps. ii, iii).

He exhorts them to walk worthy of their high vocation, in humility, love, and unity, and speaks of the various officers in the Church appointed by Christ for its edification and unity. He

¹ Planting and Training of the Christian Church, p. 329, Ryland's Translation.

exhorts them to live not as other Gentiles, in blindness and lust, but to put on the new man of righteousness and holiness; to be truthful, angry without sin, honest, chaste in conversation; to lay aside all bitterness, anger, and evil speaking, and to walk in love, and purity of life, redeeming the time; to be sober, to praise God in sacred songs, and to be thankful. He illustrates the relation existing between husbands and wives by that which exists between Christ and his Church, describes the mutual duties of parents and children, of servants and masters, and exhorts the saints to put on the whole armor of God, which he describes, that they may master their spiritual foes. He asks their prayers for him in his bonds, and informs them that he has sent Tychicus, who will give them information respecting his affairs, and closes by invoking upon them the divine blessing (chaps. iv-vi).

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

It was never doubted by the Ancient Church that this Epistle was written by Paul. It is used by Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians,¹ is quoted as Paul's Epistle by Irenæus,² by Clement of Alexandria,³ by Tertullian,⁴ and is attributed to Paul in the Canon of Muratori, and in the Peshito-Syriac version, and was received by Marcion under the title of the Epistle to the Laodiceans.⁵ It was quoted by Basilides⁶ (about A. D. 125), and by Valentinus⁷ (about A. D. 140). Irenæus affirms that the Valentinians "say: Paul very evidently has often named these Æons, and has also observed their order, speaking as follows: 'Throughout all ages, world without end'""⁸ (Ephesians iii, 21).

The genuineness of Ephesians acknowledged by ancient Church.

But notwithstanding the universal reception of this Epistle as Paul's in the ancient Church as far back as the beginning of the second century at least, its genuineness has been assailed by a few critics in quite recent times. Schleiermacher, in his lectures, first expressed a doubt upon this point, by

Modern doubts of its genuineness.

¹ "By grace ye are saved" (*χαρίτι ἐστε σωσθέντες*), sec. 1, the exact language of Ephesians ii, 5. In sec. 12 Ephes. iv, 26 is quoted as holy scripture.

² Lib. ii, cap. ii, 6; lib. v, cap. ii, 3.

³ Cohortatio ad Gentes, cap. ix. In Strom., lib. iv, cap. viii, he quotes it as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

⁴ Adversus Marcionem, v, cap. xi, xvii, xviii.

⁵ Ibid., cap. xvii.

⁶ "He (Basilides) says, as it is written: 'By revelation the mystery was made known to me.'"—In Hippolytus, Refut. Omnium Hær., vii, 26. The exact language in Greek of Ephes. iii, 3.

⁷ Ibid., vi, ii, 34.

⁸ Contra Hæreses, lib. i, cap. iii, 1. They found the Æons in *Αἰῶνες*, "ages," of the apostle.

conjecturing that a companion of Paul wrote it according to his suggestions. After this De Wette expressed his doubts respecting its genuineness; and in the last edition of his *Introduction to the New Testament* he gives great emphasis to them. First of all, he regards this Epistle as written in imitation of that to the Colossians, and thinks it unworthy of an apostle to copy himself. He remarks: "In comparison with the Epistle to the Colossians and other Epistles of Paul, the style is not Pauline, as it is verbose, poor in thought, and too loose, being overloaded with parentheses and appositions which destroy the connexion. There are also departures from his style in words and expressions, as well as many things in thoughts, dogmas, and method. Strongly, indeed, against these grounds of doubt stands the recognition of this Epistle by the Church, as well as the opposition of most biblical critics. Moreover, though not written by the apostle himself, yet by a gifted disciple of his, it still belongs to the apostolic age."¹ The genuineness of the Epistle is denied by Schweigler, Baur, Ewald, and Hilgenfeld.² Baur and Hilgenfeld place it in the first half of the second century; Ewald supposes it was written by a disciple of Paul upon the basis of the Epistle to the Colossians between A. D. 75 and 80. Mangold observes that, since "it is impossible to withdraw one's self from the full impression of the Pauline spirit which speaks from both Epistles (Ephesians and Colossians), recently on this ground Reuss, Klöpper, Schenkel, and Hofmann have defended the genuineness of both Epistles."³

There can be no doubt whatever from the very early testimonies Modern doubts considered. to this Epistle that it was written in the first century. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that it was written by the Apostle Paul. Can we believe that a disciple of his could have written such a composition, exhibiting the power, grasp, and peculiarities of this apostle? Or, if he had been able, that he would have so far forgotten his duty to the apostle, to truth, and to God, as to forge it in the name of this great teacher of the Gentiles? And what could be the object of such a forgery? So far as the setting forth of doctrines, or any polemic purpose, is concerned, the Epistle to the Colossians would have answered it. Neander well remarks: "The similarity of the two Epistles (the Epistle to the Colossians and the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians) is of such a kind, that we see in it the work of the same author, and not an imitation by another hand."⁴

¹ *Einleitung*, edited by Messner and Lünemann, Berlin, 1860, pp. 318, 319.

² Hilgenfeld places it not long before A. D. 140. *Einleitung*, p. 680. Leipzig, 1875.

³ Additions to Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 535. Berlin, 1875.

⁴ *Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, p. 329, Ryland's translation.

The words which De Wette gives as not Pauline, upon examination, are found void of any special significance, and in some instances his list is absolutely erroneous. On the other hand, we often find words in the Ephesians some of which never, and others rarely, occur except in the recognized writings of Paul. In chap. vi, 20 Paul, speaking of the Gospel, says: "For which I am an ambassador," etc., and in 2 Cor. v, 20, "We are ambassadors for Christ." The word *πρεσβεύω*, *to be an ambassador*, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. In Ephesians v, 8 we have "children of light" (*τέκνα φωτός*); and in 1 Thess. v, 5 "sons of light" (*υἱοὶ φωτός*), and in Rom. xiii, 12 "armour of light" (*τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός*). It is easy to see that such phrases as these show the same writer. The saints are nowhere else called "the children" or "sons of light," with the exception of Luke xvi, 8, and John xii, 36. *Προετοιμάζω*, *to prepare before hand*, is found only in Rom. ix, 23, and in Ephesians ii, 10. *Ἀνεξιχνίαστος*, *unsearchable*, is found only in Romans xi, 33, and in Ephesians iii, 8. *Ἀνακεφαλαιόομαι*, *to sum up, to bring together*, is found only in Romans xiii, 9, and in Ephesians i, 10. *Προσαγωγή*, *access*, occurs only in Romans v, 2, Ephesians ii, 18, and iii, 12. *ὑπερβάλλω*, *to surpass*, is found only in 2 Cor. iii, 10; ix, 14, and in Ephesians i, 19; ii, 7; iii, 19. *Πῶρσις*, *blindness, hardness of heart*, is found in Rom. xi, 25, and in Ephesians iv, 18; elsewhere in the New Testament only in Mark iii, 5. *Ἀληθεύω*, *to speak the truth*, occurs only in Galatians iv, 16, and in Eph. iv, 15. *Ἀρραβών* (Heb. אַרְבֻּנִּין), *pledge, earnest*, is found only in 2 Cor. i, 22; v, 5, and in Ephesians i, 14. *Παροργίζω*, *to make angry*, is found only in Rom. x, 19, and in Ephesians vi, 4. *Μεταδίδωμι*, *to impart*, occurs in Rom. i, 11; xii, 8; 1 Thess. ii, 8; and in Eph. iv, 28; nowhere else except in Luke iii, 11. *Ἱεροθεσία*, *adoption*, Ephesians i, 5, is found nowhere else except in Romans and Galatians. *Προορίζω*, *to determine before hand*, is found in Ephesians i, 5, 11; Rom. viii, 29, 30; 1 Cor. ii, 7; elsewhere only in Acts iv, 28. *Μνείαν ποιοῦμαι*, *to make mention of*, occurs only in Rom. i, 9; 1 Thess. i, 2; Phil. 4, and in Ephesians i, 16. *Πεποίθησις*, *confidence*, is found only in 2 Corinthians, Philippians iii, 4, and Ephesians iii, 12. *ὑπερ᾽ ἑκτερισσοῦ*, *superabundantly*, found only in 1 Thess. iii, 10; v, 13, and in Ephesians iii, 20. *Εὐωδία*, *sweet smell*, is found only in 2 Corinthians ii, 15; Philippians iv, 18, and in Ephesians v, 2. In Acts xxviii, 20, Paul speaks at Rome of being bound with a single chain (*τὴν ἑλυσιν ταύτην*, *this chain*); and in Ephesians vi, 20, he says, "I am an ambassador in a chain (*ἐν ἀλύσει*). Everywhere else in the New Testament, except in 2 Tim. i, 16, and in Rev. xx, 1, the plural, *ἀλύσεις*, *chains*, is used. It must be borne in mind that all the circumstances

Striking Pauline words and phrases in this Epistle.

of the case point to the composition of this Epistle during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome. The examples we have given do not, however, exhaust the subject.

It must also be observed that the Epistle contains Hebraisms, just as we would expect from Paul. As examples, we have, *Hebraisms in this Epistle.* τέκνα ὀργῆς, *children of wrath*, chap. ii, 3; τέκνα φωτός, *children of light*, chap. v, 8; υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας, *sons of disobedience*, chap. ii, 2; υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *sons of men*, chap. iii, 5. We have also seen that ἀβραβών (Heb. אֲבִרְצָן), *pledge*, is used in chap. i, 14.

De Wette notices, as not Pauline, the omission of a verb of command before *ἵνα φοβῇται τὸν ἄνδρα*, *that she reverence her husband* (chap. v, 33); but a similar omission occurs before *ἵνα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ, κ. τ. λ.*, *that ye abound in this grace also* (2 Cor. viii, 7). Also, *ἵνα*, followed by the optative mood, De Wette thinks not Pauline. But there is only one¹ passage of this kind in the Ephesians (chap. i, 17), and in this the optative is properly used after a prayer. *ἵνα* (*that, in order that*) is followed in every other instance, twenty-two times in Ephesians, by the subjunctive.

In Ephesians iv, 27 and vi, 11, the arch-enemy of mankind is called the Devil, (Διάβολος); but in Romans, First and Second Corinthians, First and Second Thessalonians, he is called Satan (Σατανᾶς), eight times in all. In First Timothy both words are used, which is the usage of Matthew, Luke, and John. In Second Timothy and Titus, *Diabolos*, devil, alone occurs. Satan is a Hebrew word meaning *adversary*, and was doubtless the word Paul would use in addressing his countrymen; but in addressing Gentiles, he would naturally use *Diabolos*,² a Greek word meaning *slanderer*. Now, as the Epistle to the Ephesians is addressed to Gentiles, it was highly proper that the latter word should be employed.

This Epistle is not simply an elaboration of that to the Colossians; but while most of its ideas and words are such as are found in that and the other Epistles of Paul, they are not slavishly followed, and new thoughts and different words are introduced as occasion demands. All this bespeaks Paul as its author.

Hilgenfeld³ regards the expressions "fulness of time" (πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν), and the fulness (πλήρωμα) of him who filleth all in all" (i. 10, 23), as belonging to the period of Gnosticism. But how does Hilgenfeld know that Gnosticism had no existence as early as A. D. 63 or 64? But what has the "fulness" (πλήρωμα), of which Paul

¹ In the other passage noticed by De Wette, both Tischendorf and Tregelles have introduced the subjunctive mood, ὅψ (chap. iii, 16), from the best MSS.

² *Diabolos* is the Greek translation of Satan in various passages of the LXX; as Zech. iii, i, 2; Job i, 6, 7, 12.

³ *Einleitung*, p. 679

speaks, to do with the Pleroma (fulness) of the Gnostics? Paul, in Epistles which Hilgenfeld acknowledges to be his, speaks of the "fulness (pleroma) of time," Gal. iv, 4; "fulness (pleroma) of the Gentiles, (Romans xi, 25); "fulness of the law" (chap. xiii, 10). Why might he not also speak of the fulness of God as he does in Colossians (chap. ii, 9), and as John speaks of the fulness (pleroma) of Christ (John i, 16)?

There is a peculiarity of Paul, noticed by the acute Paley,¹ a species of digression which he calls "*going off at a word*," and which he adduces as an argument for the genuineness of this Epistle. In 2 Corinthians ii, 14 Paul speaks of God's manifesting "the *savour* of his knowledge." This leads him to comment on "savour." In 2 Cor. iii, 1 he asks: "Do we need *epistles* of commendation to you?" He then starts off to discuss "*living epistles*." In 2 Cor. iii, 13 he says, Moses "put a vail over his face." This leads him to a discussion of the blindness of the Israelites. In accordance with this peculiarity, we find the apostle in Ephesians iv, 8 saying: "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." This leads him to speak immediately of Christ's ascension and descension. In chap. v, 13, speaking of things "made manifest by the *light*," he starts off at light into a digression. Upon the whole, we may safely rest in the belief of the genuineness of this Epistle.

Characteristic digressions in this Epistle.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

PHILIPPI, an important city of Macedonia, was named after Philip, the father of Alexander the Great. It was anciently called Crenides,² "Place of Fountains," "from the numerous streams in which the Angites has its source." The old city was enlarged by Philip after the capture of Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidæa, and fortified to protect his frontier against the Thracian mountaineers.³ The haven of the town was Neapolis, situated about ten miles distant, at the mouth of the Angites on the Thracian sea. It was at this place that Paul landed on his way to Philippi (Acts xvi, 11). Augustus presented Philippi with the privileges of a colony, with the name "Col. Jul. Aug. Philip."

¹ In his *Horic Paulinæ*.

² Strabo, vii, 331.

³ Smith's Dict. of Class Geog.

About A. D. 52 Paul and Silas visited this place and preached the gospel. Among their converts was Lydia. Paul having cast the spirit of divination out of a Pythoness, and her masters seeing that there was no further hope of gain from her profession, brought the apostle and Silas before the magistrates, as being troublesome persons. At the command of these officers, Paul and Silas were severely beaten, thrust into the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks. An earthquake in the night shook the foundations of the building, and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands loosed. The keeper of the prison was converted and baptized. The officers, learning that Paul and Silas were Romans, became alarmed, and begged them to leave. Soon after this Paul and Silas left the city for Amphipolis (Acts xvi, 12-40). The Philippian Church was composed almost entirely of Gentile Christians. It seems that no synagogue had been established there, as there is mention merely of an *oratory* (προσευχή) on the river side (Acts xvi, 13).

THE PLACE AND TIME OF COMPOSITION.

It is clear from several passages in the Epistle that it was written by Paul when imprisoned in Rome. In chap. i, 7 he speaks of being in bonds; and in chap. i, 13 he says: "So that my bonds in Christ have become manifest in the whole palace, and all other places." In chap. iv, 22 he says: "All the saints salute you, but especially they who are of Cæsar's household."

In the Acts of the Apostles we find but two long imprisonments of Paul: the one at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii, 33-xxvi); and the other at Rome (Acts xxviii, 20-30). Now the salutation from "Cæsar's household" clearly shows that he was imprisoned at Rome, and not at Cæsarea, when he wrote the Epistle.

It would appear also from his language (chap. i, 13) that Paul had already been in Rome a considerable time, and from chap. ii, 23, 24, that he wrote near the end of his two years' confinement, as he expects a decision of his case soon, and trusts that he will shortly come to the Philippians. We may, therefore, conclude that the Epistle was written at Rome near the end of his first¹ imprisonment in that city, about A. D. 63.

¹ It does not suit the facts in the case to suppose that the Epistle was written when Paul was brought before Nero the *second* time. Then he was left alone, and when he wrote Second Timothy, expecting to depart from the world soon, only Luke was with him (chap. iv, 11, 16). But when he wrote the Philippians Timothy was with him (Phil. i, 1). Besides, he expected soon to be released (I Phil. ii, 24).

CONTENTS.

The apostle expresses his deep affection for the Philippians, his joy in their fellowship, and his confidence that God will complete the work begun in them. He informs them that his imprisonment has contributed to the progress of the gospel, and led others to preach Christ. He prays that Christ may be magnified whether by his life or death, and expresses a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is better for himself, but not expedient for them, and he therefore concludes that he will still live. He exhorts them to live in accordance with the gospel, and teaches them humility by the example of the Saviour, who, though equal with God, assumed the form of a servant, and submitted to the death of the cross. He exhorts them to persevere in the work of their salvation, and to be blameless in their lives. He hopes to be able to send Timothy to them shortly, and himself to come soon. He tells them that he had sent Epaphroditus, who had been dangerously sick, and he exhorts them to receive him with kindness and honour (chaps. i, ii).

He warns them to beware of evil doers and of the concision (circumcision thus disparagingly called), affirming that he himself is a genuine Jew, but counts all his Jewish privileges as naught for the knowledge of Christ, and is pressing forward to the goal of the Christian course, the attainment of a glorified state with Christ. He exhorts them to steadfastness in the Lord, to rejoice, to make their wants known by prayer, and to meditate upon all that is lovely and excellent, and to hold fast what they have received. He expresses his joy that they are again mindful of him in his affliction, although they lacked opportunity to contribute of their means. He states, however, that he has learned to accommodate himself to circumstances. He refers to the fact that more than once when he was in Thessalonica they ministered to his necessities. He acknowledges the receipt of gifts from them through Epaphroditus, and closes with salutations (chaps. iii, iv). The reception of gifts from the Philippians was the occasion of the writing of the Epistle.

GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

This Epistle was universally received by the ancient Church as the writing of Paul. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, says that Paul, being absent from them, wrote to them.¹ Chap. ii, 6 of Philippians is quoted in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna to those of

Quotations
from the Epistle
by the Fathers
and early
Churches.

¹ He uses *ἐπιστολαί* plural; but the plural is sometimes used for the singular, as *single Epistle*, sec. 3.

Asia Minor¹ (about A. D. 177). It is quoted as Paul's by Irenæus,² by Clement³ of Alexandria, by Tertullian,⁴ and by the heretic Marcion. It is found in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon of Muratori. Its genuineness has been assailed by Baur, Schwegler, and Hitzig. De Wette remarks: "The genuineness of this Epistle seems to be raised above all doubt."⁵ Even Hilgenfeld, of the Tübingen school, defends it. "The genuineness of the Epistle to the Philippians," says he, "has therefore not been really refuted. In this Epistle we have the dying song (*schwanengesang*, *swan-song*) of Paul."⁶ It is so fully attested, and bears such strong internal evidence of being the writing of Paul, that it needs no defense. The Epistle was conveyed to the Philippians by Epaphroditus (chap. ii, 28, 29).

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

COLOSSÆ is mentioned by Herodotus⁷ as a large city of Phrygia. The younger Cyrus halted here seven days when on the expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and it is described by Xenophon as large and prosperous.⁸ It was situated on the Lycus, a branch of the Mæander, about twelve miles east of Laodicea. About the time of Christ it had become an unimportant town.⁹

It appears from chapters i, 4, ii, 1, that Paul had never visited Colossæ; at least, that he did not found the Church there. The Colossians received the Gospel from Epaphras, who is highly commended by Paul (chap. i, 7), and was with him when he wrote the Epistle. The apostle was evidently led to write to them by the report of their condition which he had received from Epaphras. It appears from the Epistle that they were in danger of being led away by false philosophy. The Church in this town was composed, no doubt, almost exclusively of Gentiles.

¹ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., v, 2.

² Pædag., i, cap. vi.

³ Einleitung, p. 324.

⁴ vii, 30.

⁵ Anab., i, cap. 2.

⁶ Contra Hæreses, iv, cap. xviii, 4.

⁷ De Resurrectione Carnis, cap. xxiii.

⁸ Einleitung, p. 347, Leipzig, 1875.

⁹ Strabo, xii, 576-578.

PLACE AND TIME OF COMPOSITION.

It is clear from chapter iv, 3 that the apostle when he wrote was imprisoned, and it seems from various circumstances that it was his first imprisonment in Rome. We find Timothy with him (ch. i, 1), who was not with him at Rome when he was brought a second time before Nero (2 Tim. iv, 16); nor is it likely that Timothy was with him when he was imprisoned at Cæsarea. But he was with Paul in his *first* imprisonment in Rome (Phil. i, 1). When Paul wrote this Epistle Demas was with him (chap. iv, 14); but when he was brought before Nero the second time Demas forsook him (2 Tim. iv, 10). In the Epistle there are also named Onesimus, Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, and Luke (chap. iv, 9-14). When Paul wrote the Epistle to Philemon there were with him Onesimus (verse 10), Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke (verses 23, 24). It is evident from the preceding facts that this Epistle was written about the same time as the Epistle to the Philippians and that to Philemon. Now the letter to the Philippians was written in the latter part of Paul's *first* imprisonment in Rome, and the Epistle to Philemon shortly before Paul's liberation from that imprisonment, as appears from his direction to Philemon to prepare him a lodging (verse 22). We may, therefore, conclude that the Epistle to the Colossians was written near the close of Paul's first imprisonment in Rome, about A. D. 63. It was sent to the Colossians by Tychicus (chap. iv, 7).

CONTENTS.

The apostle expresses the deep interest which he feels in the Colossians since he heard of their faith, prays for their progress in the knowledge of God, that they may fully perform his will, and that they may be supported by the power of the gospel. He sets forth the attributes, the prerogatives, and the redeeming work of Christ, and exhorts them to steadfastness. He declares that a dispensation of the gospel is committed to him, and that he is labouring to perform its duties (chap. i). He expresses his deep anxiety for them, and for others who have not seen him, that they may be comforted, united in love, and attain a full understanding of the gospel, and be established in it. He warns them against being deceived by philosophy, and assures them that they are complete in Christ, and have obtained through him the forgiveness of sins. He also warns them against attaching importance to mere outward observances, and against being beguiled into a mere human system of religious worship (chap. ii).

He urges them to set their affections upon things above, to live in purity, to be humble, meek, long-suffering, and to abound in love. He gives directions to wives, husbands, children, fathers, servants, and masters. He exhorts them to continue in prayer, and to pray that he may be successful in preaching the gospel, and to conduct themselves with wisdom toward those without. He tells them that he has sent Tychicus and Onesimus, who will inform them respecting his affairs. He sends salutations, orders this Epistle to be read to the Church of the Laodiceans, and that theirs shall be read to the Colossians, and sends a charge to Aristarchus (chap. iii, iv).

GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

This Epistle was universally received by the ancient Church as a writing of the Apostle Paul. It was received also by the Colossians received by ancient Church. heretic Marcion (about A. D. 138); it is used by Justin Martyr¹ (about A. D. 150), by Theophilus² of Antioch (A. D. 180). It is quoted as Paul's by Irenæus,³ by Clement⁴ of Alexandria, and by Tertullian.⁵ It is ascribed to Paul in the ancient Peshito version and in the Canon of Muratori. "The Epistle," says De Wette, "has always belonged to the universally acknowledged writings. Only in the most recent time has it been doubted, nevertheless, on insufficient grounds."⁶

The genuineness of the Epistle has been attacked by Mayerhoff, Baur, Schweigler, and Hilgenfeld.⁷ The last critic thinks it strange that Paul "should not have personally known the Church at Colossæ as well as that at Laodicea" (Col. i, 4, 8, 9; ii, 1), since he twice passed through Phrygia (Acts xvi, 6; xviii, 23). But Laodicea and Colossæ were in Southern Phrygia, if they were, indeed, included in that country at all. Northern Phrygia was bounded on the east by Galatia, and on the west by Mysia. In Acts xvi, 6, 7 it is stated that Paul and his companions "were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not." Let any one now take Kiepert's map of the Roman empire, and he will find that Paul's route was far away from Laodicea and Colossæ. In his second journey, it seems, he

¹ Justin calls Christ "The firstborn of every creature" (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως) (Dial. cum Tryph., cap. 85), the exact language of Col. i, 15. Expressions of a similar kind Justin uses in cap. 84 and 100.

² Ad Autolycum, lib. ii, 22; he calls Christ "The firstborn of every creature."

³ Contra Hæreses iii, cap. 14, 1.

⁴ Stromata, vi, cap. viii, etc.

⁵ Adversus Marcionem, lib. v, cap. xix.

⁶ Einleitung, p. 307.

⁷ Einleitung, 659-669, Leipzig, 1875.

followed the same route, for the author of Acts says he was "strengthening the disciples" (Acts xviii, 23). But, according to the New Testament geography, Asia and Phrygia were two separate districts (Acts ii, 9, 10; xvi, 6, 7); and in the Apocalypse—which the Tübingen school acknowledge to be the work of the Apostle John—Laodicea is addressed as one of the Churches of Asia (chap. i, iv; iii, 14), where Paul was forbidden to preach (Acts xvi, 6). Colossæ was about twelve miles east of Laodicea, and an unimportant place; and as the Apostle Paul did not preach in Laodicea it is not likely that he preached at Colossæ. Hence the statement in the Epistle to the Colossians, that the Churches of Laodicea and Colossæ were personally unknown to the apostle (chap. i, 4, 8, 9; ii, 1), is established by independent proof.

Hilgenfeld also objects that the order of the words, "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew" (chap. iii, 11), is not according to the usage of Paul, who puts Jews first. But ^{Hilgenfeld's} ~~objections.~~ in some of the instances in which Paul puts the Jews first, the nature of the case demanded it, as the gospel was first offered to the Jews. And in almost any case it was natural for a Jew to put his countrymen first. It must also be borne in mind that in the Churches at Rome and Corinth, to which the Epistles were addressed in which Jews are named before Greeks, there were many Jews, while it is probable that there were but few at Colossæ. But in the same verse (chap. iii, 11) it is added "circumcision nor uncircumcision," the first of which refers to Jews. But further, in the Peshito-Syriac, it is "Jew and Gentile," and in the Armenian and Æthiopic, "Jew nor Greek." It is not, however, improbable that late in life, when the apostle had become accustomed to the Greeks, and Christianity had taken deep hold of them, he may have put them first. Certainly *one* word put in a different order from that in which the apostle had been accustomed to put it, can furnish no proof of the spuriousness of the Epistle.

Hilgenfeld thinks he finds in the Epistle traces of Gnosticism, which indicate a post-apostolic age. But these traces are merely imaginary. The "fulness" of which the apostle speaks (chap. i, 19; ii, 9) is not the fulness (*Pleroma*) of the Gnostics. In various places in his undisputed Epistles, as has already been shown, Paul uses the word fulness (*Pleroma*) in reference to Jews (Rom. xi, 12), to Gentiles (chap. xi, 25), the law (chap. xiii, 10), time (Gal. iv, 4). In our Epistle the "fulness" refers to Christ (chap. i, 19), to the Godhead (chap. ii, 9). In John's Gospel the word is used in reference to Christ (chap. i, 16).

There are personal allusions in the Epistle of such a character

that they are sufficient of themselves to show its Pauline origin. It appears from chap. iv, 12 Epaphras was with Paul, and we find Epaphras also with him when he writes to Philemon (ver. 23). Onesimus is mentioned in chap. iv, 9 as a faithful and beloved brother, and one of the Colossians. Archippus is exhorted to take heed to the ministry which he has received of the Lord (chap. iv, 17). This shows that Archippus was of Colossæ. Accordingly, when the apostle writes to Philemon and Archippus, we clearly see that the former was also of Colossæ, to which city Onesimus also belonged. In chap. iv, 10 we find Aristarchus with Paul; and he is with him also in Philemon 24. And it appears from Acts xxvii, 2 that Aristarchus went with Paul to Rome, where he appears in this Epistle. In chap. iv, 10 Mark is called Barnabas' cousin. Could we expect such intimate knowledge as this of any one after the apostolic age? And does not this explain Barnabas' predilection for Mark (Acts xv, 37-39)? Luke and Demas appear with Paul, both in Colossians iv, 14 and in Philemon 24. Hilgenfeld acknowledges the Epistle to Philemon to be Paul's, and that to the Colossians is so interwoven with it as to show that it must be a genuine apostolical production, the coincidences evidently being undesigned.

In the Epistle it is ordered that it shall be read in the Church of Laodicea after it had been read to the Colossians (chap. iv, 16). What object could a forger have to give such an order as this, unless, forsooth, he wished to hit upon the most certain way of having his forgery detected? for when, on this supposition, the Epistle was produced, forty or fifty years after the death of the Apostle, it must have borne its spurious character upon its very face, inasmuch as it had never been read in those Churches.

The Epistle everywhere bears the genuine Pauline stamp, which commends it to every one whose mind is open to truth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

THESSALONICA was beautifully situated at the head of the Thermaic gulf, in Southern Macedonia. The town was at first called Therme, from the hot springs in that region. According to Strabo, it was rebuilt by Cassander, and called after his

The city of
Thessalonica.

wife, Thessaionica, the daughter of Philip. It is called by him the metropolis of Macedonia.¹

"The present appearance of the city, as seen from the sea, is described by Leake, Holland, and other travelers as very imposing. It rises in the form of a crescent up the declivity, and is surrounded by lofty whitened walls, with towers at intervals. . . . The port is still convenient for large ships, and the anchorage in front of the town is good. These circumstances in the situation of Thessalonica were evidently favorable for commanding the trade of the Macedonian Sea."² The population of the modern city, Salonica, is about 75,000.

Thessalonica was first visited by St. Paul about A. D. 52. At that time it contained many Jews, who had a synagogue, in which Paul for three sabbaths preached Christ as the Messiah with partial success. But though the number of Jewish believers was not large, a great multitude of devout Greeks and many noble women believed. But the unbelieving Jews, moved with envy, created a great disturbance in the city, and the brethren sent away Paul and Silas by night into Berea (Acts xvii, 1-9). It is clear, then, that the mass of the Christians to whom Paul addressed his two Epistles were Greeks.

PLACE AND TIME OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE FIRST EPISTLE.

As the apostle, on account of the uproar in Thessalonica, left the brethren very suddenly, and without imparting to them all the instruction desirable, and fearing that their trials ^{written from} Corinth might discourage them, he wrote to them this Epistle soon after his departure, and on his arrival in Corinth. In the address to the Church, Silvanus (Silas) and Timothy are associated with the apostle (chap. i, 1), which fact shows that the Epistle was written after Silas and Timothy had arrived at Corinth from Macedonia (Acts xviii, 5). The manner of discussion and the allusions in the Epistle clearly indicate that it was written soon after Paul's arrival in Corinth, about A. D. 52.

CONTENTS.

The apostle declares that he is grateful to God on their behalf, and that he prays for them, remembering their devotion to Christ. He reminds them of their election, which was shown by the miraculous power that attended his preaching among them, and how they received the word in much affliction, and became an example to others of Christian faith and hope. He reminds them of the shameful treatment he had received at Philippi, of the honest and sincere manner in which he had preached the gospel at Thessalonica, of the

¹vii, 330, Epit. 21

²Smith's Classical Geography.

deep love he bore them, and of the manner in which he had supported himself. He calls to their minds that the sufferings brought upon them by their countrymen are similar to the sufferings of the followers of Christ in Judea from the Jews.

He expresses his anxiety to see them, and states that he had sent Timothy from Athens to visit them, and that he had great joy when he had received from him a favourable report of them. He declares that he ever prays to see them, and that God may cause them to abound in love and establish them in holiness. He exhorts them to cultivate brotherly love, and in every respect to perform their duty; not to grieve immoderately for the dead, since they shall be raised to a glorious resurrection at the coming of Christ, who will appear suddenly. He accordingly exhorts them to be watchful, and also to hold in honour their spiritual teachers, and closes by giving them various admonitions.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

This Epistle was universally received as the writing of Paul by the ancient Church. It is quoted as Paul's by Irenæus,¹ by Clement of Alexandria,² and by Tertullian.³ It was received by the heretic Marcion, and is probably quoted in the Epistles of Clement of Rome and Polycarp, and is contained in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon of Muratori. Its genuineness was attacked by Baur, but is defended by Hilgenfeld,⁴ and conceded by De Wette.⁵

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

PLACE AND TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

IT appears that the statement in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians respecting the second coming of Christ had produced a great excitement among them, and it is very probable it led to some extravagant conduct, such as we have seen among the Millerites of our time. The apostle writes chiefly to assure them that Christ's coming is remote, and that a great apostasy is first to take place in the Church. Now, as the First Epistle was written during the first part of Paul's sojourn in Corinth, which lasted eighteen months, it is probable that this was written within a

¹ v, cap. vi, 1

² Prædag., i, cap. v, vi.

³ De Resur. Carne, cap. xxiv

⁴ Einleitung, p. 236-247. Leipzig. 1875

⁵ Einleitung pp. 277-279.

year later, at the same place, about A. D. 53, and with this place and time agrees the fact that Silvanus (Silas) and Timothy are associated with Paul in addressing the Church (ch. i, 1). It is certain from Acts xviii 5, and from 1 Thess. i, 1, that Silas and Timothy were with Paul at Corinth, and it seems that these were not found together after Paul left Corinth and went up to Jerusalem (Acts xviii, 18-22).

CONTENTS.

The apostle thanks God and glories in the progress which the Thessalonians are making in the Christian virtues, and in their patient endurance of affliction from the wicked, who shall be punished at the coming of Christ. This event, however, he assures them is not at hand, and that there will be, first, a great apostasy in the Church, and that the man of sin, exhibiting himself as God in the temple of God, shall first be revealed; that this wicked personage, by lying wonders, will deceive those who love not the truth. He expresses confidence in them, and exhorts them to steadfastness. He also asks their prayers, and is confident they will perform what he commands. He reminds them of the manner in which he conducted himself when among them, and gives directions respecting the treatment of the disorderly and disobedient.

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

This Epistle, equally with the first to the Thessalonians, was universally acknowledged by the ancient Church as the writing of the Apostle Paul. It is quoted as the apostle's by Irenæus,¹ Clement² of Alexandria, and by Tertullian.³ It is in the Peshito-Syriac, and in the Canon of Muratori, and was received by Marcion. Justin Martyr⁴ clearly refers to this Epistle when he speaks of "The man of sin," (*ὁ τῆς ἀνομίας ἀνθρώπου*), and "The man of apostasy," (*ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἀνθρώπου*).

In modern times the genuineness of this Epistle has been almost universally acknowledged. Its genuineness has, indeed, been attacked by Schmidt, Kern, Baur, and very recently by Hilgenfeld,⁵ who thinks that it was written by a conservative of the school of Paul in or near Macedonia in the last time of Trajan (98-117), that is, forty or fifty years after the death of Paul. It is difficult to see how an Epistle forged at that time could have met with universal reception, and especially how it could have imposed upon the large Church in the important city of Thessalonica.

¹ Lib. iv, cap. xxvii; lib. v, cap. xxv, 1.

² Stromata, v, cap. iii.

³ Advers. Marcion., v, xvi; De Resur. Car., xxiv.

⁴ Dial. cum Tryph., 32, 110.

⁵ Einleitung, pp. 612-652, Leipzig, 1875.

We have already seen that it was accepted as Paul's by the heretic Marcion of Pontus, who made havoc of the Scriptures. As he appeared in Rome as early as A. D. 138, it is impossible that an Epistle which came into circulation but twenty years earlier could have been received by him as Paul's. Hilgenfeld thinks he finds traces of Gnosticism in the Epistle in the working of "the mystery of iniquity," (ch. ii, 7), and in the idlers and busybodies (ch. iii, 11), whom he regards as "common vagabonds, agents of a heresy!" It certainly indicates a mind of remarkable acuteness and perversity to see in those who would not work the agents of a heresy! Nor is Hilgenfeld less perverse in his judgment when he sees in "the mystery of iniquity," Gnosticism; for this heresy never sat *in the temple of God*, but was scattered abroad *outside*. "The man of sin" is, to some extent, based on the prophecy of Daniel (chap. xi, 36-45), but the apostle goes far into the future. It does not appear that the author of the Epistle was acquainted with the Apocalypse, so that no argument from any such acquaintance can be adduced against its early composition. Hilgenfeld alleges that in 2 Thess. ii, 13; iii, 3, 5, 16, Lord (*κύριος*) is used for God, not for Christ; while in the genuine writings of Paul, *κύριος* (Lord) for God stands only in quotations from the Old Testament. But in 2 Cor. viii, 21, "Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men," Lord appears to refer to God the Father, and probably to him is the reference in the preceding verse. And in Phil. ii, 24, where Paul speaks of trusting in "the Lord," the reference may be to the Father. Perhaps, also, the reference is the same in Philenion 20, and 2 Cor. iii, 17: "Now the Lord is that Spirit." But it is not at all certain that in the passages in 2 Thessalonians to which Hilgenfeld refers, *κύριος* (Lord) is used for the "Father."

Equally unsuccessful is Hilgenfeld in showing that the passage, "That our God would count you worthy of this calling" (*τῆς κλήσεως*) (2 Thess. i, 11), is not Pauline, as the apostle in his genuine writings knows nothing of a calling still in the future for Christians, but only as something that is past. But in what way is the language inconsistent with Paul's usage? He prays that God would count the Thessalonians as having proved themselves, by their conduct, worthy of the high privileges to which they have been called. The apostle in 1 Cor. vii, 20, certainly uses the word *κλήσις* (*calling*) in the sense of vocation: "Let every man abide in the (same) *calling* (*κλήσις*) wherein he was called." It may be used in the sense of vocation in Phil. iii, 14: "The prize of the high calling," etc. Hilgenfeld understands the passage, 2 Thessalonians i, 11, to refer to the call to martyrdom, a usage of the word, he says, not found before the sec-

ond century. But there is certainly no reference in the text to martyrdom. The fact is, there is no well-grounded objection to the genuineness of the Epistle. Its Hebraisms show that it was written by a man whose education must have been largely Jewish. Even the skeptical DeWette admits it to be genuine.¹

In chap. ii, 2, the apostle exhorts the Thessalonians not to be "soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand." By this the apostle means, that no report of remarks by him, or anything purporting to be written by him, shall be accredited if it teaches that the day of Christ is at hand. It is not to be inferred from this that any one had forged an Epistle in the name of Paul, and sent it to the Thessalonians, for that, under the circumstances, is very improbable, and Paul could not have failed to notice it, and brand it as it deserved. They had drawn the inference from Paul's first letter, and, perhaps, from supposed remarks of his, that the coming of Christ was near.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

THE so-called Pastoral Epistles embrace the two of Paul to Timothy, and his Epistle to Titus. The term "Pastoral" has been given them because they treat largely of the qualifications and duties of Christian ministers or pastors. Among the duties of the minister, the inculcation of sound doctrine is enjoined, and the avoidance of "foolish questions and genealogies," and "Jewish fables," and "contentions and strivings about the law," as unprofitable and vain. The apostle lays especial stress upon the practical duties of religion, and the maintenance of a holy life.

These Epistles bear marks of belonging to a late period in the apostle's life, but there is nothing in them that carries us beyond the apostolic age. Baur and Hilgenfeld imagine they see in these Epistles references to heresies that did not exist till near the middle of the second century. Both of these rationalistic critics refer "oppositions of science falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi, 20) to the heresy of Marcion, who set the gospel in opposition to the law. Critics of the stamp of Baur and Hilgenfeld can find almost any difficulty they seek. Marcion taught that the creation and the Jewish dispensation did not proceed from the

¹ Einleitung, pp. 277-279.

supreme God revealed by Christ, but from an evil being. But the form in which Marcion set forth his doctrine could be scarcely called "*gnosis*," *knowledge, science*, the word used in 1 Timothy vi, 20. On Marcion Neander¹ remarks: "The opposition between *πίστις* [*faith*] and *γνῶσις* [*knowledge*], between an exoteric and an esoteric Christianity, was among the marked peculiarities of the other Gnostic systems; but in Marcion's case, on the contrary, who adhered so closely to the practical Apostle Paul, no such opposition could possibly be allowed to exist."

But the term "*gnosis*," *knowledge*, is used in various places in unquestioned Epistles of this apostle. "Knowledge," says Use of the term gnosis in Paul's Epistles. he (*the gnosis*), "puffeth up," but love buildeth up (1 Cor. viii, 1); again he speaks of the "shining of knowledge" (*the gnosis*) (2 Cor. iv, 6). It is very probable that the passage under discussion refers to the opposition of philosophy to Christianity. The heathen philosophers and other men of culture had systems which they supposed rested on the deductions of the intellect, and these were put in opposition to Christianity, just as in modern times pantheism, and certain cosmical and materialistic systems, are set in opposition to it. In like manner the apostle warns the Colossians against being led astray "by philosophy and vain deceit according to the doctrine of men" (chap. ii, 8). The "genealogies," to which reference is made, were evidently Jewish, and it is clear that the heretical teachers spoken of in 1 Tim. i, 7 were not Marcionites, as they desired to be "teachers of the law." In 1 Timothy iv, 1-3, the apostle says: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, . . . forbidding to marry," etc. It is perfectly gratuitous in Hilgenfeld to refer the heresy which forbids marriage to Saturninus in the second century, and then to draw the inference that the Epistle was not written until after that heresy arose. Now, although the apostle speaks of what is in the future, the germs of the error rejecting marriage were already in existence, and had been developed, outside of the Church at least, in the apostolic age, since it is well known that the Jewish Essenes² in the time of Christ rejected marriage, as did the Therapeutæ in Egypt.³ Nor is it, indeed, strange that some Christians, through incorrect ideas of purity and a rigid asceticism, should have fallen into the error of condemning marriage even as early as the apostolic⁴ age.

¹ General Church History, vol. i, p. 460.

² Josephus, Antiq., xviii, cap. i, 5; Bel. Judic., ii, 8, 2.

³ Philo, ii, 478, 481.

⁴ The declaration in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Marriage is honourable in all" (chap. xiii, 4), would seem to imply that some were doubting it.

The reference in 1 Tim. v to the provision made by the Church for the support of widows does not indicate a post-apostolic age, as we find such provision was made for them in the very infancy of the apostolic Church (Acts vi, 1). Nor do we find any thing in 2 Timothy indicating a post-apostolic age. And in the Epistle to Titus the warning is not to give heed to "Jewish fables" (chapter i, 14), and to "avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law" (chap. iii, 9). Such a warning as this would have been hardly necessary in a more advanced stage of Christianity in the second century. Timothy was in Ephesus when the two Epistles were addressed to him (1 Tim. i, 3; 2 Tim. i, 16-18; iv, 19), and the warning against heretical teachers is in perfect harmony with Paul's address at Miletus to the elders assembled from Ephesus. "For I know this, that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts xx, 29).

Other references in agreement with the general practice of the apostolic Church.

But the fact that 1 Timothy and the Epistle to Titus recognize but two orders of ministers, namely, bishops, or presbyters, and deacons, is a strong proof that they belong to the first century.¹ In 1 Timothy iii the qualifications of bishops and deacons are described, but there is not a word about presbyters; but in chap. v we have *ruling* presbyters, who are evidently the same as bishops. Likewise, the bishop in Titus i, 7 is the presbyter of chap. i, 5. This identity of bishop and presbyter corresponds with what we find in Acts xx, 17, 28, where the presbyters of the former verse are called bishops in the latter. But in the early part of the second century, if not earlier, the bishop was distinguished from the presbyter, as we find in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna (written about A. D. 115), where we have "the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons."²

Other proof of an apostolic origin.

That Paul should write Epistles, instructing Timothy and Titus, in matters pertaining to their ministry and Church offices, is not in the least improbable. In 1 Cor. xii, 28 he speaks of various offices in the Church, and in Acts xx, 28 he speaks of bishops or overseers in the Church.

It has been objected to the genuineness of these three Epistles, that their style is different from that of the universally acknowledged Pauline writings. And it must be acknowledged that this is quite true, and there is reason for it; for the apostle is not writing to Christian Churches, but to individ-

Objections to be drawn from the style of the Pastoral Epistles.

¹ In 2 Timothy the orders of ministers are not discussed.

² In Cureton's Syriac text of the Epistles, shorter than the shortest Greek text; it may therefore, be assumed to be free from interpolations.

uals, upon subjects different from any that had before engaged his pen. In writing upon the same subjects, it is natural to expect the ideas, language, and the author's manner of presentation to be substantially the same. But when the subject is changed, the thoughts, language, and method of discussion are very naturally different. Who would expect a philological dissertation to be similar in thought and style to a biography, or an essay on moral obligation? And how different in style is Paul's Epistle to Philemon, which Hilgenfeld acknowledges to be genuine, from the Epistle to the Romans! In the latter there are about thirty words found in no other Epistle of Paul, waiving that to the Hebrews. What a string of unusual words do we find in Romans i, 26-31, where the apostle is describing the crimes of the Pagan world! The list of new words in 1 Timothy i has its parallel in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

The chief objections to the Pastoral Epistles have been brought against the genuineness of the First Epistle to Timothy. It has been thought strange that Paul, in writing to this intimate companion and friend, should say respecting his apostleship: "I speak the truth,¹ and lie not" (chap. ii, 7). Paul on several other occasions uses the phrase, "I lie not" (Rom. ix, 1; 2 Cor. xi, 31; Gal. i, 20). In the first of these passages he uses the expression in reference to his sincere sorrow for the unbelief of the Jews, where it scarcely seems necessary. But are we competent to determine exactly what Paul would write, and what he would not? In speaking of his apostleship to Timothy, he declares the absolute certainty of his mission, not for Timothy only, but for the teachers of all time.

In chap. iv, 12 the apostle charges Timothy: "Let no man despise thy youth." Now, as Timothy at the time he was thus addressed could not well have been less than thirty-five² years of age, the term "youth" has been thought inapplicable to him. But among both Greeks and Latins the term youth (*νεότης*, *youth*; *νεανίσκος*, *young man*; *juvenis*, *a young man*) was applicable to every man between twenty and forty years of age.³ In the same wide application can the phrase "youthful lusts" (*νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας*) in 2 Tim. ii, 22 be taken.

¹ The addition, "in Christ," is wanting in the best MSS.

² The First Epistle to Timothy was, in all probability, written about A. D. 65 or 66. About fourteen or fifteen years previous to this Paul found him at Lystra, and made him his companion in his missionary tour (Acts xvi, 1-3). Now, supposing that at this time he was about twenty or twenty-two years of age, he would be about thirty-five when the apostle wrote to him.

³ See Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, and Andrews' Latin Lexicon.

In 1 Timothy v, 18 the writer states that the Scripture says, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; and the labourer is worthy of his reward.' The last passage is The objection founded on chapter v, 18. the exact language of Luke x, 7. But no well founded objection can be urged against the Pauline origin of the Epistle on this ground, as it is most probable that Luke's Gospel was written four or five years before the death of Paul. But even if it was not, the apostle could have derived the passage from Luke himself, if from no other source, just as he gives in 1 Cor. xi, 24, 25 the account of the institution of the sacrament by Christ, substantially in the language of Luke xxii, 19, 20. It is not necessary to extend the quotation following "the Scripture says" (chap. v, 18) beyond the passage from the Old Testament; and our Lord's declaration, "The labourer is worthy of his hire," may be severed from the preceding, and stated independently.

The First Epistle to Timothy was first attacked by Schleiermacher. Its genuineness was doubted by Neander,¹ and denied by Bleek.² These critics, however, acknowledge the genuineness of the Second Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus. De Wette³ regards the three Epistles as inseparably connected together in language and ideas, and denies the genuineness of all three. They are rejected by Baur, Schweigler, Hilgenfeld, Ewald, and some others. On the other hand, the genuineness of all three has been defended by Bertholdt, Hug, Heydenreich, Baumgarten, Böttger, Wieseler, Wiesinger, Delitzsch, and others. All three Epistles were universally received in the ancient Church, and De Wette admits that, apart from the fact that they were rejected as a whole or in part by the heretics, and that they were not in the collection of Marcion, who probably had a dogmatic interest in the matter, "they are not less attested by external testimonies than the other Epistles of Paul."⁴

If the Epistles contain such marks of unity of authorship as show them to have been written by a single individual—and this appears to be the real state of the case—then the doubts that have been raised on internal grounds respecting the *First* Epistle to Timothy may be dispelled by the internal evidences furnished by the *other two* Epistles in proof of their Pauline origin.

De Wette complains of the difficulty of making the historical incidents, to which reference is made in the Epistles, harmonize with the facts of the apostle's life. And on the supposition that Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome at the end of his two years' imprisonment, described in Acts xxviii, 16–31, there is no suitable place in

¹ Planting and Training of the Church, pp. 338, 339.

² Einleitung, pp. 565–578.

³ Einleitung, pp. 337–339.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 340.

the life of the apostle for the insertion of the Epistles, and the events of which they speak. But we have already seen in the sketch of his life that he must have been released from this imprisonment, and have visited Spain, and in all probability Macedonia, Asia Minor, and some other places, in the three or four years intervening between his first imprisonment and his final arrest and martyrdom. We have seen that Clement of Rome, in the *first* century, testifies that Paul travelled to the bound of the West, and the Canon of Muratori, written at Rome soon after the middle of the second century, speaks of Paul setting out from the city for Spain. Now, if these Epistles can be brought into harmony with what was most probably the history of Paul after his release from the first imprisonment at Rome, we shall have no slight proof of their genuineness. And here it must be observed, that it is altogether probable that Paul would address Epistles to individuals or Churches during the three or four years subsequent to his release from imprisonment in Rome. In the twelve years preceding his release he wrote *ten*.

In the Epistle to the Philippians, written during his first imprisonment at Rome, the apostle says, "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly" [to you] (chap. ii, 24); and in writing, during the same imprisonment, to Philemon of Colossæ, he directs him "prepare me also a lodging" (ver. 22). From these passages it is evident that St. Paul expected to be released from his imprisonment, and to visit the Philippians and Colossians. In accordance with this, in his First Epistle to Timothy, he tells him: "As I commanded thee to remain in Ephesus, when I was setting out for Macedonia" (chap. i, 3). This must refer to what took place after his release from imprisonment, for there is no place for it before that time. In 2 Timothy iv, 13 he mentions his having left a cloak at Troas; and in verse 20 he states that he left Trophimus at Miletus, sick. Both of these incidents must have occurred after the release from the first imprisonment. In respect to Trophimus, we find that he accompanied Paul on his last visit to Jerusalem: (Acts xx, 4; xxi, 29). It is not at all probable that Trophimus accompanied Paul when he sailed for Rome (Acts xxvii, 2); and, even if he did, Paul could not have left him at Miletus, for the vessel did not touch at that port (Acts xxvii, 4-7). From the preceding facts it is evident that Paul after his release visited Asia Minor and Macedonia, as he had intended. In 2 Tim. iv, 20 he states that Erastus remained at Corinth; and it is probable, from the connection in which Erastus stands with Trophimus, that the apostle *left* him in Corinth. In the Epistle to Titus the apostle states

Incidents noted
in these Epistles
proofs of
their Pauline
origin.

Paul's travels
after his first
imprisonment.

that he left him in Crète, from which it appears that Paul was in that island after his release from imprisonment. He requests Titus to meet him in Nicopolis, where he has determined to winter (chap. iii, 12). This Nicopolis was situated in the southern part of Epirus, on the coast of the Ionian sea, a little north of the entrance to the Ambraciot gulf. Strabo states that it was founded by Augustus Cæsar.¹ Paul's journey to Crete and his wintering in Nicopolis must be referred, also, to a time subsequent to his release from imprisonment. It is, indeed, quite clear that the incidents related in the Epistles occurred subsequent to the apostle's release.

From the foregoing facts, it seems highly probable that Paul after his release visited Crete, and afterward Miletus (and probably Colossæ, and not unlikely Ephesus), Troas, Macedonia, Corinth, and spent the following winter in Nicopolis. It is very probable that, while on his way through Macedonia to Nicopolis, he wrote the First Epistle² to Timothy; that to Titus he may have written in Asia Minor. After his arrival in Rome, and while in bonds (about A. D. 68), a short time before his execution, he wrote the *Second Epistle* to Timothy, as appears from chap. i, 16, 17; iv, 6, 7.

We have already seen that Titus was to meet Paul at Nicopolis; and, accordingly, we find that the apostle, writing from Rome to Timothy, says that Titus has departed unto Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv, 10), which lay along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, about two hundred and fifty miles northwest of Nicopolis. Now, this latter town is on the way from Crete to Dalmatia.

It is impossible to determine whether Paul, after his release from imprisonment, went first into Spain³ or not. But the remarks of the apostle in his last Epistle, just before his martyrdom, that he had left Trophimus at Miletus sick, and the direction to Timothy to bring the cloak that he had left at Troas with Carpus, would seem to indicate that no great length of time had elapsed since he was in Asia Minor.

In Acts xx, 25 Paul, in addressing the overseers of the Church of Ephesus assembled at Miletus, says: "And now, be- hold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom (of God), shall see my face no more." This might be explained by supposing that Paul, though he visited Miletus after his release from imprisonment, did not go to

Bearing of Acts
xx, 26 on this
argument.

¹ Lib. vii, 324.

² In chap. i, 3 he speaks of "setting out for Macedonia" as something past.

³ In Rom. xv, 24 he declares his intention to visit Rome on his way to Spain. And it would seem most natural to suppose he would go there from Rome, and not return to Asia Minor first and go to Spain afterward. But it might be inferred from Phil. ii, 24 and Philem. 22, that he went to Asia Minor first.

Ephesus; but such explanation would not be natural, and there can be no doubt that Paul expected, if he should not be put to death at Jerusalem, to go to Rome (Acts xix, 21), and he felt assured that he would not come back to the region of Ephesus. In the address to the Ephesian elders, he also says: "I go bound in the Spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me" (chap. xx, 22, 23). Olshausen well remarks on verse 25: "The apostle here expresses merely a private opinion, and by no means intimates that he was led to it by the unerring Spirit of God."¹ But in the Epistle to the Philippians (ch. ii, 24), he expects to come shortly to them; and in the Epistle to Philemon at Colossæ he tells Philemon to prepare a lodging for him. Now, in going to Colossæ from Rome, the most direct way was through Ephesus. And it must be remembered that both of these Epistles were written at Rome after the address in Acts xx was delivered, and their genuineness is acknowledged even by Hilgenfeld.

Among the passages in these Epistles, which no forger in all probability would ever have written, and which therefore are proofs of their genuineness, the following may be mentioned: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure. Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities. Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment, and some men they follow after," etc. (1 Tim. v, 22-25). The insertion of the passage, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine," etc., in the very midst of a passage enjoining care in ordaining men to the ministry, seems very odd, and yet we think it can be readily explained. When he exhorts to "lay hands suddenly on no man," Timothy's emaciated frame comes vividly before the apostle, suggested by the "hands," and he straightway throws in the admonition respecting the use of wine, and continues with his reflections on ordination. But what forger would ever have pursued such a course as this?

In 2 Timothy i, 5 the apostle says to Timothy: "When I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which first dwelt in thy grandmother Lois, and in thy mother Eunice," etc. No one could thus have written of the piety of Timothy's mother and grandmother, and have given their names, except some one who, like Paul, had been for a long time intimate with Timothy. Nor is there the slightest reason why a forger should have invented these names. In 2 Tim. iv, 13 he directs Timothy: "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books but

¹ Commentary on Acts.

especially the parchments." What could have induced a forger to write such a passage as this! If he was trying to imitate Paul, he certainly would not have written it, for the apostle in no other Epistle has given any such directions. In this Epistle various particulars are given in respect to Paul's friends, and the air of reality is so impressed upon the whole as to exclude the idea of forgery.

The Epistle to Titus contains specific directions respecting individuals, and bears the stamp of reality. Paul directs Titus to meet him in Nicopolis, as he has determined to winter there. No reason could be assigned for a forger's introducing this town, which is mentioned nowhere else in the New Testament.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THE PERSON OF TIMOTHY.

WE first meet with this eminent companion of St. Paul in Acts xvi, 1, 2, where he is called a disciple of good repute, the son of a Jewish woman, a believer in Christ, but of a Greek father. He appears to have been dwelling in Lystra when Paul met him. On account of the Jews, Paul circumcised him, and took him with him in his missionary tour through Phrygia and Galatia to Troas, and thence to Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, and Berea, where Paul left him and Silas, and went to Athens (Acts xvii). Here Timothy came to Paul, who sent him back to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii, 2), from which city he came to Corinth and joined Paul, and was with him when he wrote the two Epistles to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. i, 1; 2 Thess. i, 1). Two or three years later we find him with Paul at Ephesus (Acts xix, 22), from whence he was sent into Macedonia, and to Corinth, it seems, with the First Epistle to the Christians of that city (Acts xix, 22; 1 Cor. xvi, 10). Somewhat later we find him with Paul when he writes the Second Epistle from Macedonia to the Corinthians (2 Cor. i, 1), and it is probable that he was with the apostle when, during his three months' sojourn in Corinth, he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (Acts xvi, 21). He accompanied Paul into Asia (Acts xx, 4, 5), where it is probable that he left the apostle, who went up to Jerusalem. Some time after the

¹ It is not probable that Timothy went up to Jerusalem with Paul. At least, it is very improbable that he was with the apostle when he sailed from Cesarea for Rome, as Luke makes no mention of him, while he names Aristarchus, a man of less note as sailing with Paul (Acts xxvii, 2).

apostle's arrival in Rome he was joined by Timothy, whose name is associated with Paul's in the Epistles addressed to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon. He appears at one time to have been imprisoned, probably at Rome, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of his being set at liberty (chap. xiii, 23). Eusebius¹ says, it is related that Timothy was the first bishop of Ephesus. But little is known of him after he disappears from the Acts.

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After the salutation, the apostle informs Timothy that he had requested him to abide in Ephesus for the purpose of charging that sound doctrines be taught and heresies avoided. He refers to himself as having been a persecutor, and to his call to the ministry as an example of the divine mercy, for the benefit of others. He exhorts Timothy to perseverance in the faith. He directs that prayers be offered for all men, especially for those in authority, declaring that God wills the salvation of all through the Gospel of Christ, of which he has been made a minister. He gives directions respecting the deportment of women (chaps. i, ii).

He describes the qualifications of bishops and deacons, and the conduct required of their wives. He expects to come shortly to see Timothy, but writes in order that, if he does not come, Timothy may know how to conduct himself; at the same time he speaks of the great mystery that is found in the gospel system (chap. iii). He foretells through the Spirit the coming apostasy and the heresies in the Church, instructs Timothy in the duties of personal religion, in the treatment of elders and widows, and enjoins caution in ordaining men to the ministry (chaps. iv, v). He also describes the duties of servants to their masters, exhorts Timothy to withdraw from those who teach any thing contrary to the doctrines of Christ, points out the fatal consequences of a love of money, exhorts Timothy in the most solemn manner to be faithful to warn the rich against trusting in their riches, but to charge them to trust in God, to be rich in good works, and benevolent, and he concludes by warning Timothy against the pretences of a false science.

ANCIENT TESTIMONIES TO THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, quotes chap. vi, 7: "Knowing therefore that we brought nothing into the world, nor can we carry any thing out."² It is attributed to Paul in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon

¹ Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. iv.

² Sec. 4.

of Marcatori. Irenæus gives a part of chap. vi, 20, with the remark, "Paul well says."¹ He also quotes a part of chap. i, 9² and chap. ii, 5.³ It is ascribed to Paul by Clement of Alexandria,⁴ and by Tertullian,⁵ and nowhere do we find a doubt of its Pauline origin in the Church. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, quotes (about A. D. 180) chap. ii, 2, "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life," which he prefaces with the remark "The divine Scripture commands."⁶ It is well known that the heretic Marcion rejected this Epistle, but on dogmatic grounds in all probability. It is found in all the ancient versions."⁷

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

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THE apostle expresses his ardent affection for Timothy, and his strong desire to see him, and speaks of his sincere faith, which was also in his mother and grandmother. He exhorts him to stir up the gift that is in him, and not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord and his prisoner. He refers to the revelation and power of the gospel, of which he is a minister and apostle to the Gentiles, and expresses his confidence in God, exhorts Timothy to fidelity in doctrine, in faith and love, and complains that all those of Asia have turned away from him, with the exception of Onesiphorus, upon whose family he invokes the divine blessing (chap. i). He exhorts Timothy to fidelity in his work by various considerations, and refers to his own sufferings for the sake of the gospel, and at the same time urges him to shun youthful lusts, to attend to the practical duties of religion, avoiding foolish and unlearned questions, and to conduct himself with gentleness toward the enemies of the truth, that they, perchance, may be saved (chap. ii).

He describes the persons who shall appear in the last days, exhorts Timothy to follow the doctrines he has learned from him, commends to him the inspired Scriptures, reminding him of his own afflictions and persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, and

¹ u, cap. xiv, 7. ² iv, cap. xvi, 3. ³ v, cap. xvii, 1. ⁴ Stromata, ii, cap. vi, xi.

⁵ Adversus Marcionem, v, cap. xxi. Liber de Præscrip., cap. xxv.

⁶ Ad Autolycum, iii, 14. The Greek is exactly the same as is used in 1 Timothy ii, 2, and is quoted by him after reference to prayers for rulers.

⁷ In the Memphitic, Thebaic Gothic, Armenian, and Æthiopic, besides the Peshito-Syriac.

how the Lord had delivered him (chap. iii). In view of the fact that the time will come when sound doctrine will not be endured, he gives Timothy a solemn charge respecting preaching, declares that his departure is at hand, and that he is ready to be offered, that he has been faithful, and that a glorious reward awaits him, and urges Timothy to come shortly to him as only Luke is with him. He gives him various directions, speaks of his first defence (before Nero), and states that the Lord stood by him though men had forsaken him, and is confident respecting the future. He closes with salutations and greetings, and urges Timothy to come to him before winter (chap. iv).

ANCIENT TESTIMONIES TO THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

The Epistle is found in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon of Muratori. It is quoted as Paul's by Irenæus,¹ as his Second Epistle to Timothy by Clement² of Alexandria, and is attributed to Paul by Tertullian.³ Origen, in commenting on Matthew xxvii, 9, remarks: "As *Jannes and Jambres resisted Moses* is not found in the public Scriptures, but in an obscure book with the superscription: '*The book Jannes and Jambres*;' from this circumstance some have dared to reject the [Second] Epistle to Timothy as containing matter of a secret character, but they were not successful." With this exception, it does not appear that any doubt was expressed by the ancient Church respecting its Pauline origin. It is found in all the ancient versions.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

THE PERSON OF TITUS.

THE name of this companion of Paul occurs nowhere in the Acts of the Apostles, and our information respecting him is derived solely from the Epistles of Paul.

It is stated in Galatians ii, 3 that he was a Greek, and therefore

¹ iv, 10, 11, in lib. iii, cap. xiv.

² Stromata, i, cap. xi.

³ Adversus Marcionem, lib. v, cæp. xxi. Lib. de Præscrip., cap. xxv.

⁴ In Acts xviii, 7 mention is made of Justus, to which some ancient MSS. prefix *Τίτος* or *Τίτιος*, making it Titus or Titius Justus. Tischendorf has introduced *Τίτος Ιουδαίος* (Titus Justus) into the text. There is no reason to suppose, with some, that this is the same person as Titus; for Paul took Titus with him to Jerusalem (Gal. ii, 1) before he preached in Corinth, and made the acquaintance of Justus, who lived there.

there was no necessity for his circumcision. Paul in his Epistle to him calls him his "genuine son after the common faith," from which it is not improbable that he was converted by means of the apostle.¹ We first meet with him as the companion of Paul on his visit to Jerusalem (Gal. ii, 1), which is probably the same visit mentioned in Acts xv, 2. About seven years after this Titus brings to Paul in Macedonia intelligence of the condition of the Church at Corinth, whither Paul appears to have sent him (2 Cor. vii, 5-16; xii, 18). Soon after this the apostle sends him with the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and directs him to assist them in making a collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem (2 Cor. viii, 6-19). From Paul's Epistle, it appears that after the apostle's release from the Roman imprisonment he took Titus with him to Crete, where he was directed by Paul to ordain elders in every city (Titus 1, 5). He was also directed to meet the apostle in Nicopolis (ch. iii, 12). A short time before Paul's martyrdom, he went to Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv, 10). Paul calls him his "partner and fellow helper" (2 Cor. viii, 23).

Eusebius states that "it is related that Titus was bishop of the churches of the island of Crete."²

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Paul begins the Epistle with a declaration of his apostleship, and, in addressing Titus, states that he left him in Crete to set things in order, and to ordain elders in every city. He describes the qualifications of elders, or bishops, and their duties. He quotes the language of one of the poets of Crete (Epimenides) in attestation of the bad character of the Cretans, and exhorts Titus to rebuke them sharply, and not to give heed to Jewish fables and the commandments of men who turn from the truth. He affirms that, while to the pure all things are pure, to the unbelieving nothing is pure, and while they profess a knowledge of God, in works they deny him (chap. i). He gives directions respecting the conduct of aged men and women, and the duty of the latter to the youth of their sex. He commands him to exhort the young men to be sober-minded, and to show himself a pattern in works, doctrine, and speech, to exhort servants to be faithful to their masters, and to adorn their profession. He reminds Titus that the gospel of Christ teaches us holy living, and that we are to look for the glorious appearance of the Saviour, who gave himself to redeem and purify us unto himself as a pecu-

¹ Paul calls Timothy his "genuine son in the faith," though it does not appear that Timothy was converted through Paul's instrumentality.

² Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. iv.

liar people (chap. ii). He exhorts him to inculcate obedience to rulers, and the performance of religious duties in a spirit of meekness, and to remind his flock that they themselves were once disobedient, living in lusts and malice, but have been redeemed through Christ, not by righteous deeds, but through the divine mercy and the regeneration of the Holy Spirit, that they might be heirs of eternal life. He lays stress on good works, and enjoins Titus to avoid foolish questions, contentions, and strivings about the law, and to reject a heretic after the first and second admonition. He requests Titus to meet him at Nicopolis, and gives him several directions, sends a salutation, and asks him to greet those that love them (chap. iii).

ANCIENT TESTIMONIES TO THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

Clement of Rome, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, appears to ^{Clement and other fathers.} have used this Epistle in the phrase, "Ready for every good work." The Epistle is quoted as Paul's by Irenæus,¹ by Clement of Alexandria,² and by Tertullian.³ It is contained in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in all the other ancient versions, and in the Canon of Muratori. Nowhere in the ancient Church do we hear a doubt of its genuineness. Jerome states that it was received as Paul's by Tatian,⁴ the founder of a heretical school, who had at an earlier period been a disciple of Justin Martyr.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

PHILEMON was a fellow labourer of Paul, living at Colossæ.⁵

His slave, Onesimus, having run away and come to Rome, he is there converted to Christ through the instrumentality of Paul. The apostle sent him back to Philemon with this Epistle, in which Paul, with great tact, delicacy, and genuine Christian sympathy, intercedes for Onesimus: "Whom," says he, "I have begotten in my bonds."

¹ Titus iii, 1 in sec. 2 of Clement. The Greek is the same in both, with the exception of *εἰς* in Clement for *πρός* in Titus. ² Lib. i, cap. xvi, 3; iii, cap. iii, 4.

³ Whom (the Cretan prophet) Paul mentions in his Epistle to Titus, thus saying: "A prophet of their own said thus, The Cretans are always liars, etc.—Strom., i, xiv.

⁴ *Adversus Marcionem*, v, cap. xxi; *Lib. de Anima*, cap. xx.

⁵ Prologue to the Epistle to Titus.

⁶ This appears from the fact that Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, sends a message to Archippus (chap. iv, 17); and in this Epistle Archippus is associated with Philemon in the address (chap. i, 2.)

(verse 10). "For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him forever; not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself," etc. (15-17).

The Epistle was written during Paul's first imprisonment in Rome (about A. D. 63), as is evident from verse 10, and from a comparison of those who were with Paul at the time (23, 24), and those who were with him when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians (i, 7; iv, 12, 14).

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

This Epistle is found in the Peshito-Syriac version, and in the Canon of Muratori, and was received by Marcion.¹ It is contained in the ancient Memphitic, Thebaic, Gothic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions. We have not been able to find that it was quoted by Irenæus or Clement of Alexandria, which is not surprising when we consider its brevity, and that it does not contain important doctrine, and is wholly of a private character. It is, however, referred to by Tertullian² as an Epistle of Paul. Jerome remarks that some "affirm that the Epistle to Philemon is either not Paul's, or if it is, it contains nothing which can edify, and that it has been rejected by very many ancients, inasmuch as it is written for the purpose of recommending, not teaching. On the other hand, those who defend its genuineness say that it would never have been received in the whole world by all the Churches, unless it was believed to be the apostle Paul's."³ It is evident that these doubts grew out of the private character of the writing. In modern times the genuineness of the Epistle has been doubted by Baur, but defended by Hilgenfeld.⁴ De Wette well remarks, "Its genuineness is not to be doubted."⁵

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

IN the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament this Epistle has the simple inscription, "TO HEBREWS," and its contents show that it is addressed to Christians of the Hebrew race, and is intended to set forth the temporary character of the Levitical priesthood, and of the sacrificial institu- The Epistle not general, but addressed to some Church.

¹ Tertullian remarks that "the shortness of this Epistle enabled it to escape the falsifying hand of Marcion."—*Adversus Marcionem*, lib. v, cap. xxi. ² *Ibid.*

³ *Introd.* to Philemon. ⁴ *Einleitung*, pp. 328-331. ⁵ *Einleitung*, pp. 344, 306

tions of the Mosaic law, and to prove that the ceremonial law was to end with the appearance of Christ, who is made a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. Hence it is clear that the great design of the Epistle is to establish Jewish Christians in the faith of the gospel, and to render them impregnable to the assaults of their unbelieving countrymen. But here the question arises, Is the Epistle addressed to a specific part of the Jewish Christians, or to the believers in general among the Hebrews? To this it must be answered, That while the general contents, being an exposition of the Levitical system, are well suited to all Jewish Christians, there are some passages which indicate that the Epistle was written to Jewish Christians of a particular place. For we find the writer at the conclusion of the Epistle making the following statement: "Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you." The latter part of this verse forbids the supposition that the Epistle is a general one. Also the statement: "But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions; partly, whilst ye were made a gazing-stock both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, whilst ye became companions of them that were thus used. For ye had compassion on those in bonds (*τοῖς δεσμοῖς*),¹ and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods," etc. (chap. x, 32-34), seems to refer to a definite community of Christians. But what community

Not addressed
to Palestinian
Christians.

was this? Bleek thinks the Epistle was intended for the Jewish Christians of Palestine. But in that case we would expect it to have been written in the Aramaic language, the vernacular of Palestine at that time, and not in elegant Greek. The readers addressed had derived their knowledge of the doctrines of Christ from the apostles, or from others who had heard Christ, for in speaking of salvation the writer says, "Which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him," etc. (chap. ii, 3, 4). Now, as our Saviour lived and taught in Palestine, and as this Epistle was written scarcely more than thirty years after the crucifixion of Christ, there must have been many still living who had seen and heard him, to whom the language of the Epistle was inapplicable. In chap. vi, 10 the readers are addressed as having ministered to the saints, and as still engaged in that work. But nowhere in the New Testament are the Palestinian Christians distinguished for ministering to the saints. On the contrary, they themselves were to a considerable extent the objects of charity, and we find St. Paul making collections for them,

¹ This is the reading which both Tischendorf and Tregelles have adopted in their critical editions of the Greek Testament.

and going up to Jerusalem with the proceeds (Rom. xv, 25). Macedonia and Achaia were distinguished for their liberality (Rom. xv, 26; 1 Cor. xvi, 15; 2 Cor. ix, 2). Further, as the Palestinian Churches were under the immediate direction of the apostles—of whom Matthew and John remained in Palestine until a late period, and James (probably an apostle) presided in Jerusalem—it would have been improper for the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who was not an apostle,¹ to address these Churches. Untenable, too, is the hypothesis of Ebrard, that “the Epistle was intended for a limited circle of neophytes in Jerusalem, who had become timorous lest they should be excluded from the temple worship, threatened to withdraw themselves from Christianity (chap. x, 25), and were therefore taken anew under instruction, for whose instruction the Epistle to the Hebrews was to form a sort of guide.”² There is nothing in the Epistle to authorize this view, and the objections that lie against the hypothesis of its being addressed to Palestinian societies lie with equal or greater force against this.

Wieseler, Köstlein, Hilgenfeld,³ and some others, think the Epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians of Alexandria, but Bleek is of the opinion that these Christians were in no special danger of relapsing into Judaism from any strong attachment to the Jewish service. He remarks that the Alexandrian Church teachers know nothing of its having being originally written for their society, but suppose it was intended for the Palestinians.⁴

And here it must be observed that we know nothing of the founding of a Christian Church in Alexandria in the first part of the apostolic age, and we have, therefore, no ground for supposing that the Epistle was directed to a Christian society in that city. Various other places have been suggested as the original destination of the Epistle, but without sufficient ground. It is probable that it was originally sent to a community consisting chiefly of Hebrew Christians in the region of Asia Minor, or Greece, but most likely in the former.⁵

THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE.

Neither in the Epistle itself, nor in the superscriptions of the most ancient Greek copies, is the name of the author found. It is quoted

¹ This will be made highly probable when we discuss the authorship of the Epistle.

² In Olshausen's Comment., Kendrick's translation.

³ Einleitung, pp. 385-387.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 611.

⁵ In chap. xiii, 23 the writer expects, in the company of Timothy, if he come shortly, to see his readers, which would seem to indicate that they lived in the sphere of Timothy's labors.

as Paul's by Clement of Alexandria.¹ He also says that "the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke eagerly translated it, and gave it to the Greeks; on which account the translation of this Epistle and the Acts show the same style." That the name of the Apostle Paul is not written at the head of it is natural; for he says that "in writing to the Hebrews, who had a prejudice against him and suspected him, he very prudently did not turn them away from it by putting his name to it."²

Eusebius speaks of a book of *Various Discussions* written by Irenæus, "in which he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews,"³ and gives extracts from it. The expression in Irenæus, "By the word of his power,"⁴ seems borrowed from Heb. i, 3. We can find no other probable reference in him to the Hebrews. This is remarkable, as his quotations of nearly all the recognized Epistles of Paul are very numerous in his great work, *AGAINST HERESIES*, and it is very likely that he did not receive the Epistle as Paul's. Tertullian of Carthage says that this Epistle *bore the superscription* of Barnabas, and "certainly," says he, "it has a better reception among the Churches than the apocryphal book of the Shepherd" (Hermas). He then proceeds to quote it as the writing of this companion of Paul, and gives what we have in Hebrews vi, 4, 6-8, so that there can be no doubt about the identity of the Epistle. Eusebius remarks that Origen, "in his Homilies on this Epistle, makes the following statement: 'The style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the rustic language of the apostle, who acknowledged that he was "rude in speech," that is, in style; but that this Epistle, in the arrangement of its expressions, is purer Greek every one capable of judging of differences of style would acknowledge. But, on the other hand, that the thoughts of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings—this also every one would concede to be true who carefully reads the apostolic writings.' After this he adds: 'In giving my opinion, I would say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the style and composition are those of some one who has related what the apostle said, and, as it were, has written down, as scholia,

¹ *Stromata*, vi, cap. viii.

² This account of the Epistle as given by Clement is taken from the last work of Clement (*Υποπόσεις*) by Eusebius in his *Hist. Eccles.*, vi, cap. xiv.

³ v, cap. xxvi.

⁴ *Contra Hæreses*, lib. ii, cap. xxx, 9.

⁵ *Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore. . . . Et utique receptior apud Ecclesias Epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore Mœchorum.*—*Lib. de Pudicitia*, cap. xx.

the things said by his instructor. If, then, any Church holds this Epistle as Paul's, let it be honoured also for this. For not thoughtlessly have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the Epistle—the truth God (only) knows. The account that has come down to us is that, according to some, Clement, bishop of Rome, wrote the Epistle; according to others, Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.'"¹ Eusebius himself says: "There are fourteen Epistles of Paul evident and certain. But it is not right to be ignorant of the fact that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, affirming that it is denied by the Roman Church to be Paul's."²

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the third century, in an Epistle to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, in describing a persecution of the Christians, says: "The brethren got out of the way and retired, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, like those to whom Paul bears testimony."³ This passage is found in Heb. x, 34, so that he recognizes Paul as the author of the Epistle. In the writings of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about the middle of the third century, there are numerous quotations from the larger Epistles of Paul, and a considerable number from his smaller Epistles, except Titus and Philemon, but we cannot find a vestige of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which the only satisfactory explanation is, that Cyprian did not regard it as Paul's. According to Photius,⁴ both Irenæus and Hippolytus affirmed that this Epistle is not Paul's.

Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in Gaul in the middle of the fourth century, makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In commenting on Psalm xiv, he quotes Hebrews xii, 22, as the language of Paul. In other places he gives his quotations from this Epistle as the language of the "apostle." There is no doubt that he recognized the Epistle as Paul's. According to Hilary, the Arians alleged in support of their views "that which Paul said to the Hebrews" (ch. i, 4).⁵ But it is uncertain whether they quoted it as Paul's, though this is probable.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the last part of the fourth century, makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he calls "Scripture;"⁶ he quotes xii, 6, with the remark, "The holy apostle says;"⁷ chap. x, 31, with the words, "The holy apostle says" chap. xii, 11, with, "The blessed apostle says."⁸ There

Citation by
Dionysius of
Alexandria.

Quoted by Am-
brose.

¹ In Hist. Eccles., lib. vi, 25.

² Ibid., iii, 3.

³ Ibid., vi, cap. xli. Photius, in the ninth century, says that Caius, presbyter of Rome (about A. D. 200), they affirm, did not receive this Epistle as Paul's (Codex 48); and he states that Hippolytus (about A. D. 225) did not accept it as Paul's (Codex 121). ⁴ Codex ccxxxii. ⁵ De Trinitate, lib. iv, 11 ⁶ Epistle xliiv

⁷ Sermo xlv.

⁸ Ibid., xxvi.

⁹ Ibid., xlii.

is no doubt that by this language he means Paul, for it is in this way that he often quotes Paul's Epistles.

Jerome remarks on the Epistle to the Hebrews, "It is not believed to be his (Paul's) on account of its difference of style and language, but to belong, according to Tertullian, either to Barnabas, or, according to some, to the evangelist Luke, or to Clement, afterward bishop of the Roman Church, who, they say, was Paul's assistant, and that he arranged and ornamented the thoughts of the apostle in his own language; or, indeed, that Paul, because he was writing to the Hebrews, did not prefix his name to the Epistle on account of their dislike of him. As a Hebrew he had written in Hebrew, that is, in his own language, most eloquently, so that those things which had been eloquently written in Hebrew were more eloquently translated into Greek, and this appears to be the cause why it differs from the other Epistles of Paul."¹ Augustine, bishop of Hippo, in northern Africa, attributes the Epistle to Paul.² Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, received the Epistle as Paul's, and wrote a Commentary on it. The Epistle is found in the ancient Peshito-Syriac version, made about the middle of the second century, and its admission into that version is sufficient proof that it was regarded either as the writing of Paul,³ or of some one that stood in close relations to an apostle. It was also included in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions. In the Canon of Muratori there is no mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁴ But no great importance is to be attached to this omission, as the canon is imperfect. It is evident that the Epistle must have been well known at Rome in the second century, as it is used by Clement of that city in his Epistle to the Corinthians.⁵

From the foregoing history of the Epistle in the first four centuries, it is seen that the weight of evidence is in favor of its having originated, either directly or indirectly, from the Apostle Paul.

CHARACTER OF THE EPISTLE AS BEARING UPON ITS AUTHORSHIP.

The name of Paul is inserted in the very beginning of all his acknowledged Epistles, and if that to the Hebrews is his, ^{Omission of the author's name.} he departed from his custom in not inserting his name,

¹ De Viris Illus. Paulus.

² De Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii, cap. vii, § 3.

³ Bagster's edition of the Peshito has Paul's name at the head of this Epistle. But whether the ancient copies contained this superscription is uncertain.

⁴ The Canon mentions an Epistle to the Alexandrians, forged in the name of Paul, in aid of the heresy of Marcion, and rejected by the Church. But it is clear that this could not be the Epistle to the Hebrews, as some have conjectured.

⁵ Compare sec 36 of the Epistle with Hebrews i, 3, etc.

and that, too, without assigning a reason; for we cannot suppose that the author of it was either unknown, or wished to be, to those to whom he especially wrote, for he says: "Pray for us. . . . But I beseech you the rather to do this that I may be restored to you the sooner" (chap. xiii, 18, 19); and he also says he will see them in company with Timothy if he come shortly (chap. xiii, 23).

The statement in chap. ii, 3, that the doctrine of Christ "was confirmed to us by them that heard him," might possibly, though not certainly, apply to another than Paul, to whom Christ appeared in person, and who was commissioned by Christ to preach the gospel, which he tells us he did not receive "of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i, 12).

Bleek argues against the Pauline origin of the Epistle from supposed inaccuracies in the statements respecting the Jewish tabernacle and temple service in chap. ix. The statement that the holy of holies had a golden altar of incense (chap. ix, 4) (English version, *golden censer*) is not to be understood of an altar standing *within* the most holy place, but, as argued by Elbrard,¹ and explained by Robinson (New Test. Lex.), though standing in the outer sanctuary, it "is here reckoned to the inner sanctuary, as standing directly before, and pertaining to, the ark" (Exod. xl, 5). There is no reason for supposing, with Bleek, that the author of this Epistle appears to assume that the arrangements in the temple rebuilt by Herod were the same as in the original service instituted by Moses. The author refers to the arrangements in the original tabernacle because *they* were of divine appointment.

Respecting the *style* and *language* of the Epistle, it must be acknowledged that the former is more elegant than that of Paul in his other Epistles, and that the Greek is purer. Nor have we any good ground for supposing it to have been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, as there is no indication whatever in the Epistle itself that it is a translation; and, as we have already indicated the high probability that it was not addressed to the inhabitants of Palestine, no just reason existed for its composition in any other language than Greek. The writer of the Epistle almost invariably follows the Septuagint in quoting the Old Testament, and in this respect differs from Paul. There is also a marked difference in the manner of quoting the Old Testament in this Epistle from that which is used in the acknowledged Pauline writings. In the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, the standing formula in quoting the Old Testament is: "As it is written,"

¹ Commentary on Hebrews.

² Used about nineteen times by Paul.

and sometimes: "For it is written."¹ Nowhere in the Epistle to the Hebrews does its author quote the Old Testament in this way, but he introduces the passages with the remark: "Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith" (chap. iii, 7); or "the Holy Ghost is a witness" (chap. x, 15); or "he saith" (chap. viii, 8); and "one in a certain place testifieth" (chap. ii, 6).

These are some of the points of difference from Paul's usual style which many thoroughly evangelical critics have regarded as sufficient proof that he was not the author of the epistle. Much can be said on either side. Some have suggested Luke, but there is not likeness enough to his style to render that probable; still more improbable is the supposition that the Epistle was written by Clement of Rome, as his style is entirely unlike that of the Hebrews, and the Epistle is used by him. If the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas is genuine, that would exclude him from the number of possible authors, as the same writer could not have written both. It is very probable, however, that Barnabas is not the author of the Epistle attributed to him, and he might have written the Epistle to the Hebrews. Silas (or Silvanus) was an intimate and prominent companion of Paul, and, as far as we know, may have been its author. Apollos was suggested by Luther, and this view is favoured by Tholuck, Credner, Bunsen, Bleek,² Hilgenfeld,³ and others. Apollos is described in Acts xviii, 24 as a "Jew born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures." After becoming fully acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, "he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ" (Acts xviii, 28). We find that he preached the gospel with great success at Corinth, and a party in the Church in that city called themselves by his name (1 Cor. i, 12; iii, 4-6). It is evident that such a man as this might have written the Epistle, although there is little or nothing in it that shows its author to have been an Alexandrian. It may be doubted, too, whether, if the Epistle had been written by an Alexandrian of the school of Philo, the allegorical method of interpreting the Old Testament would not have been pursued to a greater extent. We find in this Epistle the phrase, "to taste of death," put for "to die" (chap. ii, 9). This is an Aramaic phrase, and occurs once in each of the Gospels, but nowhere else in the New Testament except in this passage. It seems to us very improbable that an Alexandrian Jew would have used it.

Accordingly, we are unable to fix, with certainty, upon the author of the Epistle. He must have been a man who stood high in the Christian Church, otherwise it is not likely he would have addressed

¹ Used about eight times by Paul. ² Einleitung, pp. 603-607. ³ Ibid, pp. 386-388

such a writing to Hebrew Christians. He was also a friend and acquaintance of Timothy (chap. xiii, 23). No one meets all the conditions of certain authorship; but Paul, despite variations from his usage, makes the nearest approach to it.

THE TIME AND PLACE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

The Epistle was evidently written before the destruction of Jerusalem, as there are clear references to the temple service as still existing. "For if he (Christ) were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law" (chap. viii, 4). This shows the existence of the temple service. In reference to the Jewish sacrifices, the author remarks: "For then would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged should have no more conscience of sins. But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins every year" (chap. x, 2, 3). It is clear from this that when the Epistle was written sacrifices were still offered. Reference to the temple service as still existing are also found in chaps. ix, 6, 7, 25; xiii, 10, 11. Had the Jewish temple been already destroyed¹ when the Epistle was written, the author could not have failed to notice the fact, just as the author of the Epistle of Barnabas does,² and to draw from it an argument in proof of its temporary character.

The antiquity of the Epistle may be also argued from the statement that Timothy has been set at liberty (chap. xiii, 23), and also from its being used by Clement of Rome³ in his Epistle to the Corinthians, written in the last part of the first century.

The composition of the Epistle is placed by Bleek⁴ about A. D. 68, 69; by Wieseler and Hilgenfeld, 64-66; De Wette, 65-67; Tholuck, 63-67; Bunsen, 66 or 67. It is impossible to determine the exact year, but it may be assigned to the interval between A. D. 63 and 68.⁵ Respecting the *place* of its composition, it is difficult to reach any conclusion.

The salutation, "They of Italy greet you" (chap. xiii, 24), furnishes no certain clue to the place. It is probable, however, that the language indicates "those who are in Italy," and thus the writer would appear to have been somewhere in Italy at the time. If Timothy had been imprisoned in Rome, it was very natural that the author, in writing to a Christian community somewhere in Asia

¹ The temple was destroyed in the capture of Jerusalem in the summer of A. D. 70.

² Sec. xvi, 1, 2.

³ In sec. 36.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 616.

⁵ It is ridiculous to find Volkmar placing it A. D. 116-118; and Keim referring it to the first part of the second century.

Minor or in Greece, acquainted with Timothy, should inform them of his release (chap. xiii, 23).

CONTENTS.

The author sets forth the dignity of Christ, the importance of giving heed to his teachings, his incarnation, priesthood, the danger of unbelief, and the grounds of confidence in God through the priesthood of Christ. He argues the perpetual priesthood of Christ from his being a priest after the order of Melchizedek, and affirms the ability of Christ to save for ever all who come to God through him (chaps. i-vii). He shows that the old covenant was to be abolished, and a new one to be substituted in its place, and that the institutions, especially the sacrificial rites of the old covenant, are typical of the new and of the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of men (chaps. viii-x, 18). He exhorts his readers to steadfastness in the faith, and warns them against apostasy. He sets forth the power of faith from examples in the Old Testament, exhorts believers to fidelity, and contrasts the privileges of the new dispensation with those of the old (chaps. x, 19-xii). He closes with an exhortation to the performance of the practical duties of the religion of Christ (chap. xiii).

THE CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE EPISTLE.

The Epistle is an able exposition of the symbolical character of many of the institutions of the Mosaic covenant, their defects and temporary duration, the change of the Mosaic priesthood and the law, the new covenant, the dignity, efficacy, and permanency of the priesthood of Christ.

It contains, too, the genuine apostolic doctrines. It must, therefore, be regarded as a valuable witness to the facts lying at the basis of Christianity, and to its primitive truths. Thus we have Christ's descent from Judah (ch. vii, 14); the holiness and harmlessness of his character (chap. vii, 26); his agony in the garden (chap. v, 7); his suffering outside of Jerusalem (chap. xiii, 12); his resurrection (chap. xiii, 20); his ascension to heaven (chaps. i, 3; iv, 14, etc.); and the performance of miracles by the first teachers of Christ's doctrines who had been his hearers (chap. ii, 4).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

THE Catholic Epistles,¹ so called from their being general in their character, and not addressed to special communities, are *seven* in number, namely: the Epistle of James, the two Epistles of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the three Epistles of John.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES.

THE PERSON OF THE WRITER.

The author styles himself "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (chap i, 1). And the question arises, Which of the persons of that name, prominent in the New Testament, is the author of this Epistle? We find among the apostles two persons of the name of James; one the son of Zebedee, and brother of John (Matt. x, 2; Mark iii, 17; Luke vi, 14; Acts xii, 2; the other the son of Alphaeus (Matt. x, 3; Mark iii, 18; Luke vi, 15), called also "the Less" (Mark xv, 40). The first of these, the son of Zebedee, was put to death by Herod about twelve years after the crucifixion of Christ (Acts xii, 1, 2). It is by no means likely that he was the author of the Epistle. After his death we find, in the history in the Acts, and also in Galatians ii, 9; 1 Cor. xv, 7, a very prominent man among the apostles by the name of James, and it has been greatly disputed whether he is one of the twelve apostles, the son of Alphaeus, called also James the Less, or one of the brothers of Christ, called James, mentioned in Matt. xiii, 55; Mark vi, 3. In Galatians i. 19 Paul mentions having seen at Jerusalem James, the Lord's brother.

The most satisfactory way to determine who the James is that is so prominent in the Church at Jerusalem after the martyrdom of James, the son of Zebedee (Acts xii, 1, 2), is to trace his continuous history through the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles—the work of one author, Luke, who spent two years in Jerusalem (about A. D. 59–61), and visited James, and must, therefore, have been well acquainted with him.

Now, in his Gospel, Luke mentions only two persons by the name

¹ And so called by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., ii, cap. xxiii. The title "Catholic," universal does not suit Second and Third John

of James, one of whom he puts among the twelve apostles, and associates with John (chap. vi, 14; ix, 28, 54), and whom he calls the son of Zebedee (chap. v, 10); the other, James the son of Alpheus, whom he also mentions as one of the twelve apostles (chap. vi, 15). He names among the apostles Judas the brother of James (chap. vi, 16), and mentions Mary the mother of James (chap. xxiv, 10). This James is, doubtless, the apostle who was the son of Alpheus.

If we now take up the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find in the list of the apostles, who assembled in the upper room in Jerusalem after the ascension of Christ, James associated with Peter and John, and James the son of Alpheus (chap. i, 13). We next find mention of both in Acts xii, where it is stated that Herod killed James the brother of John with the sword, and that when Peter was released from prison, he said, "Go show these things unto James, and to the brethren." This, it seems, must have been the surviving apostle of this name, as the historian before mentions no other to whom the reference can be made.

In the assembly of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem a few years after, when the question whether the laws of Moses were binding upon Gentile Christians was considered and answered, James, after Peter, addresses the assembly, and gives the decision. Can we doubt that this is the same James with whom Luke has already made us acquainted? And who but an apostle would have taken it upon himself to address that assembly, and to deliver that important decision? When Paul visited Jerusalem (about A. D. 38) he tells us: "Other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother" (Gal. i, 19). This language very naturally includes James in the number of the apostles, and the designation, "the Lord's brother," is given to distinguish him from James the son of Zebedee, who at that time was still living. But in writing after the death of James the son of Zebedee he mentions James without any other designation (1 Cor. xv, 7; Gal. ii, 9), by which he appears to name an apostle.

According to Hegesippus Clopas was the brother of Joseph.¹ In John xix, 25 Mary, the sister of the mother of Jesus, is called the wife of Clopas; but Clopas and Alpheus are regarded as two different ways of writing in Greek the Hebrew חֲלֵפַי, ² *Chalephay*, so that James the son of Alpheus is the

¹ A cousin of Jesus, but called a brother.

¹ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iii, cap. xi.

² The LXX., in writing Hebrew proper names, either altogether omit the guttural sound of Cheth (ח) initial, as Ἀγγαλος (Haggai) for חַגְגַּי (Chaggay), or render the Cheth by Chi (χ), as χεβρώ for חֲבֵרֹן. In two instances, at least, Cheth final is converted into the Greek Kappa (κ), viz.: חֲבֵרֹן, *ραβέκ* (Gen. xxii, 24); and חֲבֵרֹן, *εσσις* (Nehemiah iii, 6). In Clopas the Cheth is changed into Kappa in Greek.

son of Clopas, and accordingly a cousin¹ of Christ. That an apostle thus nearly related to Christ should be called his brother is not strange, since Lot is called Abram's brother (Gen. xiv, 16), when in fact he was Abram's brother's son (Gen. xi, 27). In Genesis xiii, 8, Abram says to Lot, We are brothers (*ἀδελφοί*, in LXX). Robinson gives us the second definition of *ἀδελφός*, "*a kinsman, a relative, in any degree of blood*" (Lex. New Test. Greek).

If there had been in the Church a *prominent* uterine brother of Christ named James, the designation, "the Lord's brother," would, in all probability, have referred to him; but in the absence of proof of the existence of such a brother, and as we find an apostle of that name a cousin of Christ, it is not difficult to believe that he may sometimes have been called by the honourable designation, "the Lord's brother."

Hegesippus,² who in the last half of the second century wrote of the affairs of the Church, speaks of James the brother of the Lord, called the Just, who received with the apostles the government of the Church in Jerusalem, and suffered martyrdom before the destruction of the city. He does not state whether this James was an apostle. Also, Josephus³ mentions James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and his martyrdom.

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is of considerable authority in Jewish-Christian affairs, James the Just appears as one of those who sat at the table with the Lord before his crucifixion, and to whom he appeared after his resurrection. From this it seems that he was regarded as an apostle. In a fragment of Papias, Mary, the wife of Cleophas or Alpheus, appears as the mother of James, bishop and apostle.⁴ Clement⁵ of Alexandria regarded James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, as an apostle. This was also the view of Jerome,⁶ and of Chrysostom, it would seem.⁷ On the other hand, Origen⁸ distinguishes James the brother of the Lord (Matt. xiii, 55), afterward bishop of Jerusalem, from James the Less, an apostle.

Among the moderns, Bleek⁹ regards James the brother of the Lord as no apostle. This view is favoured by Neander¹⁰ and De Wette,¹¹ and adopted by Hilgenfeld.¹² On the other hand, Hug¹³

¹ That the mother of James the Less, or son of Alpheus, was the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, appears from a comparison of John xix, 25; Matt. xxvii, 56 and Mark xv, 40.

² In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii, cap. xxiii.

³ Antiq., xx, cap. ix, 1.

⁴ In Patrum Apostol. Opera, Leipzig, 1875.

⁵ In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii, cap. i.

⁶ De Viris Illus. Jacobus.

⁷ Comment. in Gal. i, 19.

⁸ Comment. in Matt. xiii, 55.

⁹ Einleitung, 624-627.

¹⁰ Planting and Training of the Church, pp. 350-354.

¹¹ Einleitung, p. 367.

¹² Einleitung, 520-527.

¹³ Einleitung, vol. ii, 445.

regards James the brother of the Lord and James the son of Alphaeus as one person, who is placed among the brothers of Jesus in Matthew xiii, 55. Schneckenburger has also advocated the hypothesis of one James, while Wieseler distinguishes between James the brother of the Lord and the apostle of that name.

GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

The writer styles himself "James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ." This modest title for one who was This Epistle found in ancient versions. bishop of Jerusalem, and, in accordance with what we have argued, also an apostle, impresses us at once with the genuineness of the Epistle.

It is contained in the Peshito-Syriac version, where it bears the inscription, "The Epistle of James the Apostle." It is also found in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions, but is wanting in the Canon of Muratori. In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians there seem to be some references to this Epistle. The allusion to the double-minded man (*δίψυχος*) in Clement, and the statement that Abraham was called the friend of God, and the reference to Rahab (secs. 10-12), seem to be based on James i, 8; ii, 23, 25. In *Hermas, the Pastor*, a work written not later than the middle of the second century, we find a reference to James iv, 7: "It is possible to wrestle with the devil, but it is not possible to conquer him. For if you resist him, he will fly confounded from you."¹ Irenæus² quotes (chap. ii, 23): "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God." In Clement of Alexandria we can find no certain use of this Epistle. Eusebius, however, states, that Clement made short expositions of Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles,³ which, of course, includes James. There is no certain reference in Tertullian⁴ to this Epistle, nor can we find a trace of it in Cyprian (about A. D. 250).

Origen, in commenting on John viii, 24, remarks: "For if faith is James cited by Origen. meant, but without works, such a faith is dead, as we read in the Epistle that bears the name of James."⁵ With this exception, we cannot find a trace of this Epistle in the numerous quotations of the New Testament in Origen's Commentary on John, nor do we find a single one from this Epistle in his Commentary on Matthew. But in his Commentary on the Epistle to the

¹ Mandata, xii, cap. v. ² Lib. iv, cap. xvi, 2. ³ In Hist. Eccles., vi, cap. xiv.

⁴ "Whence," says he, "was Abraham counted the friend of God," etc. It is probable that Tertullian had in his mind James ii, 23, although in Isaiah xli, 8 God says, "Abraham my friend."

⁵ Tom. xix, 6.

Romans, which exists only in the Latin version of Rufinus, the Epistle of James is twice quoted in chap. v, once as the language of James the brother of the Lord, and in the other instance as that of the Apostle James.¹ But Rufinus does not profess to follow closely the original text of Origen, and states in the preface that the Commentary on the Romans has been interpolated. In this case, the quotations from James prove nothing. Also in the Latin translation of Origen's Homilies on Exodus and Leviticus, by Rufinus, James iv 7, i, 8, and v, 14 are quoted as the language of the apostle James. But here it is impossible to determine what belongs to Origen himself. It seems very probable that he attached but little importance to the Epistle.

Eusebius, speaking of James, remarks: "The first of the Epistles called Catholic is said to be his. But it must be known that it is spurious (*νοθεύεται*),² since not many of the ancients have mentioned it; nor that called the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven called Catholic. Nevertheless, we know that these also, with the rest, are received as canonical³ in most Churches."⁴ In another place he puts it among the disputed writings⁵ (*Ἀντιλεγόμεναι*).

Eusebius and Jerome's opinions as to the authenticity of this Epistle.

Jerome, speaking of James, bishop of Jerusalem, whom he considers to be the cousin of Christ, says: "He wrote only one Epistle, which belongs to the seven Catholic Epistles, and which is asserted to have been put forth by some one else under his name, but has gradually obtained authority in the course of time."⁶ It would seem from this that he was not quite sure of its genuineness.

Didymus, who was head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria in the last part of the fourth century, wrote an exposition of this Epistle, which he attributed to the Apostle James. It was received by Athanasius,⁷ Gregory Nazianzen,⁸ Cyril⁹ of Jerusalem, Chrysostom,¹⁰ Augustine,¹¹ and Epiphanius,¹² but was rejected by Theodore¹³ of Mopsuestia. But even those

An exposition of James by Didymus.

¹ He also gives some other passages from James, without naming the source.

² The word has the meaning, *to be spurious* and *to be deemed spurious*. But the context requires the first meaning, since it expresses the judgment of Eusebius.

³ The Greek is *δόγμασις*, *to be of a public character*, and is defined by Sophocles, *canonical*. (Greek Lex., Rom. and Byzant. Periods).

⁴ Hist. Eccles., ii, cap. xxiii. ⁵ Ibid., iii, cap. xxv. ⁶ De Viris Illus. Jacobus.

⁷ In Vita Antonii he quotes James i, 15 20, "As it is written," and chap. v, 13, with the same formula in the Epistle to Marcellinus. ⁸ 1105.

⁹ Catechesis iv, De Decem Dogmatibus, xxxvi. ¹⁰ Synopsis of Sacred Scriptures.

¹¹ De Doctr. Christ., lib. ii, cap. viii, 13. ¹² Hæresis lxxvii, sec. 27.

¹³ Leontius Byzant., Contra Nestor et Eut., iii, 14.

fathers who accepted it made but little use of it. We have found no extracts from it in the works of Ambrose and Hilary, though it is possible that they may have quoted it. At the time of the Reformation Erasmus expressed himself skeptically concerning it, and Luther remarks on it: "This Epistle of St. James, although it was rejected by the ancients [this remark, as we have already seen, is only partially true], I commend, and consider good, for the reason that it lays down no human doctrine, and rigorously follows the law of God. But that I may give my own opinion without injury to any one, I do not regard it as the writing of an apostle; and this is my reason: In the first place, because, in palpable contradiction to St. Paul and all the other Scriptures, it attributes justification to works, and says: Abraham was justified by his works when he offered up his son, whereas St. Paul, on the contrary, teaches (Rom. iv, 2, 3) that Abraham was justified without works. . . . But this James does nothing but adhere to the law and its works, and blends things in such a confused way, that it seems to me he was a truly pious man who composed some sentences from a disciple of the apostles, and put them upon paper. Or perhaps it is an extract from his preaching, written down by some one else." Again, in his Preface to the New Testament he says: "The Epistle of St. James is really an Epistle of Straw (eine rechte stroherne epistel) in comparison with them (in comparison with the writings of John, Paul, Peter), for it contains nothing of an evangelical stamp."¹

This assertion of Luther, that the doctrine of justification by works, as set forth in this Epistle, flatly contradicts Paul, who teaches that we are justified by faith, is not well founded. Paul, in his Epistle, discusses the question of pardon and justification of the sinner before God, and shows that forgiveness is to be obtained only through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. But he clearly implies, as the fruit of this faith, a full compliance with the moral law, a complete surrender of the soul to Christ, and he has not the least reference to a dead, inoperative faith.

The question which James proposes is: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he have faith, and have not works? Can faith save him?" Can any one suppose for a moment that Paul would have answered that a dead faith, followed by no compliance with the moral law, would save a man? Who insists more earnestly than he upon the importance of a full obedience to the moral law?

¹ These passages from Luther's works are quoted by De Wette (*Einleitung*, pp. 374, 375), from whom we have borrowed them.

He declares that God "will render to every man according to his deeds" (Rom. ii, 6), and warns us against the idea of living in sin that grace may abound (Rom. vi). How clearly does he contrast the holy virtues of the spiritual life, the fruits of the Spirit, with the works of the unregenerate man (Gal. v, 19-23), and that, too, after contending in the strongest manner for the doctrine of justification by faith? Now Paul certainly would have assented to the doctrine of this Epistle: "Faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone." James contends that faith is to be proved by works (chap. ii, 18); Abraham was justified by faith at first, and afterward by complying with the divine command to offer up Isaac. His faith, without obedience, would have profited him nothing. Here Paul and James would certainly agree. These two teachers set forth the different sides, or the two opposite poles, of the same great truth. How strongly does Paul exhibit the two apparently opposing doctrines of divine sovereignty and free-will, even in the same verse uttering truths apparently contradictory: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling: for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure" (Phil. ii, 12, 13).

In fact, James does not at all discuss the question how a sinner shall obtain forgiveness, but how a Christian shall live. The spirit which James condemns is, as Neander well observes, that "which substituted a lifeless, arrogant acquaintance with the letter for the genuine wisdom inseparable from the divine life—which prided itself in an inoperative knowledge of the law, without paying any attention to the practice of the law—which placed devotion in outward ceremonies, and neglected that devotion which shows itself in works of love," a habit of mind which attached especial importance to faith in Jehovah and in the Messiah, but "which left the disposition unchanged."¹

Agreement between Paul and James.

It is but a small portion of James that touches upon justification, and there is no reason for supposing that the Epistle has any reference to Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. In fact, it is intended for another class of persons. His address is "to the twelve tribes who are in the dispersion, greeting," while Paul's Epistles were for the most part directed to Gentile Christians. And this fact, that the Epistle is addressed to Jewish believers only, accounts for its having been but little known among the Gentile Christians in the first two centuries of the Church.

There is nothing in the Epistle inconsistent with the supposition that it was written by James, who confined his labors to Jerusalem.

¹ *Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*, p. 358, Ryland's Translation.

Indeed, the whole tone indicates a person in the position of James. It is in Greek, but this is not strange when we remember that it was addressed to Jewish believers in Christianity dispersed through the world, many of whom would not have understood the Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine. The Greek is quite good, better than might have been expected from one in James' position, though it is not improbable that he may have obtained assistance in its composition. It is possible, too, that he may have been brought up in the use of Greek in some part of Palestine.

He uses the phrase, "Lord of Sabaoth," once (chap. v. 4), which no one but a Jew would be likely to use, and which occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in a quotation from the Old (Romans ix, 29). He makes great use of the Old Testament, refers to the early and latter rain (chap. v, 7) characteristic of Palestine, and to the fountains of sweet and of bitter water (chap. iii, 11) peculiar to the same region. All this indicates a Jew of Palestine. He modestly styles himself "the servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ," which is, however, not inconsistent with his being an apostle, as Paul so styles himself (Phil. i, 1).

There is no good reason for doubting the genuineness of the Epistle, which has been defended by Bleek¹ and Neander² as belonging to James, who is distinguished in the Acts, and appears prominent in the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. De Wette remarks that doubts on dogmatic grounds were raised against the Epistle at the time of the Reformation. But since its [supposed] contradiction of Paul has been removed or softened, "its genuineness is almost universally acknowledged."³ The genuineness of the Epistle is denied by Hilgenfeld, who refers its composition to the time of Domitian⁴ (A. D. 81-96).

But the traces of an age subsequent to the time of James are by no means clear, or even probable. Hilgenfeld follows Zeller in maintaining that James ii, 12, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him," is based on Rev. ii, 10, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life;" and as the Apocalypse was not written earlier than A. D. 68, the Epistle must have been written after the death of James. But it by no means follows that the phrase, "the crown of life," was borrowed

¹ Einleitung, pp. 638-642.

² Einleitung, p. 374.

³ Planting and Training, pp. 357-367.

⁴ Einleitung, pp. 540-542.

from the Apocalypse. Nothing was more common in the ancient world than the bestowal of crowns, of gold¹ and of other material, as marks of honor, both in Athens and in Rome. To this prize of honor we find various references in the apostolic writings. Paul speaks of those who strive "to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible" (crown) (1 Cor. ix, 25). What is this but a crown of life? In 2 Tim. iv, 8 he speaks of "the crown of righteousness." In 1 Peter v, 4 we have "the unfading crown of glory." James has, instead of "righteousness" and "glory," "life" ("the crown of life"), and this, forsooth, he must have borrowed from the Apocalypse, though "crown" is one of the most common words in the New Testament.² Equally unnecessary is it to refer the "firstfruits" in this Epistle (ch. i, 18) to Rev. xiv, 4, where mention is made of "the firstfruits" "unto God and to the Lamb," since Paul in various places speaks of "firstfruits," in the sense of *spiritual ingatherings*; as "the firstfruits of Achaia" (Rom. xvi, 5); "If the firstfruits be holy," etc. (chap. xi, 16). He also calls Christ "the firstfruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv, 20). The Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians were written before A. D. 60, from some of which James might have derived the idea of a "crown of life" and "firstfruits," though it is not likely they were borrowed from any New Testament writer. But if the coincident phrase and word in James and in the Revelation are to be considered original only in one of them, and borrowed in the other, why may not the author of the Revelation have borrowed them from James?

There seems to be a clear indication in the Epistle that it was written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, "For the James' Epistle coming of the Lord draweth nigh" (chap. v, 8). Like- written before the destruction of Jerusalem. wise the words, "Ye have condemned, ye have murdered the Just One, and he does not resist you" (ch. v, 6), clearly refers to the condemnation and crucifixion of Christ, for which the Jews had not yet suffered, which shows that Jerusalem had not yet been destroyed; so in Acts xxii, 14 Christ is called "*the Just One*;" also in Acts iii, 14. Nor is there anywhere in the Epistle any indication leading to a date subsequent to the martyrdom of James. The assertion of Hilgenfeld that James ii, 6, 7; v, 6, presupposes that judicial sentences had already been pronounced upon Christians, as

¹ The classical scholar will call to mind the Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. Among the Romans the mural, civic, obsidional, and triumphal crowns were bestowed.

² In Rev. ii, 10 "the crown of life" is promised by Christ to those who are "faithful unto death;" but in James i, 12 to those who love the Lord, and which may refer to God the Father, as in James v. 10, 11.

such, is destitute of all probability; and equally groundless is his statement, that such sentences were not pronounced upon Christians before the time of Domitian, for Nero punished them as incendiaries. James ii, 6, 7 has reference simply to the oppression of the poor by the rich, especially before courts of justice, as any one may see by referring to the passage. The rich, too, were generally rejecters of Christ, while the believers were mostly from the poor. Chapter v, 6 refers, as we have already stated, to the condemnation and crucifixion of Christ.

Nor did Nero punish Christians only as incendiaries, since Tacitus states respecting their conviction and punishment: "They were convicted not so much on the charge of burning (Rome) as on account of their hatred of the human race."¹ This hatred of the human race was their contempt for the gods of the pagan world, and for the abominable rites connected with pagan worship.

THE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

We have already referred to the proofs that this Epistle was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and as James suffered martyrdom a few years before the destruction of that city, the Epistle was most probably written some time before A. D. 64, but the precise date cannot be determined.

The Epistle would seem to indicate that Christianity had already been in existence for a considerable number of years, and there seems no good reason to refer it, as Neander does, to a "time preceding the separate formation of Gentile Christian Churches, before the relation of Gentiles and Jews to one another in the Christian Church had been brought under discussion,"² that is, before the Jerusalem Council, held about A. D. 50. There is no good ground, however, for placing it with Bleek³ at A. D. 63, 64. The reference made in chap. ii, 7 to blaspheming Christ does not imply that the followers of Christ were already called Christians, as the phrase, "by which ye are called"⁴ is very similar to the construction in Acts xv, 17, "upon whom my name is called."

¹ *Haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt--Annalium, lib. xv, cap. xlv.*

² *Planting and Training, etc., p. 363.*

³ *Einleitung, p. 632.*

⁴ The Greek in James ii, 7 is τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *the honorable name which is called upon you*, based on the Hebrew, "כִּי יִקְרָא אֶתְּךָ, *my name is called upon any thing*, i. e., my name is given to it, it is called *mine*, implying property, relation," etc. (Gesenius, sub voce אֶתְּךָ). Thus the passage refers to their being the people of Christ, not necessarily implying that they were called Christians (Χριστιανοί).

The place in which the Christians assembled for worship is called in chap. ii, 2 *a synagogue*. But this does not imply that the Jewish believers were not yet separated from the unbelievers in worship. James simply calls the Christian assembly by the same name as the Jewish. Just as the Greeks gave to the Christian assembly the name *ecclesia*, which had denoted an assemblage of citizens in Athens for political purposes. The Epistle was probably written between A. D. 50 and 63, undoubtedly at Jerusalem, where James lived at that time, and long before.

CONTENTS.

The author exhorts his readers to rejoice in the midst of divers temptations, insists upon unwavering faith and confidence in God, the Giver of all good, enjoins upon them to bridle the tongue, to be doers of the word, and not hearers only, and shows them in what true religion consists (chap. i). He warns his readers against showing partiality to the rich, urges them to keep the whole moral law, especially the royal law to love one's neighbour as one's self, and shows that men are not justified by faith only (chap. ii). He next discusses the importance of bridling the tongue (chap. iii). He shows that lust is the cause of war, denounces the friendship of the world, recommends humility, submission to God, exhorts them to resist the devil, to draw nigh unto God, and to purify themselves. He warns them against evil speaking, and the sin of presuming upon the future (chap. iv). He describes wicked rich men and their impending punishment, and exhorts the brethren to be patient until the coming of the Lord. He warns them against swearing, dwells upon the efficacy of prayer, and points out the deep importance and glorious result of converting a sinner from the error of his way (chap. v).

CHARACTER OF THE EPISTLE.

From the foregoing synopsis, it will be seen that the Epistle is of an eminently practical character, avoiding the discussion of profound theological truths, and insisting upon the necessity of possessing the spirit of the Gospel, and practicing its precepts. It everywhere breathes the spirit of deep piety and resignation to God.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EPISTLES OF PETER.

THE PERSON OF THE APOSTLE.

IN the Gospels, and in the first part of the Acts, Peter appears as the most prominent apostle. He was of Bethsaida (John i, 44), a town on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee, and a fisherman by occupation (Matt. iv, 18; Mark i, 16; Luke v, 3, 4). He was brought by his brother Andrew to Christ at the very beginning of the Lord's ministry. To his original name of Simon Christ added that of Cephas (כֶּפֶס, *Kēpha*), an Aramaic word meaning *Rock*, of which the Greek is *Petros*, *Peter*.¹ After this introduction to Christ Peter still pursued his former vocation, and we find that when, at the Lord's command, he had cast his net into the sea, and caught a great multitude of fishes—though he had toiled all the previous night and taken nothing—he threw himself down at the knees of Jesus, saying, "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord." To this Christ replied, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men." After this he left all and followed him (Luke v, 4-11). He became one of the most intimate disciples of Christ. We find him with James and John on the Mount of Transfiguration, and in the garden of Gethsemane. He showed his zeal for his Master, when arrested in the garden, by drawing his sword and cutting off the right ear of the servant of the high priest (John xviii, 10). He was always ready to proclaim his faith in Christ. When many disciples left Jesus, he put the question to the twelve: "Will ye also go away?" to which Peter promptly answered: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of giving of eternal life" (John vi, 67, 68). Upon another occasion, when Christ asked his disciples: "Whom say ye that I am?" Peter answered: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." In the Saviour's reply to this, he declares: "I say also unto

¹כֶּפֶס, *Kēpha*, is used in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel (Chaldee versions of the chief portions of the Old Testament, made about the time of Christ) in the sense of a *rock* or *ledge of rocks* in Num. xx, 8-11; Judges vi, 20, 1 Sam. xiv, 4; Jer. xlix, 16, etc.; and in the sense of *sea coast* (*rock bound*) in Gen. xxii, 17, etc.; but nowhere that we have been able to find does it occur in the sense of a *piece of rock* or a *stone* in these Targums. In translating *Kēpha* into Greek it was necessary to employ the word *Petros* (*Peter*), the masculine form, from the feminine *Πέτρα*, as the feminine form is unsuitable for the name of a man.

thee, Tha' thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." In the vernacular language of Christ (the Aramaic), כֶּפְּתָא, *Kepha*, was used both for Peter and for the rock on which the Church was to be built. "I say also unto thee, That thou art *Kēpha*, and upon this *Kēpha* I will build my Church," etc. It is clear that our Saviour indulges in a *paronomasia*,¹ and affirms he will build his Church upon him, the rock; but not in such a way as to exclude the other apostles, who, if they had not at that time such a strong faith as Peter had, yet afterward attained it, and entered as foundation stones into the Christian edifice. Hence the language of Paul: "Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone" (Eph. ii, 20). Also in the Apocalypse it says: "The wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the name of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (xxi, 14). Christ also promised to give him the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" with plenary powers" (Matt. xvi, 19). Accordingly, we find that he opened the kingdom, that is, first preached the gospel to Jews and Gentiles (Acts ii, 14-36; x).

But notwithstanding his strong faith and ardent zeal, the fear of death so far prevailed over him that in the palace of the high priest, after the arrest of Christ, he thrice denied his knowledge of his Master, and at his third denial he began to curse and to swear (Mark xiv, 66-71). At Christ's appearance to his disciples at the sea of Galilee (John xxi), he charged Peter to feed his lambs and his sheep, and at the same time he predicted his death by crucifixion.²

After the ascension of the Lord, in the first general assembly of believers in Jerusalem, Peter calls attention to the necessity of appointing an eyewitness of the life of Christ ^{Peter the leader after Christ's ascension.} to take the apostleship of Judas. On the day of Pentecost he preaches the gospel to the Jews of Jerusalem. Subsequently to this he heals a lame man, and preaches to the assembled crowds; he rebukes the hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira; he is

¹ Paronomasias are not unknown to the Old Testament. In Gen. ix, 27: "God shall enlarge (יִפְחַד, *yaphel*) Japhet" (יִפְחֶת, *yepheth*, enlargement). So in Isa. v, 7: "And he waited for צִדְקָה (tsedhakah, righteousness), and behold there was תַּעֲזָבָה (ts'ayah, outcry, violence), etc. Of course, the language of Christ addressed to Peter is figurative. On this rock, not bishops or popes, but the Church, was to be built. A foundation rock is dissimilar from the building, and it stands alone. Peter had no successors. And it must be observed that this language was addressed to Peter in possession of strong faith in Christ.

² This seems to be the import of John xxi, 18.

imprisoned with the other apostles, but is released by an angel. At a later period he and John were sent by the apostles to Samaria, where he came in contact with Simon the Magician. In his travels he comes to Lydda, where he heals Eneas sick of the palsy. At Joppa he raises Dorcas from the dead. Here he has a vision, in which the calling of the Gentiles is foreshadowed, and he is directed by the Spirit to go to Cornelius, a heathen at Cæsarea, and preach the gospel to him, which opens the door of salvation to the Gentiles. Herod arrests and imprisons him, with a view of putting him to death, but an angel sets him at liberty. At the council in Jerusalem he expresses himself decidedly against putting the yoke of the Mosaic law upon the neck of Gentile believers (chap. xv). This is his last appearance in the Acts of the Apostles. He is mentioned by Paul several times in his Epistle to the Galatians, as being either at Jerusalem or Antioch, but the incidents given respecting him do not extend beyond the fifteenth chapter of the Acts.¹ At the close of his First Epistle he sends a salutation from the Church at Babylon, on the Euphrates, from which it appears that he was once there.

Outside of the New Testament, the oldest notice of Peter occurs in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written sometime in A. D. 93-96. After remarking that the most righteous and faithful pillars of the Church had been persecuted and suffered unto death, he says, "Let us place before our eyes the good apostles. Peter, on account of unjust jealousy, endured, not one, nor two, but many sufferings, and thus, having borne testimony, he went to the place of glory that was due him."² From this it is clear that he suffered martyrdom; and as Clement afterward, in the same connection, speaks of the martyrdom of Paul, and names no other apostle, it is not improbable that Peter suffered at Rome, where Paul was martyred, or in its vicinity.

The next reference to the martyrdom of Peter occurs in Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (about A. D. 170), who remarks in his Epistle to the Romans that "Peter and Paul visited Corinth and Italy, taught and suffered as martyrs at the same time." He also speaks of the Roman and Corinthian Churches as having been planted by Peter and Paul.³ Irenæus (about A. D. 180) speaks of Peter and Paul as preaching the gospel in Rome,⁴ and founding a Church there. Caius, a Roman presby-

¹ In Gal. ii, 11, "But when Peter was come to Antioch," etc., refers to what transpired when Paul and Barnabas were in that city (Acts xv. 35). The supposed inconsistency of Peter referred to by Paul (Gal. ii, 11-14) we considered in discussing the Acts of the Apostles.

² In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii, cap. xxv.

³ Sec. 5, in *Const. text*

⁴ iii, cap. i, 1.

ter (about A. D. 200), is the next witness respecting Peter. In a book written against Proclus, the leader of the sect of the Cataphryges, he says: "I can show you the monuments of the apostles. For if you wish to go out to the Vatican, or to the road to Ostia, you will find the monuments [tombs] of those who founded this Church."¹ Tertullian of Carthage (about A. D. 200) states that Peter and Paul "left the Romans the gospel sealed with their own blood,"² and that here Peter was made like the Lord in suffering.³

Origen, who flourished in the first half of the third century, remarks: "Peter appears to have preached the gospel in Pontus, Galatia and Bithynia, Cappadocia, and in Asia, to the Jews of the dispersion. Finally, being in Rome, he was crucified head downward, he himself having preferred to suffer in this way."⁴

Jerome states, that after Peter "had been bishop of the Church in Antioch, and had preached the gospel among the dispersed Jews, who had believed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, he went in the second year of the Emperor Claudius (A. D. 43) to Rome, to vanquish Simon Magus, and he held there the Sacerdotal Chair for twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, that is, the fourteenth (A. D. 68), by whom he was crucified and crowned with martyrdom, his head being downward and his feet upward, declaring that he was unworthy to be crucified in the same way as his Lord. . . . He was buried at Rome in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way."⁵ But it is impossible to reconcile this episcopacy of twenty-five years at Rome with probabilities and facts.

About A. D. 51, 52 Peter is still at Jerusalem, Antioch, or their vicinity (Acts xv: Gal. ii, 1, 11), so that it is impossible for him to have gone to Rome in the second year of Claudius (A. D. 43). After Peter left Antioch Jerome states that he preached the gospel in Pontus and the adjacent regions before going to Rome. And it appears that the First Epistle of Peter was written at Babylon, or in its vicinity (chap. v, 13); so that he must have visited that region of country before going to Rome. In the Epistles of Paul, written from Rome after his arrival there, about A. D. 62, there is no mention of Peter, nor any in the Epistle to the Church in that city, written about A. D. 58.

¹In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., ii, cap. xxv.

²Adversus Marcionem, iv, cap. v.

³Liber de Præscript., cap. xxxvi.

⁴In vol. iii, Commentary on Genesis in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iii, cap. i.

⁵Liber de Viris Illustribus. Petrus. In the Chronicon of Eusebius it is stated that Peter was bishop of the Church at Rome for twenty-five years, but this is in the Latin version, to which the translators made additions.

It seems probable that Peter did not reach Rome until after A. D. 64, and that he was crucified there A. D. 67 or 68. There is no good reason for doubting the fact of his martyrdom at Rome, as the tradition goes back, as we have already seen, to the second century, when the Roman Church had not yet laid claim to her lofty prerogatives; nor would the tradition of his martyrdom in that city have been universal in the earlier centuries if it had not rested upon an historical basis. The truth of the tradition is conceded by Gieseler,¹ is considered most probable by Neander,² deemed an historical fact by Bleek,³ improbable by De Wette,⁴ and, though rejected by Baur,⁵ is accepted by the skeptical Hilgenfeld.⁶

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

THE Epistle is addressed to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, elect according to the foreknowledge of God," etc. By "the strangers of the dispersion" (*παρεπιδήμιος διασπορᾶς*) he does not mean Christian believers of the Jewish race especially, as we might suppose, but Christians in general, dispersed strangers, having no country they can call their own. The language was originally applied to the dispersed Jewish people. That the persons addressed were Christians from among the Gentiles chiefly appears from chaps. i, 14, 18; ii, 10, iv, 3, 4.

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

The writer styles himself "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ." and to him the Epistle was universally attributed by the ancient Church. It was evidently used by Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John, in the following words: "In whom ye believe, not having seen, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."¹ It was used by Hermas² (about A.D. 140) and by Papias of Hierapolis in the first

¹ Church History, vol. i, p. 81.

² Planting and Training, pp. 377-381.

³ Einleitung, p. 654.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 377.

⁵ Die Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte. Dritte Ausgabe, 142.

⁶ Einleitung, p. 624. Clement of Alexandria remarks: "They say, indeed, that when the blessed Peter saw his wife led away to be put to death he was delighted on account of her calling and return home, and, addressing her by name, he earnestly exhorted her, *Remember the Lord* (Strom. vii, cap. xi). From this it appears that Peter at that time was in some place well known to Clement.

¹ Epistle to the Philippians, sec. 1.

² Vis., iii, 11.

half of the second century.¹ It was contained in the Peshito-Syriac version, made about the middle of the second century. It is quoted as Peter's by Irenæus,² by Clement³ of Alexandria, and Tertullian⁴ of Carthage. Origen⁵ remarks that "Peter has left one acknowledged Epistle."⁶ Eusebius, in his Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, remarks that the "First Epistle of Peter is to be received."⁷ It was received as Peter's by Cyprian⁸ of Carthage, Hilary⁹ of Poitiers in Gaul, by Ambrose¹⁰ of Milan, by Athanasius,¹¹ by Gregory Nazianzen,¹² Didymus¹³ of Alexandria, Chrysostom,¹⁴ Augustinè,¹⁵ Jerome,¹⁶ and Theodorët.¹⁷ It was admitted into all the ancient versions of the New Testament.¹⁸ It is not, however, found in the Canon of Muratori; but no stress is to be laid upon this, as the Canon is imperfect.

Nowhere do we find a single instance in which the Epistle was rejected; for the statement of Leontius of Byzantium, that Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected the Epistle of James, and successively the other Catholic Epistles,¹⁹ does not make it certain that he rejected the First Epistle of Peter, and in itself it is very improbable. It is true that the language most naturally means that he rejected *all seven*. But is it likely that a man of his ability and learning, who certainly received John's Gospel, would have rejected his Epistle, so intimately connected with that Gospel, and concerning which, so far as we know, a doubt had never been raised? If we feel authorized in excepting the First Epistle of John from the general statement, we may except the First Epistle of Peter also. Theodore, doubtless, rejected the Second

This Epistle universally acknowledged in the ancient Church.

Alleged rejection of it by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹ According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., iii, cap. xxxix), who had his work before him.

² Lib. iv, cap. ix, xvi; lib. v, cap. vii. ³ Strom., iii, cap. xviii; Pædag., iii, cap. xii.

⁴ Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiace, cap. xii.

⁵ In Eusebius, vi, 25.

⁶ Ibid., iii, cap. xxv.

⁷ Epistola Ad Fortunatum, cap. ix. In his book (De Zelo et Livore) he quotes 1 Peter v, 8, with the remark, "According to what the Apostle Peter in his Epistle advises," etc.

⁸ Psalm li.

⁹ He quotes 1 Peter i, 18, 19 with the remark, "Peter in his Epistle says," etc. Comment. in Luc., lib. vii, 117.

¹⁰ Oratio ii, Contra Arianos.

¹¹ Carnia.

¹² Enarratio in 1 Peter.

¹³ Synopsis Sac. Scrip.

¹⁴ De Doc. Christ., ii 8.

¹⁵ De Viris Illustribus. Petrus.

¹⁶ Demons. per Syllogismos.

¹⁷ We cannot speak with certainty of the Gothic version, as it has not come down to us entire.

¹⁸ Speaking of the rejection by Theodore of the book of Job, referred to by James, Leontius remarks: Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν αὐτὴν τε οἶμαι, τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει καθολικῶς (Adversus Incurrupt. et Nestor, lib. iii, 14. De Wette had before him the Latin translation of these words, and he observes on them: "It does not clearly lie in these words that Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected the Epistle." Einleitung, p. 386.

Epistle of Peter, that of Jude, and the Second and Third of John.

Further, Theodoret was the enthusiastic disciple of Theodore, and most probably reflected his master's opinions on the Canon, and he quotes¹ the First Epistle of Peter with the remark: "The divine Peter says in his Catholic [Epistle] that Christ suffered in the flesh" (chap iv, 1). He likewise quotes as his the First Epistle of John, but nowhere does he quote the Epistle of James by name,² nor do we find in him a vestige of Second Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and Second and Third of John.

It must be borne in mind that the charge brought against Theodore, of rejecting the Catholic Epistles, comes from his bitter enemy, who charges him, as another Marcion, with not being satisfied in attacking the Old Testament only, but with making attempts upon the New. It is not likely that he discriminated very nicely in his remarks respecting Theodore. The Second Epistle of Peter, whether genuine or not, bears testimony to the existence and authority of the First (2 Pet. iii, 1).

If we examine the contents of this Epistle, we find that it bears the apostolic stamp, contains nothing unworthy of an apostle, nothing belonging to a later age, and it impresses us at once with its genuineness. With the facts before us it is not easy to see how a doubt respecting it could ever arise. But, in spite of the strong external and internal evidence in its favor, its genuineness has been called in question by some modern critics. Semler first denied its immediate composition by the apostle. He was followed by Cludius, who in the first part of the present century rejected its Petrine authorship, and attributed it to some one belonging to the school of Paul. De Wette, in the various editions of his Introduction, expressed himself with more or less doubt respecting it. Its genuineness is denied by Baur, Schweigler, and Hilgenfeld.

To begin with De Wette: this skeptical critic grants that the Epistle belongs to the apostolic age, on the ground of the expectation expressed in it of the speedy end of all things (chap. iv, 7), and that it was written during Nero's persecution of the Christians. This is, indeed, highly probable, and is fully consistent with its genuineness.

¹ Demons. per Syllogismos.

² There is one passage that looks as if it came from James iv, 8: "I have said, Draw nigh to me, and I will draw nigh to you," though there are passages in the Old Testament in which we are exhorted to draw nigh unto God. The first Epistle of John and First of Peter are quoted by Theodoret in several places.

The following are his objections: "It does not exhibit a definite peculiarity, like the works of John and Paul. Not only are there found reminiscences of passages of the Pauline Epistles, the reading of which by the author is doubtless to be presupposed, but also his conceptions and language are essentially Pauline. To this is to be added that the writer does not master with freedom and ease, as his own property, the thoughts with which he is occupied, but handles them with some uncertainty. The improbability that the Apostle Peter would put himself into such dependence upon Paul, and especially that he could have been acquainted with Paul's later Epistles, and even the spurious Epistle to the Ephesians, establishes a strong suspicion respecting the genuineness of the Epistle, to which, however, all antiquity bears testimony."¹

We scarcely know how to characterize the foregoing statements of this able but skeptical critic. To say the least, they are mere assumptions. This Epistle has an individual stamp of its own, which scarcely any one can fail to see, and which no one would confound with the Pauline type. Its vigorous, earnest style reflects the character of Peter as he appears in the New Testament history. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Peter may have seen some of Paul's Epistles, but that he leans upon them is manifestly false. There is nothing inconsistent with the dignity of the apostles in quoting each other's expressions, as it is well known was done by the Hebrew prophets.² But we must say that we are not convinced that Peter has used the writings of Paul. Respecting the Epistle to the Ephesians, De Wette has no sufficient grounds for pronouncing it spurious. But if he insists upon this, why can he not adopt the more sensible hypothesis in that case, that the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians made use of the First Epistle of Peter, which he concedes to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem?

It is, indeed, true, that there are a few thoughts and words in this Epistle of Peter similar to some found in the writings of Paul and James, and this was to be expected; for the germs of the apostolic doctrine are found in the discourses of Christ, which were the common property of them all. Now, it is certainly natural to suppose that the different apostles, in developing the thoughts of Christ, would touch each other at some points. Peter and James had been a long time together discussing the same great principles. Is it strange, then, that there should be something in common with them when

¹ Einleitung, pp. 381-386.

² As an instance of this quoting, compare Isa. ii, 2-4 with Micah iv, 1-3; these prophets were contemporary.

they write? Paul, also, was in the company of the apostles and their companions, and there must have been a community of sentiment and thought, to a considerable extent at least.

Let us, then, consider the passages in this Epistle which De Wette and some others think are based on the Ephesians, because they are the only ones¹ that would create any difficulty. For the other Epistles of Paul (to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians) which might be supposed to have furnished the basis, at least a hint, for some of the thoughts and expressions in this Epistle, were written, in all probability, six or seven years before the First Epistle of Peter, while that to the Ephesians was written, perhaps, not more than one or two years earlier. Still, even in this case, there would be a possibility that the Epistle might have been seen by Peter before he wrote.

In the very beginning Peter declares to the Christians addressed that they "are elected according to the foreknowledge of God," while Paul, in Ephesians, declares that God "has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world" (chap. i, 4). But the same idea occurs in the Epistle to the Romans (chap. viii, 28, 29). Was Peter, indeed, dependent upon Paul for the doctrine of the foreknowledge of God and the election of Jews and Gentiles? This we cannot believe. Peter, in the Acts (ii, 23), represents Christ as having "been delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God." Peter was the apostle who first preached the gospel to the Gentiles; and, after his speech in the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv), James says: "Simon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name." What is this but election? And what was more natural than that Peter, in addressing Jewish and Gentile believers, should speak of their election independently of what Paul had written?

Peter has, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (chap. i, 3). Paul has, "Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. i, 3). Similar is Ephesians i, 3. But the phrase, "Blessed be the Lord God" (εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεός), very similar to the one in Peter and Paul, is based on an Old Testament formula, יְהוָה בָּרוּךְ (Gen. ix, 26; xxiv, 27; Ezra vii, 27, etc.); so that Peter did not borrow this phrase from Eph i, 3. Even

¹ If there had been passages in the Epistle based on Colossians and Philippians, the same difficulty would have presented itself, as these Epistles were written about the same time as Ephesians.

² The same word, *προγνωσις*, occurs both in this passage in the Acts and in 1 Pet i, 2, but nowhere else in the New Testament.

if he borrowed it from Paul, he could have taken it from 2 Cor. i, 3. In 1 Peter ii, 18 we have: "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." In Ephesians: "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ" (chap. vi, 5). In the first passage the Greek is, *οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις*, κ. τ. λ. In the second, *οἱ δούλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου*, κ. τ. λ. It is thus seen that there is only *one* word in the Greek common to both passages. If the author of the Epistle under consideration had ever read this passage from Paul, is it likely that, in writing on the same subject, he would have hit upon a single word only of it, and that, too, in a different case? Besides, the ideas are only in part the same.

In chap. iii, 1, Peter says: "Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, ^{Other passages} they also may without the word be won by the conversa- ^{compared.} tion (deportment) of the wives." In Ephesians v, 22, 23 we find: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church," etc. Peter continues his remarks about wives in chap. iii, 2-6, in which there is nothing common to him with Ephesians. There is nothing common to the latter Epistle and that of Peter, except "Wives be in subjection to your own husbands." In the former the Greek is: *αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν (ὑποτασσόμεναι to be supplied.)* In the latter it is: *γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν*. Peter gives as the reason for the subjection of wives to husbands, and their correct deportment, that their husbands may be won over to the gospel by the godly example of the wives. Paul enjoins upon the wives subjection to their husbands, as to the Lord, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and as the Church is subject to Christ, so must wives be to their husbands. Now, in respect to the Greek common to both passages—on the supposition that Peter wished to enjoin subjection of wives to husbands—what other Greek could he have used? *Γυνή* is the only word in prose Greek for *wife*, and *ἀνὴρ*¹ is the only word in the New Testament used for *husband*. To express *subjection*, the word used in the New Testament is *ὑποτάσσω*, occurring thirty-eight times. But the general meaning of *γυνή*, rendered *wife*, is *woman*; and *ἀνὴρ*, rendered *husband*, strictly means *man*, so that another word was necessary to make the meaning definite, *ἰδιος, own*. Let any one attempt to put into different English the phrase: "Wives, be subject to your

¹ *Γῆσις* for *husband* rarely occurs in prose Greek, the common word being *ἀνὴρ*

husbands." We have no synonyme for wife, nor for husband, and the effort would be difficult. "Ye younger, submit yourselves to the elder, and all of you put on humility toward each other,¹ for God resisteth the proud," etc. (chap. v, 5). The nearest approximation to this in Ephesians is, "Being subject to each other in the fear of Christ" (chap. v, 2).¹ There is no probable reference in the former passage to the latter.

We have thus considered the passages adduced to show that the author of the Epistle was acquainted with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and have found no probable proof of such acquaintance; although, as we have already remarked, there is no improbability in the supposition that Peter may have seen some of the earlier Epistles of Paul, perhaps, also, that of James. But we must reject as destitute of proof, and, under the circumstances, as rather improbable, the claim that the author had ever seen the Epistle to the Ephesians, and thus the only ground at all plausible for the rejection of this Epistle of Peter is taken away.

The genuineness of this Epistle is vitally connected with the time of its composition. Schwegler, Baur, and Hilgenfeld refer its composition to the period of the persecution of the Christians under Trajan, about A. D. 113. Hilgenfeld contends that the references in the Epistle to the persecution of the Christians lead to that date. But the persecution of the Christians by Nero, about A. D. 64, to which Eichhorn, Hug, De Wette, Neander, and Ewald refer the allusions to sufferings, is to be accepted as the only one that fully accords with all the facts of the case.

In chap. i, 6 the persons addressed are represented as suffering various trials; and in chap. iv, 12 they are exhorted: "Beloved, be not surprised at the calamity (*πυρώσεις*, *burning*) among you which is happening for your trial, as if a strange thing were befalling you." To which is added: "But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye. . . . But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be

¹The Greek of this clause is, πάντες δε ἀλλήλους τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκυβώσασθε, the reading adopted by both Tischendorf and Tregelles, and which is the reading of the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian Codices, and of the Peshito-Syriac, Memphitic, and Armenian versions. De Wette has ὑποτασσόμενοι in his text. The omission of this takes away his chief ground of reference in this passage to Ephesians v, 21.

ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf" (verses 13-16). In chap. ii, 12 the writer represents the Gentiles as speaking "against them as evil doers." Again he says, in respect to their former wicked lives: "They (the Gentiles) think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you" (chap. iv, 4).

From this it would appear that the cause of their sufferings was the false charges brought against them by their heathen neighbours—charges that originated in deep hatred of the Christians for their rejection of paganism, with all the splendid festivals connected with pagan worship. Under these circumstances the populace might rise up at almost any time against the Christians, and visit upon them terrible suffering, or bring them before the magistrates, and demand the infliction of punishment upon them as violators of the laws. All this could take place without the issuing of an edict by a Roman emperor, and without the prosecution of the Christians as such on the part of the Roman governors. And something similar occurred at Rome in the time of Nero. This wicked ruler, to destroy the rumour that he himself had set fire to Rome, attributed it, as Tacitus tells us, to a class of persons, "whom, hated for their crimes, the populace called Christians." Tacitus at the same time informs us that the punishment inflicted upon them was not so much on the charge of burning Rome as on *account of their hatred of the human race*,¹ that is, their contempt of paganism, which, as Christians, they felt and showed. It is clear, then, that they suffered as Christians; yet Hilgenfeld has the coolness to tell us that in this Epistle "the persecution under Nero cannot be intended, because in it the Roman Christians only were persecuted, and indeed as incendiaries; accordingly, on account of a definite crime of which they were accused. In our Epistle, on the contrary, the Christians as such (ὡς Χριστιανοί) are oppressed and ill-treated on account of their conduct in general, which was sought to be rendered suspicious as illegal and immoral" (ὡς κακοποιοί).²

But how does Hilgenfeld know that the persecution under Nero was limited to the Roman Christians? Is it not in itself very probable that the example set by Nero would be followed by the pagans in various parts of the empire? Suppose the Sultan of Turkey should institute a persecution of the Christians at Constantinople, how soon the example would be followed in the empire where the Mohammedans are in the ascendancy! Suetonius, in describing the times of Nero, says: "The

¹ Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt.—*Anal.*, lib. xv, cap. xlv.

² *Einleitung*, p. 638, 639.

The date given
by Hilgenfeld
improbable.

Christians, a race of men of a new and wicked superstition, were punished."¹ It is evident from his language that they were punished as Christians, nor does he limit this persecution to Rome.

It does not appear from the Epistle of Peter that legal investigations and persecutions were instituted against the Christians as such; and in this respect the state of things to which reference is made in the Epistle is more suitable

to the latter times of Nero (about A. D. 64 and after) than to the latter times of Trajan (A. D. 112 and after), when Pliny, as governor of Pontus and Bithynia, punished them on account of their Christian profession, even when he had ascertained that they were guilty of no crimes.² The Epistle of Peter is addressed to the Christians of five provinces, of which Pliny, about A. D. 111-113, governed but two, Bithynia and Pontus. The other three were then under governors respecting whose treatment of the Christians we know nothing. Yet this Epistle represents the Christians of the five provinces suffering the same afflictions with the rest of the world (chap. v, 9), and makes no discrimination respecting provinces. This does not suit well the time of Pliny's governorship. Merivale remarks, respecting the reply of Trajan to Pliny: "Trajan carefully limits his decision to the particular case and locality."³

While we thus think it highly probable that the Epistle was written about A. D. 64 or 65, during the persecution under Nero, the references in it might suit some other persecution, not instituted by civil authority, but rather an outburst of pagan fanaticism against the Christians, such as is sometimes known in modern times in Mohammedan lands. The references to persecutions occupy but a small portion of the Epistle. Nor does it appear that there were many cases in which the Christians addressed were suffering the death penalty.

Hilgenfeld supposes the Epistle was written at Rome,⁴ about A. D. 113, by a Christian of that city, during the persecution of the Christians of Bithynia and Pontus (described by Pliny the Younger, in his Epistle to Trajan⁵), to strengthen them in their sufferings. That is, the Epistle was forged in the name of the Apostle Peter, about *forty-five years after his death*, and was everywhere received throughout the provinces of Asia Minor. Its universal reception in these provinces is certain. For we find

¹ Nero, cap. xvi.

² See Epistle xcvi of Pliny to Trajan.

³ History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. vii, p. 292.

⁴ In this case it would be astonishing that the forger did not represent it as written from Rome, where it was well-known that Peter spent the last days of his life, instead of from the obscure Babylon.

⁵ Epistola xcvi.

that it was used by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of the Apostle John (in his Epistle, written about A. D. 115); by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia; was attributed to Peter by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 177-202), who spent the earlier part of his life in Asia Minor; and it was admitted into the Peshito-Syriac version of the New Testament (made about A. D. 150), used in an adjacent region. The fact of its admission into this version is of great value, as the Second Epistle of Peter, that of Jude, the Second and Third of John, and the Apocalypse, were never received into it. We also know that it was received without doubt all through the ancient Christian world.

Now, it is clear that the Christians of Asia Minor, as early at least as A. D. 115, accepted this Epistle as that of Peter, and if it was forged about that time and sent to them they must have believed that Peter was still living, though Clement of Rome had already stated in his Epistle to the Corinthians, written in the last part of the first century, that he had died as a martyr. This is, indeed, incredible. Or did the suffering Christians of the time of Pliny's governorship believe that Peter foresaw their sufferings, and to meet their case wrote the Epistle and delivered it to Silvanus to keep for *forty or fifty years*, until the emergency for which it was written should arise, when he was to deliver it to them? But this supposition is equally incredible with the former. It accordingly follows that it was written in the lifetime of Peter, and to this result internal evidence conducts us. In chap. iv, 7, it is said, "But the end of all things is at hand," which indicates that the Epistle was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. We find in various places indications that the persons addressed had been living at one time in paganism, and, consequently, that they belong to the apostolic age. "Not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance," is the language of chap. i, 14. Again: "Who in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God" (chap. ii, 10). "For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles," etc. (chap. iv, 3). Another indication of its belonging to the apostolic age is to be found in the way in which the writer speaks of Church officers. "The elders who are among you," says he, "I exhort, who am also an elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ. . . . Feed the flock of God which is among you," etc. (chap. v, 1, 2). From this it is clear that the distinction between the bishop as presiding presbyter and the other presbyters was not yet made. This pertains to apostolic times.

The modest way in which Peter styles himself simply a "fellow-presbyter" and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, is a mark of

genuineness. Who in the second century would have put such language as this into the mouth of this great apostle? No reason can be assigned for the forgery of such a document, especially while Peter was still living. Nor is it easy to see how it could have been so skilfully executed as to deceive all antiquity, in which no vestige of suspicion appears. The Epistle was sent to the Churches through Silvanus, a former companion of Paul, as appears from its close Paul and Silas had preached the gospel in Galatia and the neighbouring regions about A. D. 52, before which time it is probable that few Christians were found there. The apostle himself states the design of his writing: "By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand." Neander well observes that the teachers of certain errors "accused Paul of falsifying the original Christian doctrine, and had appealed to the authority of the elder apostles in behalf of the continued obligation of the Mosaic law. Peter availed himself of the opportunity for addressing these Churches, in order to establish them in the conviction that the doctrine announced to them by Paul and his disciples and companions, of whom Silvanus was one, was genuine Christianity."¹

The genuineness of this Epistle has also been acknowledged by Hug, Schleiermacher, Bleek, and others. Ewald supposes that the Epistle was composed by Silvanus under the instructions of Peter. Renan thinks it was written a short time before Nero's persecution, and that Peter in its composition availed himself of the assistance of Silvanus; and De Wette remarks: "The hypothesis of its composition by an assistant in the name and with the knowledge of Peter, we leave undecided."²

Nothing has been adduced by the sceptical school to cast suspicion upon this noble document, and it has come down to us attested in the strongest manner as the product of the eminent apostle and eyewitness of the life of Christ.

PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

The place of its composition is determined from the salutations near the end: "The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you (*ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*), saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son." The word *ἐκκλησία*, *Church*, is wanting in the Greek MSS. It is found, however, in the Codex Sinaiticus; the Peshito-Syriac, the Vulgate, and the Armenian versions also contain the word for Church. Neander thinks that instead of "Church" we are to understand Peter's wife, but it seems

¹ Planting and Training, p. 374.

² Einleitung, p. 386.

improbable that he should speak of her as a fellow-elect in Babylon, and it seems best to supply *ἐκκλησία* (Church).

It is clear from this salutation that the Epistle was written in Babylon, or, at least, in its vicinity. But the question as to what Babylon is intended has been much disputed. Yet we can hardly suppose that a native of Palestine, or one living in Western Asia, could mean by this name any other place than the well-known city of Babylon on the Euphrates.¹ In the apostolic age a considerable number of Jews were found at this ancient site.² Some of the ancients, as well as of the moderns, regard Babylon as a symbolical name for Rome. It is true that Rome in the Apocalypse is called Babylon, but that is a book of symbols; and in an Epistle of a plain practical nature, written before the Apocalypse, such a name for Rome is extremely improbable. The symbolical exposition was quite natural for those fathers who held that Peter was for many years bishop of the Roman metropolis, from which it was to be expected that the Epistle would be written.

The Epistle was sent, as already stated, to the Christians of Asia Minor by Silvanus (Silas). There is nothing improbable ^{Sent by Silvanus.} in the supposition that he was with Peter at Babylon.

A. D. 64 or 65, as he no longer appears as the companion of Paul after A. D. 57. From the salutation, it seems that the Evangelist Mark was also with Peter. In this there is nothing strange, as Mark was an acquaintance of his, and Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians (about A. D. 63 or 64), speaks of the possibility of Mark's coming to them, and gives directions respecting him (chap. iv, 10). In Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy (about A. D. 68) Mark is spoken of as being in the East (chap. iv, 11). It is, therefore, very probable that, about A. D. 63 or 64, Mark visited Colossæ and the adjacent regions, then went to Babylon to see Peter, and made known to him the affairs of the Churches in Asia Minor, upon the receipt of which information the apostle addressed his Epistle to these Churches.

CONTENTS.

Peter reminds his readers of their election to the privileges of the gospel, of the glorious inheritance awaiting them through the resurrection of Christ, speaks of their trials and consolation, refers to the fact that the redemption through Christ was predicted by the prophets, exhorts them to holiness of life, and affirms the permanency of the divine word (chap. i). He counsels them to lay aside malevolent

¹ Babylon, now old Cairo, on the Nile, a little south of the modern Cairo, is not to be thought of.

² As we have before seen.

feelings, deceit, and evil-speaking, and to grow up a spiritual people. He also reminds them of their high privileges, enjoins upon them obedience to rulers, to honour all men, to love the brotherhood, to fear God; and to honour the king. He gives directions to servants, and encourages his readers by the example of Christ to be patient under bad treatment (chap. ii). He describes the duties of wives and husbands, exhorts his readers to unanimity, to affection for each other, to pity and courtesy, to avoid returning evil for evil, to do good, and to follow peace. He encourages them in their suffering for righteousness' sake, exhorting them to have a good conscience, and to be able to give a reason for their hope, and refers to the suffering of Christ for our sins, his preaching to the spirits in prison, who were disobedient in the time of Noah, and alludes to the symbol of baptism (chap. iii). He urges them to purity of life, sobriety, watchfulness, and prayer, to cultivate love, hospitality, and to be faithful ministers of the divine gift, and stewards of the grace of God. He encourages them to endure their trials, but warns them not to suffer as evil-doers, and counsels them to have confidence in God (chapter iv). He gives directions to the presbyters respecting the feeding of the flock of God, encouraging them by the reward they shall receive; inculcates the obedience of the younger to the elder, humility, trust in God, sobriety, vigilance, resistance to the devil, reminding them that God will perfect, establish, strengthen, and settle them; and assures them that it is the true grace of God in which they stand. He concludes by sending salutations, and telling the brethren to greet each other with a kiss of charity (chap. v).

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

THE Epistle is addressed "to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ," which shows that it is an encyclical Epistle; yet in chap. iii, 1 the writer states, "This second Epistle, beloved, I now write unto you, in which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance."

CONTENTS.

The writer reminds his readers of the high privileges which they enjoy in the gospel, and enumerates the virtues which they are to

cultivate, and which will insure them admission into the everlasting kingdom of Christ. He states that he is soon to put off his earthly tabernacle, assures them of the truth of the gospel, affirms that he was a witness of the transfiguration of Christ, and directs them to give heed to the inspired prophecies of the Old Testament (chap. i). He describes a class of arrogant, covetous, licentious heretics, who are to appear in the Church, and sets forth the certainty of their fate from God's punishment of sin in the past history of the world. He points out the dreadful state of those who, once being saved from sin through Christ, have again turned to their iniquities (chap. ii). He describes a class of scoffers who will appear in the last days, and ask, Where is the promise of Christ's coming? He attributes the conduct of such scoffers to their voluntary ignorance. He declares that God is long-suffering toward men, but that Christ will certainly come to judgment. He affirms that all things shall be dissolved, but that new heavens and a new earth are expected, wherein dwelleth righteousness. In view of these things he exhorts his readers to diligence and steadfastness, and refers to the difficulties in Paul's Epistles touching these matters (chap. iii).

THE GENUINENESS OF THIS EPISTLE.

The writer of the First Epistle styles himself simply "Peter an Apostle of Jesus Christ;" in this he styles himself "Simon Peter," and refers to his being with Christ, and hearing the voice, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," when he was with him in the Mount of Transfiguration, which he calls "the holy mount." In chap. i, 14 he refers to Christ's foretelling his death, which he says is near. In this there seems to be a reference to John xxi, 18, 19. In chap. iii, 1 he states that this is his *Second* Epistle to his readers. We have already seen that this Epistle, from the first verse, seems to be a general one, while the first is directed to the Churches in certain provinces of Asia Minor.

Between chapters ii, iii, 1-3, of this Epistle and that of Jude there is a very striking resemblance. The most of the distinguished modern critics regard Jude as the original. The allusions in Jude to the Old Testament and to angels seem more natural than they do in Second Peter. And if we look at the matter in the light of probabilities, it is far more probable that Jude should be the original than Second Peter. for if the latter had been already written, there would have been no need of Jude's single chapter, for it was substantially found in Second Peter. But in the latter the similar passages are simply

Similarity between passages of Second Peter and the Epistle of Jude.

indirect paraphrased quotations. The false teachers who have already appeared in Jude are predicted in Second Peter, and afterward described in such a way as to make it appear that they had already come upon the stage (chap. ii). It is not probable that Peter would have followed Jude in this way. If we look at the style of the two Epistles attributed to Peter, we find that the Greek of the Second is more elegant than that of the First.

Cureton has translated from the Syriac, and published in English, an oration of Melito the philosopher, addressed to Antoninus Cæsar. This Melito was bishop of Sardis about A. D. 160-170. In this work occur the following passages, in which the Second Epistle of Peter seems to have been in the mind of the writer. "At another time there was a flood of waters, and all men and living creatures were destroyed by the multitude of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood by the ordinance of God. So also it will be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with the idols which they have made, and with the graven images which they have worshipped; and the sea, together with its isles, shall be burnt,"¹ etc.

A reference to
Second Peter
in Melito.

If this is a genuine oration of Melito—and the probabilities seem in its favour—the passage is the first probable reference to Second Peter, in which alone of the New Testament writings the doctrine of the destruction of the earth by fire is found. Yet it must be remembered that the Stoics taught that the world was destined to be destroyed by a vast conflagration. And it is possible that the idea in the oration of Melito may have come from that source, though it is more probable that it came from Second Peter.

Origen, in commenting on the book of Joshua, says, "Peter sounds the two trumpets of his Epistles."² But in Eusebius he says: "Peter left one acknowledged Epistle; let it be granted (that he left) a Second, for it is a matter of doubt"³ (*ἀμφιβάλλεται*). The Epistle is placed by Eusebius among the disputed books.⁴

It was received as Peter's by the following writers of the fourth century: by Athanasius,⁵ archbishop of Alexandria; Epiphanius,⁶ metropolitan bishop of Cyprus; Ambrose,⁷ bishop of Milan; Hilary,⁸ bishop of Poitiers in Gaul; Cyprian;⁹

Recognized
generally in
the fourth cen-
tury.

¹ Spicileg. Syriacum, p. 51. ² Hom. vii, in the translation of Rufinus into Latin

³ In his Commentary on Psalm i, preserved by Eusebius, vi, cap. 25. ⁴ iii, 25

⁵ Oratio i, Contra Arianos, sec. 16.

⁶ Hæresis, lxvi, 64.

⁷ Comment. in Epist. ad Philip., cap. i.

⁸ Lib. i, 18, De Trinitate.

⁹ Atechesis iv, De Decem Dogmatibus, xxxvi.

bishop of Jerusalem; Gregory Nazianzen,¹ who, however, remarks that some thought but one Epistle of Peter should be received; Marcarius,² the Egyptian; and by Didymus of Alexandria, who quotes, "Until the day dawn and the day star arise in your hearts" (chapter i, 19), as from the *Second Epistle of Peter*.

It was received by Augustine³ (about A. D. 400); and Jerome, of the same age, remarks that "Peter wrote two Epistles which are called Catholic; of which the second is denied by most persons to be his on account of its style differing from that of the First Epistle."⁴ It was not received as canonical by Chrysostom,⁵ bishop of Constantinople (about A. D. 400). And Cosmas Indicopleustes (about A. D. 535) states that only three Catholic Epistles, that of James, one of Peter, and one of John, were found among the Syrians.⁶

This Epistle obtained a very general recognition among the writers of the fourth century, although they made little use of it. Though not found in the early Peshito-Syriac version, nor in the old Latin version, it was incorporated into the versions of the third and fourth centuries, namely: the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian.⁷ At the time of the Reformation its genuineness was denied by Calvin and Erasmus, at a later period by Grotius; and in recent times it has been rejected by Semler, Credner, De Wette, Huther, Neander, Bleek, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and others. On the other hand, the genuineness of the Epistle has been defended by Michaelis, Hug, Pott, Heydenreich, and others. It is written with a great deal of vigor, and its moral and religious doctrines harmonize with those of the apostles, as set forth in their undoubted writings. This is especially true of the first chapter, which contains a list of the virtues to be added to faith in order to secure admission into heaven. There is one subject—the consummation of all things—respecting which it sets forth doctrines peculiar to itself. It represents the heavens and the earth as reserved unto the day of judgment, in which "the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat" (chap. iii, 12). Bertholdt regarded the Epistle as genuine with the exception of chapter ii.

The opinions of the reformers and of modern critics as to the genuineness of Second Peter.

¹ Carminum, lib. i, ii.

² Homily xxxix.

³ Lib. i, xxviii, De Trinitate. At the end of the short exposition of Second Peter by him found in a Latin translation, it is stated, "We must not be ignorant of the fact that this Epistle has been falsified (*falsatam esse*), which, although in public use (*publicetur*), is nevertheless not in the Canon." These words appear to have been added by the translator.

⁴ De Doctr. Christ., lib. ii, cap. viii.

⁵ De Vir. Illus. Petrus.

⁶ Synop. Scrip. Sacr.

⁷ Topog. Christ., lib. vii.

⁸ It was, no doubt, the Gothic version, but it is not found in the fragments of that version that have reached us.

while Ullmann held to the Petrine origin of chapter i only. But no good ground exists for making any such distinction; the whole must be ascribed to one author.

CHAPTER XL.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

THE PERSON OF JUDE.

THE writer of the Epistle styles himself "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." But the question is, whether he is the apostle of that name, the brother of James (Luke vi, 16; Acts i, 13), or a uterine brother of Christ (Matt. xiii, 55)? By the writer calling himself the brother of James, we naturally infer that he means the well-known James, bishop of Jerusalem in the apostolic age, in which case his apostleship would depend on that of James, and stand or fall with it. Yet this inference is not certain.

Respecting the field of labour of the Apostle Jude nothing is known; and but little is known respecting Jude the brother of Christ (Matt. xiii, 55). It would seem that the latter remained in Judea, as the Emperor Domitian summoned his grandchildren, and made inquiry of them respecting their descent from David.¹

CONTENTS.

The Epistle is addressed to the saints in general, and consists of but a single chapter, of twenty-five verses, and is directed against a certain class of ungodly men who are turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and "denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." He refers to God's retributive justice in the punishment of disobedient Israel, of rebellious angels, and of the wicked men of Sodom and Gomorrah. He gives a vivid figurative description of these corrupt men who have crept into the Church, and represents them as speaking evil of dignities, while Michael the archangel did not use reproachful language toward the devil. He says that Enoch prophesied of these men, and of the Lord's coming to judgment. He affirms that the apostles of Christ foretold these lascivious mockers. He exhorts his readers to build themselves upon their most holy faith and keep themselves in the love of God, gives

¹ According to Hegesippus, in Eusebius' Hist. Eccles., iii, cap. xx.

them directions respecting the saving of sinners, and closes with an ascription of praise "to the only wise God our Saviour."

THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

The Epistle is not found in the Peshito-Syriac version of the second century, but it is included in the Canon of Mu- ^{Opinions of the} ratori. We find no use of it made by Irenæus, but it is ^{father's} quoted by Clement¹ of Alexandria, and by Tertullian² of Carthage, as the Apostle Jude's. Origen says: "Jude wrote an Epistle of a few lines, but filled with words powerful in heavenly grace."³ He supposes its author was a brother of Christ. He also says: "If any one would also admit the Epistle of Jude, let him see,"⁴ etc. It appears that Origen had no doubt that the Epistle was written by Jude the brother of Christ, but the question was, its canonical authority. In the Latin translation of Origen on the Romans, Jude is quoted as an *apostle*. It is very improbable that Origen thus distinguished him; it is rather the designation of Rufinus, the translator, who took liberties with the text.

Eusebius places the Epistle among the disputed books.⁵ He remarks that it is one of the seven Epistles called Catholic, and that not many of the ancients have mentioned it. "We nevertheless know," says he, "that also these (the Epistles of James and Jude), along with the rest, have been publicly read in most Churches."⁶ It is contained in the Canon of Cyril⁷ of Jerusalem (about A.D. 350); a passage from it is given substantially by Athanasius.⁸ It is in the Canon⁹ of Gregory Nazianzen (about A. D. 375), who, however, remarks that some do not receive it.¹⁰ It was received by Didymus¹¹ of Alexandria and Rufinus¹² of Aquileia in the last half of the fourth century.

Jerome remarks¹³ on Jude: "He left a short Epistle, which is one of the seven Catholic Epistles. And because testimony from the

¹ "For I wish you to know," says Jude, "that God once having saved the people out of Egypt," etc. (ver. 5). *Paedagogi*, iii, cap. viii. Also, in reference to certain heresies he says: "I think Jude spoke prophetically concerning these and similar heresies, 'Likewise also these filthy dreamers,'" etc. (ver. 8). *Stromata* iii, cap. ii.

² *De Cultu Foem.*, lib. i, cap. iii.

³ *Comment. in Matthæum*, tomus x

⁴ *Ibid.*, tomus xvii, 30 Both of these passages we have taken from the Greek text of Origen.

⁵ *Hist. Eccles.*, iii, cap. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, cap. 23.

⁷ *Catechesis* iv, *De Decem Dogmatibus*, xxxvi.

⁸ *Comment. in Psalmum*, 149

⁹ *Carnarium*, lib. i.

¹⁰ *Idem.*, lib. ii.

¹¹ He wrote an exposition of it

¹² *Commentarium in Symb. Apostol.*, 37.

¹³ *Lib. de Viris Illus. Judas.*

apocryphal Book of Enoch is used in it, it is rejected by very many persons; nevertheless, it has acquired authority by antiquity and use, and is reckoned among the sacred Scriptures." It was not, however, received by Chrysostom.¹

The Epistle, though not found in the ancient Syriac version, was contained in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions, and in all probability in the old Latin version, as the Epistle is attributed by Tertullian to Jude the apostle.

The Christian writers of the early centuries made little use of this Epistle, a fact readily explained by its brevity.

Modern opinion. Luther judged it to be of little value, and this was also the opinion of Grotius, Michaelis, and Schleiermacher. De Wette² attributes it to Jude the brother of the Lord, not to the apostle of that name. Neander³ is also inclined to attribute the Epistle to the same Jude, and to him it is confidently ascribed by Bleek. Hilgenfeld denies that it was written either by Jude the apostle, or by the brother of the Lord of that name, and refers its composition to a period not earlier than A. D. 140.⁴ De Wette⁵ observes that most critics recognize the Epistle as genuine.

The author does not profess to be an apostle, styling himself simply a *servant* of Jesus Christ, and brother of James; Jude's account of himself. and his language seems to exclude him from the number of the apostles: "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were before spoken by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how they told you there should be mockers in the last time." This language also indicates that the Epistle was written after the death of at least most of the apostles.

Now, the very fact that the author does not wish to pass for an apostle, and intimates that the apostolic age was quite past, takes away from the Epistle all suspicion of forgery. Nor is there any thing in it that might not have been written by Jude the brother of the Lord, who was no apostle.

But there is a grave objection to its being regarded as the writing of the *Apostle* Jude. In verses 14, 15 he quotes the Quotations in Epistle of Jude from apocryphal writings. apocryphal Book of Enoch,⁶ written about the time of Christ, as a genuine production: "And Enoch also, the

¹ Synopsis Scrip. Sac.

² Einleitung, pp. 407-409.

³ Planting and Training, etc., p. 392.

⁴ Einleitung, pp. 642-648.

⁵ Einleitung, pp. 739-744.

⁶ Einleitung, p. 410

⁷ This book of Enoch has in modern times been found in the Ethiopic language, and was translated into English and published by Dr. Laurence in 1821. In 1853 the celebrated Ethiopic scholar, Dillmann, published a German translation of the book, with explanations.

seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of the saints, to execute judgment upon all," etc. Tertullian uses the fact that Jude has quoted this book as a proof of its prophetic character.¹

In verse 9 the Epistle says: "Yet Michael the archangel, when, contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." Here the writer quotes an apocryphal book called *Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως* (The Ascension of Moses), as is evident from the following passage of Origen, in which, speaking concerning the seduction of Eve by the serpent, he remarks: "Concerning which, in the *Ascension of Moses*—which little book the Apostle² Jude mentions in his Epistle—Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, says, That the serpent inspired by the devil was the cause of the sin of Adam and Eve."³

THE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

It is probable that the book was written a few years after the destruction of Jerusalem, as the Epistle itself indicates that the apostolic age was past. But there is nothing in it to indicate that it was written in the second century, as the men against whom the Epistle is directed are found in the Church itself, not, as the heretics of the second century, outside of the Church. Heretical teachers are referred to, both in the Apocalypse and in some of the later Epistles of Paul.

Credner and Ewald place its composition about A. D. 80; Bleek a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN.

THIS is one of the seven Catholic Epistles, and is addressed to no particular Church, but is rather of an encyclical character. The writer clearly sets forth the design of his writing: "These things

¹ De Cultu Foem., i, cap. iii.

² This is the Latin translation of Rufinus, and the title Apostle was doubtless given by the translator, as Origen, in his Greek Commentary on Matthew, says that this Jude was one of the brothers of Christ mentioned in Matt. xiii, 55.

³ *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, lib. iii, cap. ii, sec. i.

have I written unto you that ye may know that ye have eterna. life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God " (chap. v, 13). It is possible that the writer may have had in his mind some of the corrupters of the true doctrine concerning Christ, especially Cerinthus, when he wrote: " This is he who came by water and by blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and by blood " (chap. v. 6).

Cerinthus appeared in Asia Minor in the last part of the first century, and taught " that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but was the son of Joseph and Mary, born like all the rest of men, and became more just and wise (than they). And after his baptism the Christ came down into him from the power above the universe, in the form of a dove. And then he proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles; and at last the Christ flew away from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose again, but the Christ remained impassible, a spiritual being."¹ In opposition to this John declares that Christ passed through baptism and through death. But in the passage: " Every spirit that acknowledgeth that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that does not acknowledge Jesus² is not of God " (chap. iv, 2, 3), there seems to be a simple reference to the reception or rejection of Christ.

The main purpose of the Epistle is to enforce practical piety; the purpose of The purpose of this Epistle. censure of heretical doctrines occupies a subordinate position. The attempt of Hilgenfeld to find in it traces of the gnosticism of the second century is an entire failure. He says that the writer (chap. iii, 9) uses the gnostic expression σπέρμα (seed). Now, it is true that the Valentinians, who derived their tenets from Valentinus (after A. D. 140), and were refuted by Irenæus (about A. D. 180), did use the word in about the same sense as John, but it is ridiculous to suppose that the author of the Epistle derived the word from them, especially as they made great use of John's Gospel, and doubtless used the Epistle also.

ITS GENUINENESS.

We have already seen, in discussing the genuineness of John's fully accepted by the Church. Gospel, that this Epistle was everywhere used by the early Church from the first part of the second century and was found in all the ancient versions of the New Testament. Nowhere does there appear a doubt of its having been written by

¹ Hippolytus, *Hæres. Omnium Confutatio*, lib. vii, 33.

² We follow the critical text of Tischendorf and Tregelles, and omit *Χριστός ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*, " Christ having come in the flesh."

the Apostle John. It bears the clearest internal evidence of having proceeded from an eyewitness of the life of Christ, and from the author of the fourth Gospel.

THE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

As the Apostle John spent the latter part of his life at Ephesus, where he died in the beginning of Trajan's reign (about A. D. 98), the Epistle must have been written before that time, though it is impossible to say how long. It was probably written between A. D. 80 and 90; but we cannot determine whether before or after the author wrote his Gospel.

CONTENTS.

The author begins by declaring that the manifestations of Christ, which have been the objects of his senses, he proclaims to his readers, that they may share with him a divine fellowship, and that their joy may be full. He affirms that God is light; and that our profession of communion with him while we walk in darkness is false; but that by walking in the light we have communion with him, and are cleansed from sin through Christ. We deceive ourselves by denying that we are sinners, and make God a liar; but by confessing our sins we shall find forgiveness and deliverance (chap. i).

He states that Christ is our advocate with God, and the propitiation for the sins of all men, and that our knowledge of Christ is shown by our obedience to him. He lays great stress upon love, without which we cannot enjoy the light. He describes the different classes of the saints to whom he writes, warns them against the love of the world, refers to antichrists, and presupposes on the part of his readers a divine guidance, and exhorts them to continue in the truth that they may have confidence at Christ's coming (chap. ii).

He reminds them of their high privileges and glorious hopes, and urges them to holy living. He gives the characteristics of the sinner and the saint, makes love a prominent trait of the latter, and affirms that he who hates his brother is a murderer. He insists upon practical benevolence as a test of our love to God, and religious acts, not mere words. He shows that a good conscience is the ground of confidence toward God. The keeping of his commandment, to believe in Christ and love each other, gives us confidence in prayer. God's spirit in us is the proof of his presence (chap. iii).

He exhorts them to try the spirits, affirming that their acceptance or rejection of Christ is the test of their truth, or falsehood. He reminds them that their victory over the unbelieving men of the world is of God; and affirms that those who are of God hear him (the writer); but those who are not, hearken not. He exhorts them to

love each other, as love is the test of their knowing God, and declares that perfect love casts out all fear (chap. iv).

Those who have faith in Christ are born of God, and love him and Christ. To love God is to keep his commandments, which are not oppressive. He affirms that our faith in Christ is the victory over the world; that Christ came by water and by blood, and that there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, the water and the blood. that we ought to receive God's testimony concerning his Son, in whom we have eternal life. He says that his design in writing is that they may believe in Christ and have eternal life. He expresses confidence in the efficacy of prayer, speaks of a sin unto death, and affirms that while the whole world lies in wickedness, they who are born of God are kept from sin and from Satan, and that the Son of God has given them understanding to know Christ, who is the true God and eternal life (chap. v).

THE GENUINENESS OF CHAP. V, 7.

"For there are three that bear record in heaven, The Father, the Chapter v, 7. Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one."
spurious.

The above is the reading of the English version, based on the received text, but the verse is certainly spurious, as it is wanting in the three most ancient MSS. of the New Testament, the Codices Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus of the middle of the fourth century, and the Alexandrinus of the latter part of the fifth century, and in the Peshito-Syriac of about the middle of the second century. If we begin with chapter v, 6, we read as follows in the Codex Vaticanus, and in this very ancient version: "This is he who came by water and by blood, Jesus Christ, not by water only, but by water and by blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, for the Spirit is truth; because there are three that bear witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and the three are for (agree in) one. If we receive the testimony of men,"¹ etc. The verse under consideration is wanting, also, as Tischendorf informs us, in all the Greek MSS. except two, one of the *sixteenth* century, the other, a Greek-Latin, of about the *fifteenth* century. It is wanting in the Peshito-Syriac, as we have already seen, and in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions; and in the Codex

¹ The text of Tischendorf and Tregelles, which gives substantially the reading of the three most ancient MSS., is: "Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστὶν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἶμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Cod. Sinait. adds πνεύματος ἀπὲρ αἵματος; the Cod. Alex. does the same, and has πνεύματι instead of ὕδατι in verse 6

Amiatinus of Florence, of the sixth century, containing Jerome's Latin version.

Not only is the authority of MSS. and versions opposed to the genuineness of the verse, but Tischendorf remarks: "It is likewise condemned by all the Greek Fathers, who cultivated letters in the first ten centuries after Christ and later. But the interpolation is a Latin one, although it remained unknown to the most ancient and the most celebrated Latin Codices and Fathers themselves, nor was it published by Jerome. It seems first to have made its appearance, according to the testimony of the Speculum, rather in the fourth than in the fifth century, although in these centuries, and also afterward, there were many, as Augustine and Jerome, as Leo the Great († 461; he copied the whole context of John, in his celebrated Epistle to Flavian, read in the Council of Chalcedon) and Facundus († about 570), who condemned the text by their silence. It is an error of an exceedingly grave character, if any persons, because the Church of Christ teaches the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, have thought that they should especially depend upon these words foisted upon John."¹ Tregelles remarks: "The more ancient Latin Codices do not contain these words. They were first inserted on the margin of Latin Codices, and afterward in the text."

In the first printed text of the Greek New Testament, published in 1514 as a part of the Complutensian Polyglot, 1 John v, 7 was inserted. The famous Erasmus then inquired of Stunica by what authority the editors had inserted that verse, "and whether they really had MSS. so different from any that Erasmus himself had seen: to this the answer was given by Stunica, 'You must know that the copies of the Greeks are corrupted; that *ours*, however, contain the very truth.'"² Erasmus omitted the verse in the first two editions of his Greek Testament; but in his third edition, published in 1522, he inserted the verse, since, he said, it was contained in a Greek MS. found among the English, that by so doing he might avoid calumny.³ After this it made its appearance in "the editions of Robert Stephens, 1546-1569; in the editions of Beza, 1565-1576. From them it passed over into the editions of the Elzevirs" (Tischendorf).

First appearance of this verse in the printed text of the Greek Testament.

¹ From the Latin of his Eighth Critical Edition of the Greek Testament.

² Tregelles, Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament, pp. 9, 10.

³ He states that he suspects that this verse in the Greek Codex has been inserted to conform it to the Latin Codices, and yet, to avoid calumny, he inserts it. No wonder he had not courage enough to embrace the Reformation.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF JOHN.

THIS Epistle contains but thirteen verses, and, according to the English version, it is addressed to "the elect lady." Neander and Bleek take the Greek word, *κυρία*, rendered *lady*, for the proper name of the woman, *Kuria*, in English *Cyria*, which De Wette favours. Robinson observes that the name was not "unusual among the Greeks" (Greek Lexicon). This view seems quite probable, as it is likely the woman's name would be given, as the man's name (Gaius) is given in the Third Epistle. The writer expresses his love for her and her children as possessors of the truth, and his joy in finding them walking in the truth, and urges upon them the duty of loving each other, and walking after the commandments of God. He warns them against deceivers, who do not acknowledge that Christ has come in the flesh, and affirms that the only way to possess the Father is to abide in the doctrine of the Son. He warns them against receiving into their house or imploring God's favour upon those who teach a different doctrine. He has much to write, but prefers to speak face to face, as he expects to come shortly to her.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE.

This Epistle was, doubtless, written by the Apostle John, as it bears the genuine impress of his writing; nor does the fact that the writer calls himself simply "The elder" militate against the apostolic authorship.

Irenæus¹ quotes verse 11, with the prefix: "For John, the disciple of the Lord, says." Clement of Alexandria quotes 1 John v, 16, 17 with the remark: "And John is seen to show in *the larger* Epistle that there are different kinds of sins."² This shows that he recognized at least two Epistles of John. Tertullian, discussing long quotations which he had taken from the First Epistle of John, speaks of them as what John asserts in his "First Epistle" (*in prima quidem Epistola*³), which shows his knowledge of one other at least. Cyprian quotes numerous passages from the First Epistle of John; he ~~never~~ quotes it, however, as the *First* Epistle, but speaks of it as *his* Epistle

¹ Contra Hæreses, lib. i, cap. xvi, 3.

² Stromata, ii, cap. xv.

³ Liber de Pudicitia, cap. xix.

nor does he give any hint of another. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the third century, speaks of a Second and a Third Epistle ascribed to the Apostle John.¹ Origen, after remarking that the Apostle John left one Epistle of a very few lines, adds: "Let it be granted (that he left) a Second and a Third; for all do not affirm that these are genuine, but both of them are not of a hundred lines."² Eusebius, after stating that the First Epistle of John was acknowledged without dispute, both by the Christians of his time and by the ancients, says: "But the remaining two are disputed."³

In the Canon of Muratori two Epistles of John are recognized, of which one is our First Epistle, from which a part of the first verse is given. It is very probable that the other is our present Second Epistle. This Epistle, and also the Third of John, are wanting in the ancient Syriac version; nor were they received by the Syrian Church in the first half of the sixth century, according to the testimony of Cosmas Indicopleustes who flourished at that time. It is, however, found in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions. Jerome remarks that the Second and Third Epistles of John "are asserted to be those of the presbyter John, of whom another tomb is shown, even to-day, at Ephesus, although some suppose that both monuments belong to the same John the evangelist."⁴

The Epistle was not in the canon of Chrysostom, but it formed a part of that of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Rufinus, of Epiphanius, and of Augustine. Its genuineness is acknowledged by Bleek and Neander, and favoured by De Wette.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN.

THE address of this Epistle is: "The elder to the beloved Gaius." Several persons of this name are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xix, 29; xx, 4), and in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi, 23), and in the First to the Corinthians (chap. i, 14). The same person is referred to in the two passages of Paul's Epistles; and it appears that he lived at Corinth. Another Gaius was of Derbe, and a third is called a Macedonian. But it is not probable that any of these is the Gaius here addressed, who probably lived in Asia Minor not very far from Ephesus.

¹ In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, cap. xxv.

² *Ibid.*, vi, cap. xxv.

³ *Ibid.*, iii, cap. xxiv.

⁴ *De Viris Illustribus*. Joannes

The apostle having learned of the piety of Gaius, and the hospitality he had shown to Christian missionaries, who were of the Jewish nation it would seem, writes the Epistle to him to express his hearty approval of his conduct. He prays that the prosperity and health of Gaius may be equal to his piety. He states that, notwithstanding the fact that he had written to the Church to aid the Christian missionaries, Diotrophes not only does not receive them, but also speaks evil of him, and prevents those willing to do this service and casts them out of the Church.

He exhorts Gaius not to imitate the evil but the good, affirming that he who does good is of God, but that the evil doer has not seen God. He observes that all men and the truth itself bear witness to Demetrius, to which testimony he adds his own. He adds that he has many things to write, but is not willing to put them upon paper, as he expects to see Gaius shortly, and closes with salutations.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

The Epistle bears the impress of John's style, and, doubtless, was written by him. Though not found in the Peshito-Syriac version, it was nevertheless incorporated into the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions. It is also found in the canon of Cyril, Rufinus, and Augustine, though it had been placed among the disputed writings by Origen and Eusebius. Gregory Nazianzen reckoned it among the canonical books, though he says that some acknowledge but one Epistle of John.

Its genuineness is acknowledged by Bleek,¹ and favoured by Neander² and De Wette.³ We have not been able to find extracts from it in the Fathers of the first three centuries after Christ; but this is not at all surprising when we remember its brevity, and the fact that it was addressed to a private individual.

The principal source of doubt respecting the Second and Third of John's Epistles arose from his styling himself "The elder," and from the fact that they were excluded from the Syriac version, and because they had been doubtless but little read in the earliest Church, as being private letters, and had been seldom or never quoted by the earliest ecclesiastical writers.

¹ *Einleitung*, pp. 696, 697.

² *Planting and Training, etc.*, pp. 409, 416.

³ *Einleitung*, pp. 403, 404.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE APOCALYPSE.

THIS book, which closes the canon of Holy Scripture, is almost wholly unlike any other of the New Testament. No part of the Bible is so highly symbolical; it abounds in the most striking and awful imagery. Nothing can be more sublime than the description of our Saviour in the opening chapter; and the mighty events in the history of the Church are set forth in symbols and language of almost equal sublimity. Even the addresses to the seven Churches, which, of course, are didactic, assume an earnest and lofty tone. John reaches the loftiest heights without effort. He borrows, it is true, a part of his imagery from the Hebrew prophets, but he by no means slavishly copies them; in some respects he surpasses them. His descriptions are more lifelike and more terrible. He carries us to the throne of God, shows us the eternal, the magnificent court of heaven, the glorified saints, and the forces and weapons which the Almighty employs in the destruction of his foes. But amid all the storms of divine wrath, amid thunderings and earthquakes, he never loses sight of God's people; he represents them as secure.

This divine panorama, beginning with the appearance of Christ in a glorified state, unfolds the mighty conflict waged for centuries between Christianity and paganism, resulting in the complete overthrow of the latter, and closes with the resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment, and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

ITS LINGUISTIC CHARACTER.

The linguistic character of the book is remarkable. It has more Hebraisms and irregular constructions than any other in the New Testament. The following are examples of Hebraisms: *Οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν*, Numerous Hebraisms of the Apocalypse. *κ. τ. λ.* (chap. vii, 2), literally, *to whom* it was given *to them* to hurt the earth, the relative and the personal pronoun, both used for the relative simply; *Ὁν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο*, *which* no one was able to number *it* (chap. vii, 9); *ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν*, *which* no one is able to shut *it* (chap. iii, 8); *ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν*, of *which* the number of *them* (chap. xx, 8). That these construc-

English. 'Απὸ ὃ ὢν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, *From him who is, and who was, and who is to come* (chap. i, 4). Here we would expect the genitive after ἀπὸ; it is probable, however, that the phrase ὃ ὢν was regarded as indeclinable. 'Ο νικῶν, δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ, κ. τ. λ., *The one who conquers, to him will I give to sit down with me*, etc. (chap. iii, 21), is obviously an *anacoluthon*. Anomalous is the connecting of the present and the future tense by καί: "Ἐρχομαι σοί καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου, κ. τ. λ., *I am coming to thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick* (chap. ii, 5).

There are some other irregularities, but not of so striking a character. But, after all, the most of the language is as regular in its construction as it is in the other books of the New Testament, and scarcely less so than in some parts of Thucydides.

THE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 177-202), is the first writer who bears testimony to the time of the composition of the Apocalypse: "For had it been necessary," says he, "that ^{Most probably written in the time of Nero.} his name (the name of the Apocalyptic beast) should be clearly announced at this present time, it certainly would have been proclaimed by him who saw the Apocalypse. For it was seen not a long time ago, but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian."¹ According to this statement, the book was written about A. D. 95, as Domitian's reign extended from A. D. 81 to 96. This testimony is valuable from the fact that Irenæus spent the early part of his life in Asia Minor, and was acquainted with Polycarp, a disciple of John. Yet Irenæus may have obtained no traditional knowledge upon the subject, and may have determined the time by critical conjecture.

Clement of Alexandria, president of its catechetical school (A. D. 191-200), states that John "returned to Ephesus from the island Patmos, when the tyrant was dead."² He does not state what tyrant, and yet it is probable that by this term he designates the emperor who was pre-eminently *the tyrant, Nero*. But if Domitian is the tyrant to whom Clement refers, then the return of John from Patmos could not have been earlier than the close of the year 96, as Domitian was assassinated in September of that year. John probably did not live more than two or three years after his return, as Irenæus states that he lived until the times of Trajan, whose reign began A. D. 98. Nor is it probable that he survived long after the beginning of this monarch's reign, as at this time he must have been between ninety and one hundred years of age.

¹ Lib. v, cap. xxx, sec. 3.

² Lib. Quis Dives Salvetur cap. alii

Now, the incidents that Clement relates of John, after the return from Patmos to Ephesus, cannot well be crowded into two or three years, and some of them do not suit a man of his age at that time. Clement states that after John returned to Ephesus from Patmos he went by invitation to the neighbouring nations, where he appointed bishops and organized Churches, and while engaged in this work he saw a young man of fine form and mien, whom he intrusted to the bishop of the place, to be trained in Christianity, after which the apostle departed to Ephesus. "The presbyter, having taken home the young man intrusted to him, nourished, kept, cherished, and finally instructed him." But after he had baptized the young man, he somewhat relaxed his diligent care of him. In the course of time the young man is corrupted by some of his own age, whom he forms into a band of robbers, and becomes their leader. John visited the bishop, and demanded of him the ward he had committed to him. The apostle was informed that the young man was dead to God and had become a robber, upon which, exhibiting strong marks of grief, John borrowed a horse and went in pursuit of him, and was conducted by a guide to his abode. The young man is brought to a knowledge of his guilt, weeps bitterly, and is restored to the Church.¹

It seems utterly impossible, at least very improbable, that all this could have occurred after the year 96, and that John at his great age should have travelled on foot through the regions adjacent to Ephesus. Hence we are led to infer that his return from Patmos must have been years earlier, and that the tyrant to whom Clement refers was Nero.

Origen, in commenting on Matt. xx, 23, remarks: "The king of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned John, who bore testimony on account of the word of truth, to the island of Patmos. John shows the following things concerning his own testimony, not stating who condemned him, affirming in the Apocalypse: 'I John, who am your brother,' etc., . . . and it appears that he saw the Apocalypse in the island."² From this it seems that Origen was not certain what emperor had banished John to Patmos.

Tertullian of Carthage, speaking of the sufferings of Peter and Paul at Rome, says: "Where the Apostle John, after he had been thrown into boiling oil and received no injury, is banished to an

¹ We have abridged Clement's account, which he calls "no fable, but a real narrative respecting John the Apostle." *Quis Dives Salvetur?* cap. xlii. Clement as early as A. D. 170 or 175 travelled extensively in western Asia and in southern Europe, and in various places he had Christian teachers. The narrative bears the stamp of truth.

² *Tomus* xvi. 6.

island."¹ It would seem from the context that Tertullian referred the banishment to the time of Nero. No reliance is to be placed upon the statement that John was thrown into boiling oil. Had it been true, we doubtless would have heard of it from some other writers.

Eusebius, speaking of the persecution of the Christians by Domitian, remarks: "At this time it is reported (*κατέχει λόγος*, the story goes) that the Apostle, and at the same time evangelist, John, being still alive, was condemned to dwell in the island Patmos on account of his testimony to the divine word."²

Mention of the time of banishment by Eusebius and Jerome.

Epiphanius in the last half of the fourth century states that John returned from Patmos in the time of Claudius Cæsar³ (A. D. 41-54) Jerome says that "John wrote the Apocalypse when banished to the island Patmos by Domitian, who, after Nero, stirred up a second persecution in the fourteenth year of his reign."⁴

The titlepage of the Apocalypse in the Syriac version states that the book was written in Nero's time.⁵ The value of this testimony, however, is diminished by the fact that the present version of the Apocalypse in Syriac does not belong to the Peshito, but to the Philoxenian version, made about A. D. 500.

There is nothing satisfactory in the foregoing statements of the early fathers respecting John's banishment, yet the most of the testimony points to the reign of Domitian as the period during which John's abode in Patmos occurred, and consequently when the book was written. But internal evidence points rather to the latter part of Nero's reign as the time of its composition (about A. D. 68). The author himself states that he was in the island called Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus (*διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ*) (chap. i, 9). The inference to be drawn from this is, that he either took refuge there to escape his persecutors, or was banished there. It is true that if Patmos had been a populous island at the time we might suppose that he went there to preach the gospel. But it is incredible that John would leave the populous cities to preach the gospel in an island that must have been but sparsely populated. From this passage we infer that the book was written during a persecution of the Christians, and there are other passages that indicate the same thing.

¹ Ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam, in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. Præscrip., cap. xxxvi.

² Hist. Eccles., iii, cap. xviii.

³ Hæresis li, cap. 12.

⁴ De Viris Illus. Joannes.

⁵ "The revelation that was made to the Evangelist John from God in the isle of Patmos, to which he was banished by Nero Cæsar." Bagster's Edition.

During the first century there were but two persecutions of any note, those of Nero and Domitian. Under the reign of one of these Cæsars, our book, in all probability, had its origin. Respecting the persecution of Nero, Neander remarks: "This persecution was not, indeed, in its immediate effects, a general one; but fell exclusively on the Christians in Rome, accused as the incendiaries of the city, yet what had occurred in the capital could not fail of being attended with serious consequences, affecting the situation of the Christians, whose religion, moreover, was an unlawful one, throughout all the provinces."¹ In reference to Domitian's reign, he remarks: "The charge of embracing Christianity would, in this reign, be the most common one after that of high treason (*crimen majestatis*). In consequence of such accusations many were condemned to death, or to the confiscation of their property and banishment to an island."² The declaration made to John, "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings" (chap. x, 11), is more suitable to John in the time of Nero than at the close of the reign of Domitian, when John was very old, and had but two or three years to live.

"Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months" (chap. xi, 1, 2). It seems clear from this passage that the Jewish Temple was still standing when the book was written; but the Temple perished when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, A. D. 70. With this passage compare Luke xxi, 24: "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled."

In the description of the great whore who had corrupted the earth, sitting upon a beast with seven heads, the angel declares: "The seven heads are seven mountains [the seven hills on which Rome stood], on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition" (chap. xvii, 9-11). With the data here furnished, we are able to determine approximately the time of the composition of the book. Five kings of Rome are fallen; these would be Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius Caligula, and Claudius. "One is," that is Nero; "the other has not yet come; and when he cometh,

¹ Church History, vol. i, 95.

² Ibid., p. 96.

he must continue a short space;" that is Galba, who reigned but seven months. "And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." This seems to refer to Nero, who was expected to reappear upon the stage of the Roman world. Tacitus remarks: "About the same time (A. D. 70) Achaia and Asia were troubled by a false alarm, as if Nero [who had been dead about two years] was about to make his appearance. Various were the reports concerning his death, and for this reason many pretended that he was alive, and not a few really believed it."¹ "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred and threescore and six" (chap. xiii, 18). Irénæus² suggests names, the letters of which will make 666, among which he gives ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ (LATINOS), which is favoured by Bleek.³ But it is stated that the number of the Apocalyptic beast is the number of a man, and therefore it is better to suppose, with Fritzsche, Benary, Hitzig, Reuss, Stuart, and Mangold, that Nero is intended, whose name in Hebrew, קֶסַר נֶרֹן, KESAR NERON, makes 666; thus: ק=100; ס=60; ר=200; נ=50; ר=200; ו=6; נ=50. This would add something to the proof that the book was written in Nero's reign.

Here the question arises, What light does the linguistic character of the work throw upon the time of its composition? The style as The Greek of John's Gospel is more regular and freer ^{showing the time of composition.} from Hebraisms than is that of the Apocalypse. To the hypothesis, which we hold, that both books proceeded from the same author, this difference of style offers no objection, but is easily explained, if we suppose the Apocalypse to have been composed in Nero's reign. This being the earlier work, gives us a style and language in which the Hebrew idiom⁴ still cleaves to the author; while the Gospel, written probably fifteen or twenty years later, exhibits a higher degree of Grecian culture, the result of a long abode in Ephesus. But on the hypothesis that both books were written by the same author about the same time, the difference of language is not so easily explained. The composition of the book is placed in the time of Galba (A. D. 68-69) by Lücke,⁵ De Wette,⁶

¹ Sub idem tempus Achæa atque Asia falso exterritæ, velut Nero adventaret; vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Hist. lib. ii, cap. 8.

² He gives ΕΥΑΘΑΣ, ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, and ΤΕΙΤΑΝ. Lib. v, cap. xxx, sec. 3.

³ Einleitung, p. 715.

⁴ It is probable that John left Palestine some time before the Jewish war, perhaps about A. D. 65-67. ⁵ Die Offenbarung des Johannes, p. 840. ⁶ Einleitung, p. 416.

Neander,¹ Ewald, and Gieseler;² in the time of Nero by Professor Stuart;³ in A. D. 68-70 by Bleek;⁴ at the end of 68 or beginning of 69 by Hilgenfeld.⁵ Hengstenberg⁶ and Ebrard⁷ place it near the end of the reign of Domitian (95-96). But as the book was written in the midst of the persecution of the Church, it is best to place its composition not later than the first part of A. D. 63, as Nero died in the June of that year. Although I have been led to this conclusion I am fully aware of the force of the arguments for the Domitian date, and confess that the evidence for either view is far from conclusive.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE APOCALYPSE.

"The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John: who bare record of the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, whatever he saw" (chap. i, 1, 2). Such is the statement of the author respecting himself. He further states: "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus,"⁸ & c. (ch. i, 9). The last part of this verse refers to the testimony the author bore to the truth of Christianity as an eyewitness of the sufferings and glory of Christ. In the words, "his servant John: who bore testimony to the word of God," etc., we think there is a designation of the Apostle John. And who but an apostle would take it upon himself to address the Churches in Asia in such an authoritative tone, to chasten and to rebuke them? Could John the presbyter, to whom some have ascribed the book, be expected during the lifetime of the Apostle John to do this?⁹ But little, indeed, is known of this John, and nothing to indicate such a position as the author of this book held, to whom it is said, "Thou must prophesy again before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings" (chap. x, 11).

It might be supposed that John would not have inserted his name in the book, as he has not done it in his Gospel, nor in his Epistles. Yet he clearly indicates that he is the author of the Gospel by stating, "And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true," etc.,

¹ Planting and Training, pp. 397, 398.

² Church History, vol. i, p. 97.

³ Commentary on Apocalypse, vol. i, p. 274.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 723.

⁵ Einleitung, p. 447.

⁶ Die Offenbarung Johannes, p. 30.

⁷ Wissenschaft. Kritik. der Evang. Geschichte, p. 1241.

⁸ We have followed the critical Texts of Tischendorf and Tregelies.

⁹ If the book had been written before the arrival of the Apostle John in Ephesus this objection to its having been composed by the presbyter would be invalid.

(chap. xix, 35). Prophets and the writers of Epistles insert their names in their works. In this statement, however, we must except the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistles of John, which are anonymous. On the other hand, the writers of sacred history omit their names in their works. We should, therefore, look for the name of the author in the Apocalypse, because it is both epistolary and prophetic.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY CHURCH RESPECTING ITS AUTHOR.

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, written about A. D. 150, supports his millenarian views by ^{Unanimous} quoting the Apocalypse: "Since also among us a certain ^{testimonies in} man by the name of John, one of the apostles of Christ, ^{the two first} centuries. in the revelation made to him, prophesied that those who believe in our Christ will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem."¹ Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 177-202), referring to the kings of the Roman empire, says: "John the disciple of the Lord in the Apocalypse showed," etc.² Clement of Alexandria quotes the Apocalypse with the remark, "As John says in the Apocalypse."³ Tertullian of Carthage, of nearly the same age (about A. D. 200), remarks: "The Apostle John in the Apocalypse describes a sword proceeding from the mouth of God."⁴

Eusebius states that Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (A. D. 169-180), wrote a work "with the title Concerning the Heresy of Her-mogenes, in which he made use of testimonies from the Apocalypse of John."⁵ He also says that Melito, bishop of Sardis (about A. D. 169), wrote a work On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John.⁶

Apollonius (about A. D. 190), in a work against the Montanists, "makes use of testimonies from the Apocalypse of John, and relates that a dead man in Ephesus had been raised to life through the divine power by this same John."⁷ He must have ascribed the book to the Apostle John, as we can hardly suppose he would have attributed to any other the power to raise the dead.

In the account of the sufferings of the Christian martyrs of Lyons and Vienna, written by Christians of those cities to the Christians of Asia and Phrygia (about A. D. 177), we have the following references to the Apocalypse: "That the Scripture may be fulfilled,

¹ Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις ὃ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἐτη ποιήσειεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφύττειν.—Sec. 81.

² Lib. v, cap. xxvi, 1.

³ Adversus Marc., iii, cap. xiv.

⁴ Ibid., iv, cap. xxvi.

⁵ Strom., vi, cap. xiii.

⁶ Hist. Eccles., iv, cap. xxiv.

⁷ In Eusebius, v, cap. xviii.

He that is unjust, let him be unjust still¹ (Apoc. xxii, 11); "following the Lamb wherever he goes" (chap. xiv, 4).

Cyprian of Carthage (about A. D. 250) in various places quotes the Apocalypse.² Origen (about A. D. 230) exclaims: "What shall I say concerning John, who leaned upon the breast of Jesus, and who left one Gospel, acknowledging that he was able to write so many that not even the world could contain them? *He also wrote the Apocalypse,*" etc.³

Hippolytus (about A. D. 240), according to Jerome, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, and in his Refutation of all Heresies attributes the Apocalypse to John.⁴ On his Cathedra, discovered in 1551 (belonging probably to the sixth century), is inscribed as one of his works: *Απολογία ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, A Defence of the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse.*⁵ In the Canon of Muratori (about A. D. 160) it is stated: "We receive the Apocalypse of John."

The Apocalypse, however, was not received into the Peshito-Syriac version of the second century, though Hug has attempted to show⁶ that this version originally contained the Apocalypse, and that in the fourth century it was gradually left out of the books composing it. He refers to the fact that the Syrian writer, Ephraem (about A. D. 350), quotes the Apocalypse, which he contends Ephraem could not have done unless the book had been translated into Syriac, as he did not understand Greek.⁷ But inasmuch as Ephraem took with him in his travels a Greek interpreter, it by no means follows that he could not translate a few passages in the Apocalypse, or in any other book of the New Testament. How many men there are who can read foreign languages, but can not speak them with any degree of fluency! But it is not easy to believe that if the Apocalypse had originally formed

¹ In Eusebius, v, cap. l.

² Lib. de Opere et Eleemos., xiv; Lib. de Bono Patientiæ, xxi.

³ Τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ στήθεος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου. . . Ἐγραψὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν. . . —In Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vi, 25.

⁴ Page 392.

⁵ See Gieseler, Church History, vol. i, pp. 225, 226.

⁶ Einleitung, Vierte Auf. Erst. Theil., pp. 306–308.

⁷ Theodoret states that Ephraem had not enjoyed a Greek education (Hist. Eccles., lib. iv, cap. xxvi), and similar is the statement of Sozomen (Hist. Eccles., lib. iii, cap. xvi). On the other hand, Photius asserts that Ephraem was not meanly educated in the Greek language (παιδευθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς) Codex ccxxviii. Assemani affirms that Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius in his life of Basil, Metaphrastes in his life of Ephraem, and all the Syrians, show that Ephraem was acquainted with Greek, and that his knowledge of this tongue is evident from his writings. Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. i, p. 55; from the Peabody Library, Balt

a part of the Peshito version, it would have been left out at a subsequent time. It, indeed, seems strange that the Apocalypse, which we have seen was so well attested in the second century, formed no part of this version which belongs to the century. Nor is it easy to explain the omission. It is, however, possible, that the authors of the version were strong opponents of the Millenarians, who derived their chief support from the Apocalypse, and that they feared the translation of that book would disseminate the Millenarian doctrine among the Syrian Churches.¹ It would appear from Eusebius that Caius, presbyter of Rome (about A. D. 200), attributed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus: "But Cerinthus," says Caius, "who by means of Revelations, as having been written by a great Apostle [John?], by feigning wonderful things as having been shown him by angels, introduces them to us, affirming that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be upon the earth," etc.²

The Alogians (about A. D. 180) attributed both the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, who flourished in the last part of the first century.³ From the foregoing testimonies it is seen, that until the middle of the third century the testimony to the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John is almost unanimous. This is of the highest importance; and the testimony of Justin and Irenæus is especially valuable, as the Dialogue of the former, in which the Apocalypse is ascribed to the Apostle John, was held in Ephesus about fifty years after the death of John; and Irenæus was born in Asia Minor, and lived there about A. D. 150,⁴ and was acquainted with Polycarp. According to the testimony of Andreas in the last part of the fifth century, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, also received the Apocalypse.

The first important opponent of the apostolic origin of the book was Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 248-265). In his work on the Promises he gives the unfavourable views of some of his predecessors concerning the Apocalypse, and then states his own opinions. He affirms that the book is covered with such a thick veil that he cannot penetrate its meaning, yet confesses that it may have a sense too deep for

Dionysius first doubter of its genuineness.

¹ In illustration of this, we may cite what Philostorgius (about A. D. 425) says of Ulfilas, bishop of the Goths: "He translated into their language all the Scriptures, except, indeed, the Kings [two Books of Samuel and two of Kings], since they contain a history of wars, and the (Gothic) nation is fond of war, and needs rather a bridle upon their propensity to war than a spur to it."—*Eccles. Hist.*, lib. ii, 5.

² *Hist. Eccles.*, iii, 28.

³ Epiphanius, after speaking both of the Gospel and the Apocalypse, says: "They (the Alogians) affirm that these do not belong to John, but to Cerinthus."—*Hær.* li, 3

⁴ At a later period he was bishop of Lyons.

him. He grants that the book was written by a John, but not the apostle of that name, since the style of the Apocalypse differs from that of the Gospel and the Epistles of that apostle. He thinks the book was written by the presbyter John of Ephesus. The acute objections of this bishop have furnished the staple for the subsequent attacks on the Apocalypse.

The opposition of Dionysius to the Apocalypse evidently, in part at least, grew out of his relations to the Chiliasts. A Causes of the opposition of Dionysius. sensual Chiliasm was prevailing in the province of Arsene, the bishop of which was Nepos. So far did the Chiliasts carry their fanatical views, that whole Churches separated themselves from communion with the mother Church at Alexandria. Dionysius refuted them. It would be very natural for him to degrade, as much as possible, the book which was the chief support of the sect that had given him so much trouble.

Eusebius, of Cæsarea Palestinæ, the Church historian, who flourished in the first part of the fourth century, doubts the The opinions of others of the Fathers. apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. "After these (canonical Scriptures)," says he, "is to be placed, if thought fit, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which, at the proper time, we will explain the (various) opinions." Again, "besides these, as I said, if it is thought fit, (let) the Apocalypse of John (be added), which some, as I said, reject, but others place among the acknowledged Scriptures."¹ It appears from the foregoing quotations that the criticism of Dionysius perplexed him.

About the middle of the fourth century the Apocalypse is quoted as an authority by Athanasius;² it is ascribed to John the evangelist by Gregory³ of Nyssa, by Ambrose⁴ of Milan, by Didymus⁵ of Alexandria, by Epiphanius⁶ of Cyprus, and by Basil the Great⁷ of Cappadocia, and was contained in the canon of Rufinus⁸ of Aquileia.

¹ Hist. Eccles., iii, cap. xxv.

² Oratio i, Contra Arianos, 11.

³ In quoting Apoc. iii, 15, he says, "I heard the Evangelist John in hidden things, saying," etc., in Suam Ordinationem. Also in Com. in Psalm, he quotes the Apocalypse as John's, cap. x.

⁴ He observes, "John the evangelist says there was a red horse upon which the Lord was sitting."—De Trinitate, cap. xxvii.

⁵ He remarks, "John the theologian said in the Gospel, . . . but in the Apocalypse, 'He who is, and who was,' " etc.—De Trinitate, lib. i, cap. xv.

⁶ Hæresis li, cap. xxxiv. It is omitted in the Canon of Scripture of the Council of Laodicea (about A. D. 363).

⁷ He quotes, as belonging to the Evangelist, passages from John's Gospel, and adds, "And in the Apocalypse, 'He who was, and who is,' " etc., after which he gives passages as Paul's, from which it is clear that he ascribes it to the Evangelist. Adversus Eunomium, lib. iv, sec. 1.

⁸ Comment. in Symb. Apostolic., 37.

These six writers flourished in the last half of the fourth century. About the same time it is quoted as an authority by Macarius.¹ The distinguished biblical scholar, Jerome, who flourished in the last part of the fourth century and in the beginning of the fifth, ascribes the Apocalypse to the Apostle John.² About the same time it was received as canonical by Augustine.³ It is attributed to the Apostle John by Cyril⁴ of Alexandria (A. D. 412-444). It was contained in the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions, and in all probability in the Gothic.⁵ Although not found in the Peshito-Syriac version, it is quoted as canonical Scripture by Ephraem⁶ the Syrian († 378). On the other hand, it is omitted in the catalogue of Cyril⁷ of Jerusalem (about A. D. 350). Gregory Nazianzen (in the last half of the fourth century) omits the Apocalypse in his canon of Scripture, and remarks after naming the seven Catholic Epistles: "You have them all. If there is any (book) besides these, it is not genuine."⁸ In another place, however, he says: "Some receive the Apocalypse of John as genuine, but the most affirm it to be spurious."⁹

Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople (about A. D. 400), omits the Apocalypse in his canon of Scripture.¹⁰ He ^{Omitted by} had previously been presbyter at Antioch, and his canon ^{Chrysostom.} of Scripture is accordingly that of the Syrian Church, which received only three *Catholic Epistles*, and rejected the Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse, it appears, was rejected by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, in Syria (about A. D. 420-457), as we have found no reference to the book in his voluminous writings.¹¹ In his canon he

¹ Homil. xxx.

² De Viris Illus. Joannes.

³ De Doctrina Christ., lib. ii, cap. viii.

⁴ "The wise John testifies to the Son that he was without beginning in time: 'In the beginning was the Word;' saying, after these things, 'He who was, and who is,'" etc. (Apoc. i, 8). Περὶ Ἀγίας καὶ Ὁμοῦ αὐτῷ Τριῦδος. Dialog. ii.

⁵ Of this version no part of the Apocalypse is preserved.

⁶ On Ephraem, Assemani remarks: "In this language (the Syriac) the holy doctor quotes the Apocalypse of John as a part of canonical Scripture" (In hoc sermone citat s. doctor Apocalypsim Joannis tanquam canonicam Scripturæ partem). —Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. i, p. 141, from the Peabody Library, Baltimore.

⁷ Catechesis, iv, De Decem Dogmat., xxxvi.

⁸ Carminum, lib. i, 261, 262.

⁹ Ibid., lib. ii, 1104, 1105.

¹⁰ Synopsis Scrip. Sac. In the Lexicon of Suidas (in its present form not earlier than about A. D. 1100) it is stated at the end of a short article on the Apostle John: "Chrysostom receives his three Epistles and the Apocalypse." But this statement, contradicting Chrysostom himself, is of no value, and is out of place. It appears to have been inserted to claim his testimony to the Second and Third John, and the Apocalypse rejected by him.

¹¹ In the index to his works at the end of the fifth volume (Migne's edition) it is stated, "Nowhere does Theodoret make use of the Apocalypse on the Song of Sol-

seems to have followed the Syrian Church. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (A. D. 806-815), places the Apocalypse among the disputed writings.¹

In concluding the ancient testimonies concerning the book, we must lay stress upon the fact that the great mass of them is decidedly favourable to the apostolic origin, and that the chief opposition to it sprang from dogmatic grounds.

"At the period of the Reformation," says De Wette, "doubts respecting the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse generally again awoke with criticism, and Erasmus, Carlstadt, Luther, and Zwingli expressed themselves either by hints or decidedly against it."² De Wette denies that the Apocalypse is the work of the Apostle John, on the ground that in its style and contents it differs greatly from the Gospel and Epistles of that apostle. He affirms that nothing need prevent our acceding to the ancient³ opinion that another John, the so-called presbyter, is the author, provided we place the composition of the writing and his authority in the Churches of Asia Minor, presupposed according to chapters ii, iii, before the abode of the Apostle John in that country.⁴

Quite similar are the objections of Lücke to the apostolical origin of the book: "The difference of language in the Apocalypse and in the remaining writings of John in the New Testament is so great, of such an individual and mental character—in short, a difference of individual genius in the similar original use of the New Testament Greek—that even if we should grant that John's circle of words is not foreign to the author of the Apocalypse, nevertheless, the identity of its author with that of the Gospel and Epistles, especially of the First Epistle, can in no way be maintained, but the contrary is in the highest degree probable."⁵ Again, "If all critical experience and rules in such literary questions do not deceive us, then it is as firmly established that the evangelist and the author of the Apocalypse are two different Johns, as it is in the very similar problem of the Epistle of the Hebrews, that the Apostle Paul did not write it."

Bleek remarks: "The Apocalypse, indeed, exhibits many resemblances to the other writings of John, as well in the manner of presumption, where, in accordance with his hypothesis, he could have done so to a very great extent, as in Psalm xlv; nor where the place seemed to require it, as i, 1217, *Concerning Heaven and the Church*."

¹ Quæ Scrip. Canon.

² Einleit., p. 430.

³ Dionysius of Alexandria and Eusebius alone favoured this view, as it appears

⁴ Einleitung, pp. 420-423.

⁵ Die Offenbarung des Johannes, p. 680.

entation as in style and use of language ; yet this is shown more or less in single points only, while on the other hand, in its entire character there is manifested a great difference, and such as can scarcely be explained on the supposition of identity of authorship."¹ He regards John the presbyter as most probably its author.²

Neander expresses himself as follows : " We cannot acknowledge the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle " (John), and after discussing the question, whether it was not written by John the presbyter, of Ephesus, he says : " It is, then, more probable that the author, a disciple of John, by some circumstance unknown to us, having devoted himself to write on a subject, which he had received mediately or immediately from the Apostle, thought himself justified [!] in introducing John as the speaker."³ Ewald also favours the view that John the presbyter wrote the book.

On the other hand, Gieseler, who is inferior to none of these men in learning and critical ability, and who is also a man of great candour, remarks : " I cannot, however, bring myself to refuse to the Apostle John the authorship of this book. The author designates himself as the Apostle ; the oldest witnesses declare him to be so. Had the book been forged in his name thirty years before his death, he would certainly have contradicted it, and this contradiction would have reached us through Irenæus from the school of John's disciples. On the contrary, the later contradictions of the apostolic origin proceed from doctrinal prepossessions alone. The internal difference in language and mode of thought between the Apocalypse which John (whose education was essentially Hebrew, and his Christianity Jewish-Christian of the Palestinian character) wrote, and the Gospel and Epistles which he had composed after an abode of from twenty to thirty years among the Greeks, is a necessary consequence of the different relations in which the writer was placed, so that the opposite would excite suspicion. There is much at the same time that is cognate, proving continuousness of culture in the same author."⁴

That the apostolic John is the author of the Apocalypse has been held by Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Guericke, Stuart, Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Ebrard, Böhmer, Lange, Hase, Luthardt, and others, and we confess that we see no good reason for rejecting this view. We lay no stress upon the fact that the Tübingen ⁵ school acknowledges the

¹ *Einleitung*, p. 724.

² *Ibid.*, p. 727.

³ *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, vol. i, 396, 397.

⁴ *Church History*, American Edition, p. 97.

⁵ Baur, *Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, pp. 146-148, *Dritte Ausgabe*. Hügenfeld, *Einleitung*, pp. 407-452.

apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, since they do this that they may the more readily attack the genuineness of John's Gospel from its difference of style.

The only plausible ground on which the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse can be denied is its difference in style and language from the Gospel and Epistle of John. But this is very unsafe ground, especially as the Apocalypse was written probably fifteen or twenty years earlier than these other works, and the subject is entirely different. Who would expect to find the poems of a distinguished author similar to his prose writings? The Apocalypse is a prophetic book. Its visions are of the grandest, and often of the most terrible, character. It is impossible for a writer, in such an ecstatic state, not to speak and write in a lofty and symbolic style. The human spirit labours to give utterance to its magnificent conceptions; language is taxed to its utmost, and the mind, excited to the highest degree of tension, lays hold upon whatever will express its deep emotions. And it must be borne in mind that John wrote in the very midst of his awful visions. Had years elapsed before he wrote them down, the style and language would probably have been different. How unlike, too, is the language of Christ when predicting the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv; Mark xiii; Luke xxi) and that which he generally employs!

Nor can it be urged with any force against the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, that its tone is not that which we should expect from the loving John, who dwells in the Gospel so much upon the love of Christ, and so rarely upon Christ's sterner attributes. The occasion of his writing was different. In the Gospel he discusses the profound internal relations existing between Christ and his Father, and between Christ and his followers. The discourses of our Lord that bear upon the subject he gives in their fulness. These are the rays of divine truth which he perfectly reflected, while the other evangelists reflected other rays.

When John wrote the Apocalypse, it was a time of bitter persecution. The power of the Roman empire was arrayed against Christianity; the sword was drawn against the Church. To meet this terrible enemy, Christ is represented as a mighty conqueror, before whom every foe is prostrated, and the power of the world brought to naught. Nor let it be said that this last representation of Christ is inconsistent with his character as drawn in the Gospels, nor that John in his different writings is inconsistent with himself; for souls the most amiable are frequently the most severe when once aroused. The divine goodness itself, when it has been repeatedly spurned,

becomes implacable and our Saviour, in the very midst of discourses full of benevolence and goodness, declares: "Upon whomsoever this stone [himself] shall fall, it will grind him to powder" (Matt. xxi, 44; Luke xx, 18). Is there any thing in the description which John gives in the Apocalypse at variance with what he gives in his Gospel? In the latter it is said: "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation" (chap. v, 28, 29).

But if the addresses to the seven Churches are the real words of Christ, if the visions are not the offspring of John's imagination, then we should expect in the Apocalypse a different presentation of divine truth from what John himself might have given. Very different was the case when he wrote the Gospel; from the multitude of Christ's discourses and acts he could select those that best suited his taste or purpose, and fill up what had been left incomplete in Christ's history by the other Evangelists. In the Apocalypse he delivers *all* the messages to the Churches; he is ordered to write what he sees. Little room is left for the display of his subjectivity.

But notwithstanding the difference of style between the Apocalypse and the Gospel and Epistles of John, we shall find, upon a close scrutiny of the former, a great deal that is decidedly Johannean, and which may, after all, render the apostolic origin of the book highly probable from internal evidence. The verb *νικᾶν*, to conquer, to overcome, occurs in the Apocalypse sixteen times; in the first Epistle of John six times; in the Gospel of John once; in all the rest of the New Testament but four times. *Ἀρνίον*, lamb, occurs twenty-eight times in the Apocalypse; it is found once in John's Gospel and nowhere else; but *ἀρνός*, lamb, occurs twice in John's Gospel, and twice in all the rest of the New Testament, and one of these is a quotation from the Old Testament, which the Ethiopian eunuch was reading. *Μαρτυρία*, testimony, occurs nine times in the Apocalypse, fourteen times in the Gospel of John, and seven times in his Epistles; in all the rest of the New Testament, seven times. *Διψᾶν*, to thirst, is used in a spiritual sense at least twice in the Apocalypse, three times in John's Gospel, and once in Matthew's Gospel. In a physical sense, nine or ten times in all the New Testament. In Apocalypse xxii, 17 it is said: "And let him that is athirst come, and take the water of life freely." With this compare John vii, 37: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." There is no other passage in the New Testament like these two. "Behold, I stand at the door, and

Points of similarity between the language of John's Gospel and that of the Apocalypse.

knock: If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me" (Apoc. iii, 20). With this compare John xiv, 23: "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." "Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood" (Apoc. i, 5). There is no passage in the New Testament which so strikingly resembles this as First John i, 7: "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." "And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called The Word (Logos) of God" (Apoc. xix, 13). Christ is nowhere else in the New Testament called "The Word" (Logos), except in John's Gospel. In Hebrews iv, 12, "For the word of God is quick and powerful," etc., the reference is not to the personal Word, Christ, but to divine truth in its all-searching power. "Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him" (Apoc. i, 7). In this passage there is a reference both to Zechariah xii, 10, and to John xix, 34, 37, where it is stated that one of the soldiers pierced the side of Christ, and that the Scripture saith: "They shall look on him whom they pierced." Both in Apocalypse i, 7 and in John xix, 37, *ἐξεκέντησαν*, *they pierced*, is used, which is a correct translation of the Hebrew כָּרַע, in Zechariah xii, 10, but is the translation of neither the LXX nor the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel. Now the use of this same word for pierced, both in the Gospel and in the Apocalypse, is no slight proof of identity of authorship. "Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ," etc. (Apoc. i, 2); with this compare John xix, 35, where, speaking of himself, the author says: "And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true." *Ἀληθινός*, *true*, occurs *ten* times in the Apocalypse, *eight* times in John's Gospel, *four* times in his First Epistle; elsewhere in the New Testament, *five* times only.

It is a peculiarity of John to state his propositions affirmatively, and at the same time to deny their contraries. Thus respecting the Baptist: "And he confessed, and denied not" (John i, 20). "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (1 John i, 5). "We lie, and do not the truth" (verse 6). This method of statement especially abounds in his First Epistle.¹ Nor is this peculiarity of John wanting in the Apocalypse: "For my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted;" "Thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith" (chap. ii, 3, 13). "I will not blot out his name out of

¹ For this peculiarity, common to the Gospel and Epistle, see the proofs of the identity of authorship of both in *The Genuineness of John's Gospel*.

the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father," etc (chap. iii, 5). "And hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name" (verse 8). "Which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie" (verse 9). "That thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear" (verse 18).

There is nothing in the doctrines of the Apocalypse at variance with the other writings of John, or with the rest of the New Testament. Although the writer is manifestly of the Jewish race, and seems warmly attached to his people, there is nothing of an exclusive nature in the book, and he represents, in addition to those saved from the tribes of Israel, a "great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues" (chap. vii, 9).

Nothing in the doctrines of the Apocalypse at variance with the rest of New Testament.

In the description of the New Jerusalem he states that in the foundations of its walls are "the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (chap. xxi, 14). That Paul is not included in this list shows no hostility toward him on the part of the writer, as the original apostles were twelve in number. Besides this, in a book, the numbers of which in most cases are artificial, no stress is to be laid upon the number twelve.

In the description of the hundred and forty-four thousand saints in heaven, it is said: "These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins (οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνησαν παρθένοι γάρ εἰσιν) (chap. xiv, 4). We are not to understand by this that the writer attached great importance to celibacy, or that he made it necessary to salvation, for the meaning is as well expressed by Robinson: "*For they are virgins*, that is, *chaste, pure*, free from all whoredom and uncleanness as the symbols of idolatry." (Greek Lexicon). It is, indeed, clear that the author of the book held the marriage relation as holy, otherwise he would not have represented the union of Christ and his Church under the figure of a marriage (chap. xix, 7-9).

In concluding this part of our subject we may ask, Who but the Apostle John could have written the sublime book? We have no reason to suppose that the *presbyter* John was capable of it. John the Apostle, if we are to judge from the Gospel which he wrote, was competent for the task. His appreciation and appropriation of the profound discourses of Christ shows his mental power. Minds that make great use of symbols and imagery are often incapable of deep and philosophical reflection; but profound intellects can, if they wish, employ bold imagery and striking symbols.

CONTENTS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The book opens with the statement that it is a revelation from God, made by his angel to John while in Patmos. After greeting the seven Churches of Asia, John gives a sublime description of Christ, who appears to him and directs him to write to seven Churches in Asia, namely, unto Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (chap. i). The two following chapters contain the messages to these Churches, in which they are praised or censured according as they have fulfilled or neglected the requirements of the Gospel.

John describes the throne of God, its occupant, the twenty-four elders, the four cherubim, and the worship rendered to the Almighty in heaven, which he beholds in the Spirit (chap. iv). He describes the book with seven seals in the right hand of Him who sits upon the throne, which no one could open and read, or look upon. Weeping on this account, he is checked by one of the elders, and assured that the Lion of the tribe of Judah is able to open the book. He thereupon describes the Lamb, who takes the book, and is worshipped by the host of heaven (chap. v). The opening of six seals of the book by the Lamb, and the events that followed, are portrayed (chap. vi): Four angels hold the four winds of heaven, to prevent their hurting the earth before seals are set upon the servants of God. He gives the number one hundred and forty-four thousand as redeemed from among the tribes of Israel, after which he describes an innumerable host of the redeemed of all nations standing before the throne and worshipping God. Their happy condition is described (chap. vii). An angel offers incense with the prayers of the saints. Seven angels with seven trumpets are prepared to sound. Great disasters follow the successive soundings of six of these trumpets (chaps. viii, ix). An angel with a little book in his hand comes down from heaven, and swears that time shall be no longer. John, as commanded, takes the little book out of the angel's hand, and devours it (chap. x).

The prophesying of the two witnesses, and the events connected with their ministry, follow. The seventh angel sounds, and the kingdoms of the world are converted to Christ; God is praised in heaven (chap. xi). An account is given of the birth of the man-child who is to rule the nations. A description follows of the war in heaven and the defeat of Satan, who, being cast out upon the earth, persecutes the pious children of the mother of the man-child (chap. xii). A description is given of the beast with seven heads and ten horns—to whom the dragon gives his seat and power—and also of a second beast

that slays all who refuse to worship him (chap. xiii). A hundred and forty-four thousand saints stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion. An angel proclaims the everlasting gospel; a second angel announces the fall of Babylon, and a third the punishment of those who in any way acknowledge the beast. Those who die in the Lord are pronounced happy. The reaping of the harvest of the earth is described (chap. xiv). Seven angels have the seven last plagues. A description is given of those who have gained the victory over the beast. One of the four cherubim gives seven vials full of divine wrath to seven angels (chap. xv). John describes the pouring out of the vials of wrath by the seven angels, and the disasters that follow (chap. xvi). He describes the great whore, her crimes, and the kings who shall destroy her. He states that she represents the city (Rome) that rules over the earth (chap. xvii). The fall of Babylon is announced. What she now is and what she shall be are described. The marriage of the Lamb is announced. The angel refuses to be worshipped. Christ is described as a warrior engaged in battle with the kings of the earth and their armies. The beast and the false prophet are captured and punished, and the remnant of Christ's foes are slain by the sword (chaps. xviii, xix). Satan is bound for a thousand years, and cast into the bottomless pit, during which time the martyrs reign with Christ. Satan is let loose, deceives the nations, and gathers them to battle. They are consumed, and the devil is cast into the lake of fire. The dead are raised, stand before God, and are judged (chap. xx). A description is given of the New Jerusalem that descends from heaven, and also of the happy condition of God's people, and the misery of the wicked and unbelieving (chaps. xxi, xxii, 1-5). The things in this book are affirmed to be true, and the man is pronounced blessed who keeps them. John is commanded not to seal up the prophecy of the book, as the time is at hand. Those who keep the commandments of God are pronounced happy. Jesus affirms that he is the author of these messages to the Churches. He gives a general invitation to partake of the waters of life freely, and utters a warning against adding to or taking away from this book of prophecy. He affirms he will come quickly (chaps. xxii, 6-21).

THE DESIGN OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The design of the revelation contained in the book is stated to be: "To show unto his servants things (*&, what things*) The general design. which must shortly come to pass" (chap. i, 1). It appears from various parts of the book (chaps. i, 9; ii, 10; iii, 10; vi, 9, 10, 11) that it was written in a time of a general persecution of

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the Church, which must have come from Rome, and to this source it is manifestly attributed in chap. xviii, 24.

As the persecution of the Christians before Nero had been chiefly instigated by the Jews, and was generally of a local character, this one, proceeding from the head of the empire in Rome, would be naturally followed in the provinces, and must have excited strong fears in the minds of many believers that their religion would be crushed by the enormous power of the Roman Government. To console them, and to assure them of the utter overthrow of paganism, the defeat of Satan and his allies, the complete triumph of Christianity, the reward of the faithful followers of Christ and the punishment of the wicked, was the object of the writing. In regard to these points no difference of opinion need exist.

In other respects, however, great diversity of views prevails in the ^{Three views of} interpretation of the book, which have been reduced ^{its meaning.} to *three* leading classes. The *first* view regards the Apocalypse as containing a compend of the history of the Church and of the world, even to isolated events, until the coming of Christ.

The *second* does not acknowledge the divine origin of the vision of the author of the Apocalypse, but supposes that he describes in the form of a vision only the fears and the hopes of his time respecting Rome, Jerusalem, and the immediate completion of the kingdom of God. This view is held by Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke, who deny the apostolic origin of the book.

The *third* view acknowledges that the prophecies in the Apocalypse were given of God, and that they refer to the future development and completion of God's kingdom, but do not give a detailed history of the future, but only the great epochs and moving forces of the development of that kingdom in its relation to the kingdom of the world. This view is held by Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Auberlen, and Luthardt.¹ With these should be classed Moses Stuart.

The view of the *second* class we instantly reject in acknowledging the apostolic origin of the book; and that of the *first* has no solid basis, and admits of no probable defence, and has given rise to the wildest speculations. The view of the third class of expositors is the only tenable one. Of this class, Professor Stuart and Auberlen are among the very best.

¹ Auberlen, *Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis*, pp 369-434. Dritte Auflage. Bleek's *Einleitung* by Mangold, p. 702.

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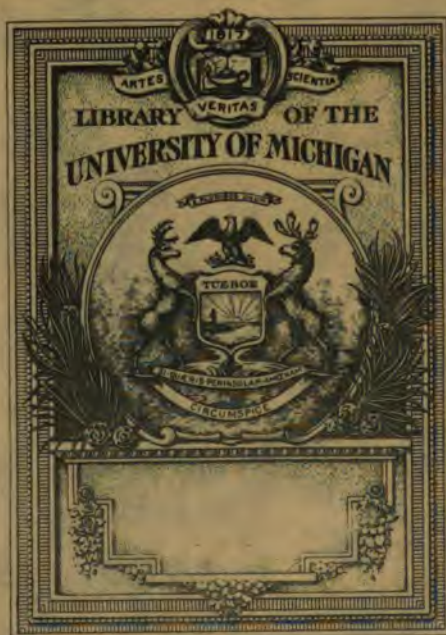
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VOL. II.—BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

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BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

A Treatise

ON THE

INTERPRETATION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

BY

MILTON S. TERRY, S.T.D.,

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

NEW YORK: HUNT & EATON.
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PREFACE.

THE first edition of this work was published in the autumn of 1883, and has received such cordial and continued welcome as to put beyond doubt that a treatise of its character is needed in our English theological literature. The general plan of the volume has been adapted to meet what appear to be the practical wants of most theological students. Specialists and experts in exegetical learning will push their way through all difficulties, and find delight in testing principles; but the ordinary student, if led at all into continued and successful searching of the Scriptures, must become interested in the practical work of exposition. The bare enunciation of principles, with brief references to texts in which they are exemplified, is too dry and taxing to the mind to develop a taste for exegetical study; it has a tendency rather to repel. Our plan is rather to familiarize the student with correct methods by means of continuous exercise in the actual work of exegesis. The statement of principles is introduced gradually, and abundantly illustrated and verified by a faithful application of them to such portions of the Holy Scriptures as are known to have peculiar difficulties, or to be of special interest and value. It is not expected that all our interpretations will command unqualified approval, but it is confidently believed that a selection of the more difficult Scriptures for examples of exposition will enhance the real value of the work, and save it from the danger, too often common in such treatises, of running into lifeless platitudes. With ample illustrations of this kind before him, the student comes by a natural inductive process to grasp hermeneutical principles, and learns by example and practice rather than by abstract precept.

The larger portion of the volume is devoted to Special Hermeneutics. This fact will, we believe, meet the approval of all biblical scholars. They will acknowledge the propriety of passing more rapidly over those general principles, on which there exists little or

no difference of opinion, and of allowing greater space for the treatment of parables, allegories, types, symbols, and apocalyptic prophecy. The necessity of sound principles is most deeply felt in the study of these enigmatical portions of the Bible. Our constant aim has been to abstain from all appearance of dogmatism, and to adhere strictly to the method of scientific and conscientious inquiry. If Special Hermeneutics serves any useful end, it must cultivate the habit of searching for what the Scripture has to say for itself, not of imposing upon its language the burden of whatever it is able to bear.

Considerable space has been given to the subject of prophetic symbolism. The apocalyptic books have ever been regarded as most difficult to explain, but not a few of the difficulties have grown out of the extravagant notion that we may expect to find in prophecy a detailed history of events from the advent of Christ to the end of time. We have tried to show that the biblical symbols and apocalypses are largely self-interpreting, and, if allowed to speak for themselves, are not more difficult of exposition than the parables of Jesus.

Profoundly grateful for the generous commendation of the former editions, and profiting by the friendly criticism of numerous reviews, the author has spared no pains to make this new edition more worthy of general favour. The revision has extended to nearly every page, and considerable portions have been rewritten. A number of chapters, not strictly belonging to Hermeneutics, have been omitted, and others have been condensed, so that the substance of the original work of 782 pages now appears in a more convenient, and, we trust, not less valuable, volume.

EVANSTON, *May* 15, 1890.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

HERMENEUTICS is the science of interpretation. The word is usually applied to the explanation of written documents, and may therefore be more specifically defined as the science of Hermeneutics defined. interpreting an author's language.¹ This science assumes that there are divers modes of thought and ambiguities of expression among men, and, accordingly, it aims to remove the supposable differences between a writer and his readers, so that the meaning of the one may be truly and accurately apprehended by the others.

It is common to distinguish between General and Special Hermeneutics. General Hermeneutics is devoted to the General and Special Hermeneutics. general principles which are applicable to the interpretation of all languages and writing. It may appropriately take cognizance of the logical operations of the human mind, and the philosophy of human speech. Special Hermeneutics is devoted rather to the explanation of particular books and classes of writings. Thus, historical, poetical, philosophical, and prophetic writings differ from each other in numerous particulars, and each class requires for its proper exposition the application of principles and methods adapted to its own peculiar character and style. Special Hermeneutics, according to Cellérier, is a science practical and almost empirical, and searches after rules and solutions; while General Hermeneutics is methodical and philosophical, and searches for principles and methods.²

¹ The word *hermeneutics* is of Greek origin, from *ἑρμηνεύω*, to interpret, to explain; thence the adjective *ἡ ἑρμηνευτική* (sc. τέχνη), that is, the *hermeneutical art*, and thence our word *hermeneutics*, the science or art of interpretation. Closely kindred is also the name *Ἑρμῆς*, Hermes, or Mercury, who, bearing a golden rod of magic power, figures in Grecian mythology as the messenger of the gods, the tutelary deity of speech, of writing, of arts and sciences, and of all skill and accomplishments.

² *Manuel d'Herméneutique Biblique*, p. 5. Geneva, 1852.

Biblical or Sacred Hermeneutics is the science of interpreting the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. According to the order of books in the Christian Canon, we have, first, the five Books of Moses, commonly called the Pentateuch; next follow twelve Historical Books, recording the history of the Israelites from the death of Moses to the restoration from Babylonian exile, and covering a period of a thousand years. Then follow five Poetical Books—a drama, a psalter, two books of proverbial philosophy, and a song of love; and after these are seventeen Prophetical Books, among which are some of the most magnificent monuments of all literature. In the New Testament we have, first, the four Gospels, a record of the life and words of Jesus Christ; then the Acts of the Apostles, a history of the beginning of the Christian Church; then the thirteen Pauline Epistles, followed by the Epistle to the Hebrews and the seven General Epistles; and, finally, the Apocalypse of John.

Inasmuch as these two Testaments differ in form, language, and historical conditions, many writers have deemed it preferable to treat the hermeneutics of each Testament separately. And as the New Testament is the later and fuller revelation, its interpretation has received the fuller and more frequent attention. But it may be questioned whether such a separate treatment of the Old and New Testaments is the better course. It is of the first importance to observe that, from a Christian point of view, the Old Testament cannot be fully apprehended without the help of the New. The mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not made known unto men, was revealed unto the apostles and prophets of the New Testament (Eph. iii, 5), and that revelation sheds a flood of light upon numerous portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. On the other hand, it is equally true that a scientific interpretation of the New Testament is impossible without a thorough knowledge of the older Scriptures. The very language of the New Testament, though belonging to another family of human tongues, is notably Hebraic. The style, diction, and spirit of many parts of the Greek Testament cannot be properly appreciated without acquaintance with the style and spirit of the Hebrew prophets. The Old Testament also abounds in testimony of the Christ (Luke xxiv, 27, 44; John v, 39; Acts x, 43), the illustration and fulfillment of which can be seen only in the light of the Christian revelation. In short, the whole Bible is a divinely constructed unity, and there is danger that, in studying one part to the comparative neglect of the other, we may fall into one-sided and erroneous methods of exposition. The Holy Scrip-

Biblical or Sacred Hermeneutics.

Old and New Test. Hermeneutics should not be separated.

tures should be studied as a whole, for their several parts were given in manifold portions and modes (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, Heb. i, 1), and, taken all together, they constitute a remarkably self-interpreting volume.

Biblical Hermeneutics, having a specific field of its own, should be carefully distinguished from other branches of theological science with which it is often and quite naturally associated. It is to be distinguished from Biblical Introduction, Textual Criticism, and Exegesis. Distinguished from Introduction, Criticism, and Exegesis. Biblical Introduction, or Isagogics, is devoted to the historico-critical examination of the different books of the Bible. It inquires after their age, authorship, genuineness, and canonical authority, tracing at the same time their origin, preservation, and integrity, and exhibiting their contents, relative rank, and general character and value. The scientific treatment of these several subjects is often called the "Higher Criticism." Textual Criticism has for its special object Textual Criticism. the ascertaining of the exact words of the original texts of the sacred books. Its method of procedure is to collate and compare ancient manuscripts, ancient versions, and ancient scripture quotations, and, by careful and discriminating judgment, sift conflicting testimony, weigh the evidences of all kinds, and thus endeavour to determine the true reading of every doubtful text. This science is often called the "Lower Criticism." Where such criticism ends, Hermeneutics properly begins, and aims to establish the principles, methods, and rules which are needful to unfold the sense of what is written. Its object is to elucidate whatever may be obscure or ill-defined, so that every reader may be able, by an intelligent process, to obtain the exact ideas intended by the author. Exegesis is the application of these principles and laws, Exegesis and Exposition. the actual bringing out into formal statement, and by other terms, the meaning of the author's words. Exegesis is related to hermeneutics as preaching is to homiletics, or, in general, as practice is to theory. Exposition is another word often used synonymously with exegesis, and has essentially the same signification; and yet, perhaps, in common usage, exposition denotes a more extended development and illustration of the sense, dealing more largely with other scriptures by comparison and contrast. We observe, accordingly, that the writer on Biblical Introduction examines the historical foundations and canonical authority of the books of Scripture. The textual critic detects interpolations, emends false readings, and aims to give us the very words which the sacred writers used. The exegete takes up these words, and by means of the principles of hermeneutics, defines their meaning, elucidates the

scope and plan of each writer, and brings forth the grammatico-historical sense of what each book contains. The expositor builds upon the labours both of critics and exegetes, and sets forth in fuller form, and by ample illustration, the ideas, doctrines, and moral lessons of the Scripture.¹

But while we are careful to distinguish hermeneutics from these kindred branches of exegetical theology, we should not fail to note that a science of interpretation must essentially depend on exegesis for the maintenance and illustration of its principles and rules. As the full grammar of a language establishes its principles by sufficient examples and by formal praxis, so a science of hermeneutics must needs verify and illustrate its principles by examples of their practical application. Its province is not merely to define principles and methods, but also to exemplify and illustrate them. Hermeneutics, therefore, is both a science and an art. As a science, it enunciates principles, investigates the laws of thought and language, and classifies its facts and results. As an art, it teaches what application these principles should have, and establishes their soundness by showing their practical value in the elucidation of the more difficult scriptures. The hermeneutical art thus cultivates and establishes a valid exegetical procedure.

The necessity of a science of interpretation is apparent from the necessity of diversities of mind and culture among men. Personal intercourse between individuals of the same nation and language is often difficult and embarrassing by reason of their different styles of thought and expression. Even the Apostle Peter found in Paul's epistles things which were difficult to understand (*δυσνόητα*, 2 Pet. iii, 16). The man of broad and liberal culture lives and moves in a different world from the unlettered peasant, so much so that sometimes the ordinary conversation of the one is scarcely intelligible to the other. Different schools of metaphysics and opposing systems of theology have often led their several advocates into strange misunderstandings. The speculative philosopher, who ponders long on abstract themes, and by deep study

¹ Doedes thus discriminates between explaining and interpreting: "To explain, properly signifies the unfolding of what is contained in the words, and to interpret, the making clear of what is not clear by casting light on that which is obscure. Very often one interprets by means of explaining, namely, when, by unfolding the sense of the words, light is reflected on what is said or written; but it cannot be said that one explains by interpreting. While explaining generally is interpreting, interpreting, properly speaking, is not explaining. But we do not usually observe this distinction in making use of these terms, and may without harm use them promiscuously." *Manual of Hermeneutics*, p. 4.

constructs a doctrine or system clear to his own mind, may find it difficult to set forth his views to others so as to prevent all misconception. His whole subject matter lies beyond the range of common thought. The hearers or readers, in such a case, must, like the philosopher himself, dwell long upon the subject. They must have terms defined, and ideas illustrated, until, step by step, they come to imbibe the genius and spirit of the new philosophy. But especially great and manifold are the difficulties of understanding the writings of those who differ from us in language and nationality. The learned themselves become divided in their essays to decipher and interpret the records of the past. Volumes and libraries have been written to elucidate the obscurities of the Greek and Roman classics. The foremost scholars and linguists of the present generation are busied in the study and exposition of the sacred books of the Chinese, the Hindus, the Parsees, and the Egyptians, and, after all their learned labours, they disagree in the translation and solution of many a passage. How much more might we expect great differences of opinion in the interpretation of a book like the Bible, composed at sundry times and in many parts and modes, and ranging through many departments of literature! What obstacles might reasonably be expected in the interpretation of a record of divine revelation, in which heavenly thoughts, unknown to men before, were made to express themselves in the imperfect formulas of human speech! The most contradictory rules of interpretation have been propounded, and expositions have been made to suit the peculiar tastes and prejudices of writers or to maintain preconceived opinions, until all scientific method has been set at naught, and each interpreter became a law unto himself. Hence the necessity of well-defined and self-consistent principles of Scripture interpretation. Only as exegetes come to adopt common principles and methods of procedure, will the interpretation of the Bible attain the dignity and certainty of an established science.

The rank and importance of Biblical Hermeneutics among the various studies embraced in Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology is apparent from the fundamental relation which it sustains to them all. For the Scripture revelation is itself essentially the centre and substance of all theological science. It contains the clearest and fullest exhibition of the person and character of God, and of the spiritual needs and possibilities of man. A sound and trustworthy interpretation of the scripture records, therefore, is the root and basis of all revealed theology. Without it Systematic Theology, or Dogmatics, could not be legitimately constructed, and would, in fact, be essentially

Rank and importance of Hermeneutics in Theological Science.

impossible. For the doctrines of revelation can only be learned from a correct understanding of the oracles of God. Historical Theology, also, tracing as it does the thought and life of the Church, must needs take cognizance of the principles and methods of scripture interpretation which have so largely controlled in the development of that thought and life. The creeds of Christendom assume to rest upon the teachings of the inspired Scriptures. Apologetics, polemics, ethics, and all that is embraced in Practical Theology, are ever making appeal to the authoritative records of the Christian faith. The great work of the Christian ministry is to preach the word; and that most important labour cannot be effectually done without a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and skill in the interpretation and application of the same. Personal piety and practical godliness are nourished by the study of this written word. The psalmist sings (Psa. cxix, 105, 111) :

A lamp to my foot is thy word,
And a light to my pathway.
I have taken possession of thy testimonies forever,
For the joy of my heart are they.¹

The Apostle Paul admonished Timothy that the Holy Scriptures were able to make him wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ (2 Tim. iii, 15). And Jesus himself, interceding for his own chosen followers, prayed, "Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth" (John xvii, 17). Accordingly, the Lord's ambassador must not adulterate (2 Cor. ii, 17), but rightly divide, the word of the truth (2 Tim. ii, 15). For if ever the divinely appointed ministry of reconciliation accomplish the perfecting of the saints, and the building up of the body of Christ, so as to bring all to the attainment of the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God (Eph. iv, 12, 13), it must be done by a correct interpretation and efficient use of the word of God. The interpretation and application of that word must rest upon a sound and self-evidencing science of hermeneutics.

¹ All scripture quotations in the present work have been made by translating directly from the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek originals. To have followed the Authorized Version would have necessitated a large amount of circumlocution. In many instances the citation of a text is designed to illustrate a process as well as a principle of hermeneutics. It is often desirable to bring out, either incidentally or prominently, some noticeable emphasis, and this can be done best by giving the exact order of the words of the original. The observance of such order in translation may sometimes violate the usage and idiom of the best English, but, in many cases, it yields the best possible translation.

CHAPTER II.

QUALIFICATIONS OF AN INTERPRETER.

IN order to be a capable¹ and correct interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, one needs a variety of qualifications, both natural and acquired. For though a large proportion of the sacred volume is sufficiently simple for the child to understand, and the common people and the unlearned may find on every page much that is profitable for instruction in righteousness, there is also much that requires, for its proper apprehension and exposition, the noblest powers of intellect and the most ample learning. The several qualifications of a competent interpreter may be classified as Intellectual, Educational, and Spiritual. The first are largely native to the soul; the second are acquired by study and research; the third may be regarded both as native and acquired.

INTELLECTUAL QUALIFICATIONS.

First of all, the interpreter of Scripture, and, indeed, of any other book, should have a sound, well-balanced mind. For ^{Defective mental powers dis-} dulness of apprehension, defective judgment, and an ^{qualify.} extravagant fancy will pervert one's reason, and lead to many vain and foolish notions. The faculties of the mind are capable of discipline, and may be trained to a very high degree of perfection; but some men inherit peculiar tendencies of intellect. Some are gifted with rare powers of imagination, but are utterly wanting in the critical faculty. A lifetime of discipline will scarcely restrain their exuberant fancy. Others are naturally given to form hasty judgments, and will rush to the wildest extremes. In others, peculiar tastes and passions warp the judgment, and some seem to be constitutionally destitute of common sense. Any and all such mental defects disqualify one for the interpretation of the word of God.

A ready perception is specially requisite in the interpreter. He must have the power to grasp the thought of his au- ^{Quick and clear} thor, and take in at a glance its full force and bearing. ^{perception.} With such ready perception there must be united a breadth of view and clearness of understanding which will be quick to catch, not only the import of words and phrases, but also the drift of the

¹ Comp. the import of *ikanoi*, *ikanóthēs*, and *ikánōsen* in 2 Cor. iii, 5, 6.

argument. Thus, for example, in attempting to explain the Epistle to the Galatians, a quick perception will note the apologetic tone of the first two chapters, the bold earnestness of Paul in asserting the divine authority of his apostleship, and the far-reaching consequences of his claim. It will also note how forcibly the personal incidents referred to in Paul's life and ministry enter into his argument. It will keenly appreciate the impassioned appeal to the "foolish Galatians" at the beginning of chapter third, and the natural transition from thence to the doctrine of Justification. The variety of argument and illustration in the third and fourth chapters, and the hortatory application and practical counsels of the two concluding chapters will also be clearly discerned; and then the unity, scope, and directness of the whole Epistle will lie pictured before the mind's eye as a perfect whole, to be appreciated more and more fully as additional attention and study are given to minutest details.

The great exegetes have been noted for acuteness of intellect, a Acuteness of intellect. critical sharpness to discern at once the connexion of thought, and the association of ideas. This qualification is of great importance to every interpreter. He must be quick to see what a passage does not teach, as well as to comprehend its real import. His critical acumen should be associated with a masterly power of analysis, in order that he may clearly discern all the parts and relations of a given whole. Bengel and De Wette, in their works on the New Testament, excel in this particular. They evince an intellectual sagacity, which is to be regarded as a special gift, an inborn endowment, rather than a result of scientific culture.

The strong intellect will not be destitute of imaginative power. Imagination needed, but must be controlled. Many things in narrative description must be left to be supplied, and many of the finest passages of Holy Writ cannot be appreciated by an unimaginative mind. The true interpreter must often transport himself into the past, and picture in his soul the scenes of ancient time. He must have an intuition of nature and of human life by which to put himself in the place of the biblical writers and see and feel as they did. But it has usually happened that men of powerful imagination have been unsafe expositors. An exuberant fancy is apt to run away with the judgment, and introduce conjecture and speculation in place of valid exegesis. The chastened and disciplined imagination will associate with itself the power of conception and of abstract thought, and be able to construct, if called for, working hypotheses to be used in illustration or in argument. Sometimes it may be expedient to form a concept, or adopt a theory, merely for the purpose

of pursuing some special line of discussion ; and every expositor should be competent for this when needed.

But, above all things, an interpreter of Scripture needs a sound and sober judgment. His mind must be competent to ^{sober judgment.} analyze, examine, and compare. He must not allow himself to be influenced by hidden meanings, and spiritualizing processes, and plausible conjectures. He must weigh reasons for and against a given interpretation ; he must judge whether his principles are tenable and self-consistent ; he must often balance probabilities, and reach conclusions with the greatest caution. Such a discriminating judgment may be trained and strengthened, and no pains should be spared to render it a safe and reliable habit of the mind.

Correctness and delicacy of taste will be the result of a discriminating judgment. The interpreter of the inspired volume will find the need of this qualification in discerning ^{Correct and delicate taste.} the manifold beauties and excellences scattered in rich profusion through its pages. But his taste, as well as his judgment, must be trained to discern between the true and the false ideals. Many a modern whim of shallow refinement is offended with the straightforward honesty and simplicity of the ancient world. Prurient sensitiveness often blushes before expressions in the Scriptures which are as far as possible removed from impurity. Correct taste in such cases will pronounce according to the real spirit of the writer and his age.

The use of reason in the interpretation of Scripture is everywhere to be assumed. The Bible comes to us in the ^{Use of reason.} forms of human language, and appeals to our reason and judgment ; it invites investigation, and condemns a blind credulity. It is to be interpreted as we interpret any other volume, by a rigid application of the same laws of language, and the same grammatical analysis. Even in passages which may be said to lie beyond the province of reason, in the realm of supernatural revelation, it is still competent for the rational judgment to say whether, indeed, the revelation be supernatural. In matters beyond its range of vision, reason may, by valid argument, explain its own incompetency, and by analogy and manifold suggestion show that there are many things beyond its province which are nevertheless true and righteous altogether, and to be accepted without dispute. Reason itself may thus become efficient in strengthening faith in the unseen and eternal.

But it behooves the expounder of God's word to see that all his principles and processes of reasoning are sound and self-consistent.

He must not commit himself to false premises; he must abstain from confusing dilemmas; he must especially refrain from rushing to unwarranted conclusions. Nor must he ever take for granted things which are doubtful, or open to serious question. All such logical fallacies will necessarily vitiate his expositions, and make him a dangerous guide. The right use of reason in biblical exposition is seen in the cautious procedure, the sound principles adopted, the valid and conclusive argumentation, the sober sense displayed, and the honest integrity and self-consistency everywhere maintained. Such exercise of reason will always commend itself to the godly conscience and the pure heart.

In addition to the above-mentioned qualifications, the interpreter should be "apt to teach" (*διδασκτικός*, 2 Tim. ii, 24).
Apt to teach. He must not only be able to understand the Scriptures, but also to set forth in clear and lively form to others what he himself comprehends. Without such aptness in teaching, all his other gifts and qualities will avail little or nothing. Accordingly, the interpreter should cultivate a clear and simple style, and study to bring out the truth and force of the inspired oracles so that others will readily understand.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

The professional interpreter of Scripture needs more than a well-balanced mind, discreet sense, and acuteness of intellect. He needs stores of information in the broad and varied fields of history, science, and philosophy. By many liberal studies will his faculties become disciplined and strong for practical use; and extensive and accurate knowledge will furnish and fit him to be the teacher of others. The biblical interpreter should be minutely acquainted with

the geography of Palestine and the adjacent regions.
Geography.

In order to be properly versed in this, he will need to understand the physical character of the world outside of Bible lands. For, though the sacred writers may have known nothing of countries foreign to Asia, Africa, and Europe, the modern student will find an advantage in having information, as full as possible, of the entire surface of the globe. With such geographical knowledge

he should also unite a familiar acquaintance with uni-
History.

versal history. The records of many peoples, both ancient and modern, will often be of value in testing the accuracy of the sacred writers, and illustrating their excellence and worth. What a vast amount of light have ancient authors, and the deciphered inscriptions of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, shed upon the narratives of the Bible!

The science of chronology is also indispensable to the proper interpretation of the Scriptures. The succession of events, the division of the ages into great eras, the scope of genealogical tables, and the fixing of dates, are important, and call for patient study and laborious care. Nor can the interpreter dispense with the study of antiquities, the habits, customs, and arts of the ancients. He should inquire into the antiquities of all the ancient nations and races of whom any records remain, for the customs of other nations may often throw light upon those of the Hebrews. The study of politics, including international law and the various theories and systems of civil government, will add greatly to the other accomplishments of the exegete, and enable him the better to appreciate the Mosaic legislation, and the great principles of civil government set forth in the New Testament. Many a passage, also, can be illustrated and made more impressive by a thorough knowledge of natural science. Geology, mineralogy, and astronomy, are incidentally touched by statements or allusions of the sacred writers, and whatever the knowledge of the ancients on these subjects, the modern interpreter ought to be familiar with what modern science has demonstrated. The same may be said of the history and systems of speculative thought, the various schools of philosophy and psychology. Many of these philosophical discussions have become involved in theological dogma, and have led to peculiar principles and methods of interpretation, and, to cope fairly with them, the professional exegete should be familiar with all their subtleties. It is also of the first importance that the interpreter possess a profound and accurate knowledge of the sacred tongues. No one can be a master in biblical exposition without such knowledge. To a thorough acquaintance with Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, he should add some proficiency in the science of comparative philology. Especially will a knowledge of Syriac, Arabic, and other Semitic languages help one to understand the Hebrew and the Chaldee, and acquaintance with Sanskrit and Latin and other Indo-European tongues will deepen and enlarge one's knowledge of the Greek. To all these acquirements the interpreter of God's word should add a familiar acquaintance with general literature. The great productions of human genius, the world-renowned epics, the classics of all the great nations, and the bibles of all religions, will be of value in estimating the oracles of God.

It is not denied that there have been able and excellent exposi-

tors who were wanting in many of these literary qualifications. But he who excels as a master can regard no literary attainments as superfluous; and, in maintaining and defending against scepticism and infidelity the faith once delivered to the saints, the Christian apologist and exegete will find all these qualifications indispensable.

SPIRITUAL QUALIFICATIONS.

Intellectual qualities, though capable of development and discipline, are to be regarded as natural endowments; educational or literary acquirements are to be had only by diligent and faithful study; but those qualifications of an interpreter which we call spiritual are to be regarded as partly a gift, and partly acquired by personal effort and proper discipline. Under this head we place all moral and religious qualities, dispositions, and attainments. The spirit is that higher moral nature which especially distinguishes man from the brute, and renders him capable of knowing and loving God. To meet the wants of this spiritual nature the Bible is admirably adapted; but the perverse heart and carnal mind may refuse to entertain the thoughts of God. "The natural man," says Paul, "does not receive the things of the Spirit of God, for they are a folly to him, and he is not able to know, because they are spiritually discerned" (1 Cor. ii, 14).

First of all, the true interpreter needs a disposition to seek and know the truth. No man can properly enter upon the study and exposition of what purports to be the revelation of God while his heart is influenced by any prejudice against it, or hesitates for a moment to accept what commends itself to his conscience and his judgment. There must be a sincere desire and purpose to attain the truth, and cordially accept it when attained. Such a disposition of heart, which may be more or less strong in early childhood, is then easily encouraged and developed, or as easily perverted. Early prejudices and the natural tendency of the human soul to run after that which is evil, rapidly beget habits and dispositions unfriendly to godliness. "For the carnal mind is enmity against God" (Rom. viii, 7), and readily cleaves to that which seems to remove moral obligation. "Every one that does evil hates the light, and comes not to the light lest his deeds should be reprov'd" (John iii, 20). A soul thus perverted is incompetent to love and search the Scriptures.

A pure desire to know the truth is enhanced by a tender affection for whatever is morally ennobling. The writings of John abound in passages of tender feeling, and suggest

how deep natures like his possess an intuition of godliness. Their souls yearn for the pure and the good, and they exult to find it all in God. Such tender affection is the seat of all pure love, whether of God or of man. The characteristic utterance of such a soul is: "Beloved, let us love one another; because love is of God, and every one that loves has been begotten of God, and knows God. . . . God is love; and he that abides in love abides in God, and God in him" (1 John iv, 7, 16).

The love of the truth should be fervent and glowing, so as to beget in the soul an enthusiasm for the word of God. ^{Enthusiasm for} The mind that truly appreciates the Homeric poems ^{the word.} must imbibe the spirit of Homer. The same is true of him who delights in the magnificent periods of Demosthenes, the easy numbers and burning thoughts of Shakspeare, or the lofty verse of Milton. What fellowship with such lofty natures can he have whose soul never kindles with enthusiasm in the study of their works? So the profound and able exegete is he whose spirit God has touched, and whose soul is enlivened by the revelations of heaven.

Such hallowed fervour should be chastened and controlled by a true reverence. "The fear of Jehovah is the begin- ^{Reverence for} ning of knowledge" (Prov. i, 7). There must be the ^{God.} devout frame of mind, as well as the pure desire to know the truth. "God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (John iv, 24). Therefore, they who would attain the true knowledge of God must possess the reverent, truth-loving spirit; and, having attained this, God will seek them (John iv, 23) and reveal himself to them as he does not unto the world. Comp. Matt. xi, 25; xvi, 17. Nor should we allow ourselves to be deluded by the idea that the human mind must be a *tabula rasa* in order to arrive at sound conclusions. To conform to such an assumption is well pronounced by Neander to be impracticable. "The very attempt," he observes, "contradicts the sacred laws of our being. We cannot entirely free ourselves from presuppositions, which are born with our nature, and which attach to the fixed course of progress in which we ourselves are involved. They control our consciousness, whether we will or no; and the supposed freedom from them is, in fact, nothing else but the exchange of one set for another. Some of these prepossessions, springing from a higher necessity, founded in the moral order of the universe, and derived from the eternal laws of the Creator, constitute the very ground and support of our nature. From them we must not free ourselves."¹

¹ Life of Jesus Christ. Translated by McClintock and Blumenthal; p. 1. N. Y., 1848.

Finally, the expounder of the Holy Scriptures needs to have living fellowship and communion with the Holy Spirit. Communion with the Holy Spirit Inasmuch as "all Scripture is God-breathed" (2 Tim. iii, 16), and the sacred writers spoke from God as they were moved by the Holy Spirit (2 Pet. i, 21), the interpreter of Scripture must be a partaker of the same Holy Spirit. He must, by a profound experience of the soul, attain the saving knowledge of Christ, and in proportion to the depth and fulness of that experience he will know the life and peace of the "mind of the Spirit" (Rom. vi, 8). "We speak God's wisdom in a mystery," says Paul (1 Cor. ii, 7-11), the hidden spiritual wisdom of a divinely illuminated heart, which none of the princes of this world have known, but (as it is in substance written in Isa. lxiv, 4), a wisdom relating to "what things (δ) eye did not see, and ear did not hear, and into man's heart did not enter—whatever things ($\delta\sigma\alpha$) God prepared for them that love him; for¹ to us God revealed them through the Spirit; for the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God. For who of men knows the things of the man except the spirit of the man which is in him? So also the things of God no one knows except the Spirit of God." He, then, who would know and explain to others "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xiii, 11) must enter into blessed communion and fellowship with the Holy One. He should never cease to pray (Eph. i, 17, 18) "that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, would give him the spirit of wisdom and of revelation in the full knowledge ($\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of him, the eyes of his heart being enlightened for the purpose of knowing what is the hope of his calling, what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what the exceeding greatness of his power toward us who believe."

¹ We follow here the reading of Westcott and Hort, who receive $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ into the text. This reading has the strong support of Codex B, and would have been quite liable to be changed to the more numerous supported reading $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ by reason of a failure to apprehend the somewhat involved connection of thought. The $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ gives the reason *why we speak* God's mysterious wisdom, *for to us God revealed it* through the Spirit. "Is it in truth the word of God," says T. Lewis, "is it really God speaking to us? Then the feeling and the conclusion which it necessitates are no hyperboles. We cannot go too far in our reverence, or in our expectation of knowledge surpassing in kind, if not in extent. The wisdom of the earth, of the seas, of the treasures hidden in the rocks, and all deep places, or of the stars afar off, brings us not so nigh the central truth of the heavens, the very mind and the thought of God, as one parable of Christ." *The Divine Human in the Scriptures*, pp. 25, 26. New York, 1859.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

A KNOWLEDGE of the history of biblical interpretation is of inestimable value to the student of the Holy Scriptures. It serves to guard against errors and exhibits the activity and efforts of the human mind in its search after truth and in relation to noblest themes. It shows what influences have led to the misunderstanding of God's word, and how acute minds, carried away by a misconception of the nature of the Bible, have sought mystic and manifold meanings in its contents. From the first, the Scriptures, like other writings, were liable to be understood in different ways. The Old Testament prophets complained of the slowness of the people to apprehend spiritual things (Isa. vi, 10; Jer. v, 21; Ezek. xii, 2). The apostolical epistles were not always clear to those who first received them (comp. 2 Thess. ii, 2; 2 Pet. iii, 16). When the Old and New Testaments assumed canonical form and authority, and became the subject of devout study and a means of spiritual discipline, they furnished a most inviting field for literary research and theological controversy. On the one hand, there were those who made light of what the prophets had written, attacked the sacred books, and perverted their meaning; on the other, there arose apologists and defenders of the holy volume, and among them not a few who searched for hidden treasures, and manifold meanings in every word. Besides assailants and apologists there were also many who, withdrawing from the field of controversy, searched the Scriptures on account of their religious value, and found in them wholesome food for the soul. The public teachers of religion, in oral and written discourses, expounded and applied the oracles of God to the people. Hence, in the course of ages, a great variety of expositions and a vast amount of biblical literature have appeared. The student who acquaints himself with the various methods of exposition, and with the works of the great exegetes of ancient and modern times, is often saved thereby from following new developments of error, and is guarded against the novelties of a restless fancy. He observes how learned men, yielding to subtle speculation and fanciful analogies, have become the founders of schools

value and importance of history of interpretation.

Origin and variety of interpretations.

and systems of interpretation. At the same time he becomes more fully qualified to maintain and defend the faith once delivered to the saints.

It was the distinguishing advantage of the Jewish people that they were entrusted with the oracles of God (Rom. iii, 1, 2). But during the long period between Moses and the Babylonian captivity they showed little appreciation of their heavenly treasure. The law was ignored, the prophets were persecuted, the people turned to idolatry, and the penalty of exile and dispersion, foreannounced by Jehovah himself (Deut. xxviii, 63, 64), followed at last with terrible severity. In the land of exile, a descendant of Aaron the

Ezra the scribe.

high priest, hopeless of Israel's rise by worldly prowess, set his heart upon the devout study of the ancient Scriptures. "Ezra prepared his heart to seek the law of Jehovah and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments" (Ezra vii, 10). Possibly the one hundred and nineteenth psalm was the result of that study, and shows the impression the law made upon that studious priest while yet a young man. A profound appreciation of God's law, such as this psalm evinces, would prompt a man like Ezra to seek the reformation of Israel by calling them to a rigid obedience of the commandments. We may, accordingly, date the beginning of formal exposition of the Scriptures in the time of Ezra. A need was then felt, as not before, of appealing to the oracles of God. The Book of the Law was recognized as fundamental in the records of divine revelation. The noblest Israelite was he who delighted in Jehovah's law, and meditated therein by night and by day (Psa. i, 2; comp. Psa. cxix, 34, 35, 97). The loss of temple, throne, palace, and regal splendour turned the heart of the devout Jew to a more diligent inquiry after the words of Jehovah.

Ezra, accordingly, led a company of exiles back to Jerusalem and instituted numerous reforms. The commandments forbidding intermarriage with the heathen were rigidly enforced, and the legal feasts and fasts were observed. The public instruction of the people, as recorded in Neh. viii, 1-8, was a measure designed to make known the will of Jehovah, and to develop a purer religious sentiment among the people. Thenceforth the office and work of the scribe became important. He was no longer the

The office and work of the scribes.

mere recorder of passing events, the secretary, clerk, or registrar of the king (2 Sam. viii, 17; 1 Kings iv, 3), but the copyist and authorized expounder of the sacred books. Their devotion to the study and interpretation of the law brought to the scribes after a time the title of lawyers (*νομικοί*).

At an early period they became known as a distinct class, and were spoken of as families or guilds (1 Chron. ii, 55). Ezra is to be regarded as a distinguished representative of his class. He was not the only scribe who returned from Babylon (Ezra viii, 16). On the occasion of the public reading of the law he had the assistance of learned Levites, who were able to explain the ancient Scriptures to the people. Constant searching of these holy writings led to the various reforms narrated in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The progress of Jewish exegesis from the time of Ezra to the beginning of the Christian era may be dimly traced in scattered notices of the learned Jews of that period, in the pre-Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature, in the works of Philo Judæus and Josephus, and in the Talmud. The rigid measures adopted by Ezra, Nehemiah, and their associates would seem to have prepared the way for Pharisaism. The scribes of the period succeeding that of Nehemiah not only copied the sacred books, and explained their general import, but took measures to make a hedge about the law. They set a value on the very letters of the law, and counted their number.¹ They scrupulously guarded against interpolations and changes, but, at the same time, they gathered up traditions and constructed an oral law which in time came to have with them an authority equal to that of the sacred books. Thus originated the Jewish Halachah and Hagadah, the legal and homiletic exegesis. These expositions constitute the Midrashim, or most ancient Jewish commentary. The Halachic, or legal exegesis, was confined to the Pentateuch, and aimed, by analogy and combination of specific written laws, to deduce precepts and rules on subjects which had not been formally treated in the Mosaic Code. This was, in the main, a reading into the laws of Moses a great variety of things which they could not, by any fair interpretation, be made to teach. The Hagadic exegesis, on the other hand, was extended over the entire Old Testament Scriptures, and was of a more practical and homiletical character. It aimed, by means of memorable sayings of illustrious men, parables, allegories, marvelous legends, witty proverbs, and mystic interpretations of Scripture events, to stimulate the Jewish people to pious activity and obedience. The Midrashim thus became a vast treasury of Hebrew national lore. It was developed gradually, by public lectures and homilies, and became more and more comprehensive and complicated as new legends, secret meanings, hidden wisdom, and allegorical expositions were added by one great teacher after another. We

Progress of
Jewish exegesis
after Ezra.

Halachah and
Hagadah.

The Midrashim.

¹ See Ginsburg, article Scribes, in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.

have the substance of the Midrashim preserved in the Talmud and the Hagadic literature of the first three centuries of the Christian era.¹

The later Jewish exegesis was influenced by controversies with Christians, and by the sect of the synagogue known as the Karaites (קראים, *readers*, or literalists), who rejected the authority of the oral law, and all the traditions and precepts of Hagadic literature. The strict methods of these literalists tended to restrain the extravagance of the rabbinical schools, and to promote a more rational study of the Hebrew Scriptures.

We naturally look to the New Testament for the earliest indications of the spirit and methods of Christian exegesis.

Methods of
Christian ex-
egesis indicated
in the New
Testament.

The divine Founder of Christianity constantly appealed to the Scriptures of the Old Testament as to a sacred authority, and declared that they bore testimony of himself (John v, 39; comp. Luke xxiv, 27). With equal emphasis did he condemn the current Halachic and Hagadic tradition of the elders, which in some instances nullified the commandments of God (Matt. xv, 1-9; Mark vii, 1-13). He reproved the Sadducees also for not understanding the Scriptures and the power of God (Matt. xxii, 29). The error of the disciples in construing the prophecy of the coming of Elijah (Mal. iv, 5) to mean a literal return of the ancient Tishbite—an error which they had received from the scribes—was exposed by showing that the “spirit and power of Elijah” (Luke i, 17) had reappeared in John the Baptist (Matt. xi, 14; xvii, 10-13). Paul makes mention of his proficiency in Judaism (ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ), and his excessive zeal for the traditions of his fathers, for which he was noted before his conversion (Gal. i, 13, 14); but after it pleased God to give him the revelation of his grace in Jesus Christ, he denounced “Jewish fables and commandments of men who turn away from the truth” (Titus i, 14), and also “foolish questionings and genealogies and strife and fightings (or controversies) about the law” (Titus iii, 9). He counselled Timothy to “turn away from the profane babblings and oppositions of the falsely named knowledge” (τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, 1 Tim. vi, 20), and warned the Colossians against the spoiling tendencies of “philoso-

¹ Ishmael Ben-Elisa's Commentary on Exodus xii-xxiii, called *Mechilta* (מכילתא) is an allegorical treatment of various Mosaic ceremonies, and is one of the oldest specimens of formal Jewish exposition. Ishmael Ben-Elisa flourished about the close of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era, and was the author of several mystic treatises which are still extant. His *Mechilta* with a Latin translation is given by Ugolino in the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, vol. xiv, Venice, 1752. A German translation of numerous ancient Midrashim is given by Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica; eine Sammlung alter Midrashim zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übertragen*, Lpz., 1880-1881, 12 thin vols., 8vo.

phy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ" (Col. ii, 8; comp. 1 Tim. i, 4; iv, 7; 2 Tim. ii, 14-16, 23). In these admonitions and warnings there is a manifest reference to the Jewish Midrashim and the speculative tendencies of that age. It was a time of intense mental activity throughout the Roman world, especially in the more eastern cities, where Greek philosophy and oriental mysticism met and blended, as in the case of Philo of Alexandria. The endless genealogies and the falsely named knowledge indicate the beginnings of heretical Gnosticism, already disturbing the faith and practice of the Christian Church. From all which it appears that neither the Hagadic exegesis and ancestral traditions of the Jews, nor the allegorizing and speculative habit of Hellenists like Philo, received encouragement from Christ or his apostles. Paul's single instance of allegorizing the history of Hagar and Sarah was essentially an *argumentum ad hominem*, professedly put as a special plea to those "who desire to be under law" (Gal. iv, 21). Its exceptional character only serves to set in stronger light Paul's constant habit elsewhere of construing the Scriptures according to the simple and natural import of the words. Our Lord's answer to the Sadducees, in Matt. xxii, 31-33, is also to be regarded as an exceptional and peculiar argument, designed to confound and silence captious assailants, not to encourage or sanction subtle uses of the Scriptures.

But though the New Testament exhibits in itself the principles and methods of a sound and trustworthy exegesis, the widely prevalent Hellenistic habit of allegorizing what seemed offensive to philosophic taste carried along with its strong tide many of the Christian writers of the post-apostolic age. The Church of this early period was too much engaged in struggles for life to develop an accurate or scientific interpretation of Scripture. There was great intellectual activity, and the early forms of heresy which disturbed the Church developed by controversy great strength and subtlety of reasoning. But the tone and style of the earlier writers were apologetical and polemical rather than exegetical. Harassed by persecution, distracted by occasional factions, and exposed to manifold dangers, the early Christian propagandists had no opportunities to cultivate those habits of careful study which lead to broad generalization and impartial decisions. In the hurry and pressure of exciting times men take readily what first comes to hand, or serves an immediate purpose, and it was very natural that many of the early Christian writers should make use of methods of Scripture interpretation which were widely prevalent at the time.

After the beginning of the third century biblical interpretation was notably influenced by the famous schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Long before the time of Christ Alexandria had become a great literary centre. The Asiatic mystic, the Jewish rabbi, and the Greek and Roman philosopher there came together and interchanged their thoughts. In the writings of Philo Judæus we trace the development of the Halachic and Hagadic principles as they became coloured by Hellenic culture. This philosophical Jew united a deep reverence for the Mosaic revelation with an absorbing fondness for Grecian metaphysics. In his writings he appears at times to allow the literal sense of a passage, but his great aim is to exhibit the mystic depths of significance which lie concealed beneath the sacred words. He shows no conception of the historical standpoint of his author, no appreciation of the truthfulness or accuracy of the statements of Moses, but often writes as if he really thought the Hellenic philosophy was a natural and necessary part of the laws of the Pentateuch. But Philo was not the author of this system of exegesis, nor did it end with him. The mingling of diverse religionists and philosophies in that great metropolis encouraged all manner of speculation, and we need not wonder that the great lights of the Alexandrian Church fell into habits of mystical and allegorical exposition. One of the earliest representatives of this school whose works have come down to us was Titus Flavius Clement. He was preceded by Pantænus and others, who, like Apollos, had profited by Alexandrian culture and were "mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts xviii, 24). But Clement was a fanciful interpreter. He was charmed with the Greek philosophy, read Philo's work with avidity, and adopted his allegorical methods of exposition. He was succeeded at Alexandria by a pupil greater than himself, a man of purest character, who, while yet a little child disclosed a remarkable insight into the depth and fulness of the Scriptures, and later, by his untiring devotion to multifarious studies, and his indomitable firmness through bitter trials, acquired the name of Man of Adamant. This man was Origen, the most distinguished biblical critic of the ancient Church. His veneration for the Scriptures led him to ascribe a sort of magical value to the original text, and he accordingly sought to establish it by the widest possible collation and comparison of existing versions. In his Hexapla he arranged, in six parallel columns, the Hebrew text, a Greek transliteration of the same, the Septuagint, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Some pages, which contained books of which other versions were extant, were arranged in seven, eight, or nine columns, according to the number of the versions. On

this immense work, which extended to nearly fifty volumes, he was engaged for twenty-eight years.¹ But with all his devotion to the interests of truth, and the enormous magnitude of his labors, he was a mystico-allegorical interpreter. He followed in the path of Philo the Jew, and Clement the Christian, and, assuming that many portions of the Bible are unreasonable and absurd when taken literally; he maintained a threefold sense—the corporeal, the physical, and the spiritual. But he protests against being supposed to teach that no history is real, and no laws are to be literally observed, because some narratives and laws, literally understood, are absurd or impossible. “For,” he says, “the passages that are true in their historical sense are much more numerous than those which have a purely spiritual signification.”²

Driven by persecution from Alexandria, he resorted to Cæsarea, in Palestine, and there established a school which for a time surpassed that of the Egyptian metropolis. The magnetism of his person, and his wide-spread fame as an expounder of the Scriptures, attracted great multitudes to him. His pernicious habit of explaining the sacred records as the Platonists explained the heathen myths, and his peculiar views touching the pre-existence of souls, a new probation after death, and some other doctrines, were so far offset by his pure zeal for God, and his many and great virtues, that he has been quite generally acknowledged as pre-eminently the father of biblical science, and one of the greatest prodigies of learning and industry among men.³

To Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians (Acts xi, 26), belongs the honor of introducing a more scientific and profitable system of biblical study. Its founder The School of Antioch. was Lucian, who in early life studied at Edessa, and laid the foundation of his thorough scholarship under the training of Macarius, an eminent teacher of that city. He afterward removed to Antioch, where he was ordained presbyter, and acquired great fame as a critical student and expounder of the Holy Scriptures. His stricter methods put a check to the allegorical and mystical interpretation

¹ The remains of this great work were collected and published in two folio volumes by Montfaucon, Paris, 1713. Revised edition by Bahrde, Lpz., 1769-70, 2 vols. 8vo. It is also published in vols. xv and xvi of Migne's Greek Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, and in two fine quartos by Field, Oxford, 1875.

² De Principiis, book iv, chap. i, 11.

³ Origen's works have been printed in many editions. The best is that of the Benedictines De la Rue, Paris, 1733-59, 4 vols. fol. It is reprinted in Migne's Greek Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Paris, 9 vols. English translations of the De Principiis, the Contra Celsum, and several of his epistles are given in vols. x and xxiii of the Edinburgh Ante-Nicene Christian Library.

so popular at the time, and which had received great strength and currency by the influence of Origen. This sounder method of exegesis was further promoted by Diodorus, who was also for some time a distinguished presbyter of Antioch, but afterward became bishop of Tarsus. The church historian, Socrates, speaks of him as president of a monastery and author of "many treatises, in which he limited his expositions to the literal sense of Scripture, without attempting to explain what was mystical."¹ He is said to have written commentaries on all the books of the Old Testament, and also on considerable portions of the New.² Some do not hesitate to make him the real founder of the school of Antioch.

The two most distinguished disciples of Diodorus were Theodore of Mopsuestia, and John Chrysostom of Constantinople. Both of them studied philosophy and rhetoric in the school of the celebrated sophist Libanius, the friend of the Emperor Julian. Theodore was made a presbyter at Antioch, but rapidly acquired reputation, and was made bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, about A. D. 390. His long life and incessant labour as a Christian teacher, the extent of his learning, the vigour and acuteness of his intellect, and the force of his personal character, won for him the title of Master of the Orient. He was a prolific author, and composed commentaries on various books of Scripture, of which only his exposition of the Minor Prophets has been preserved intact until the present time. His commentaries on Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians are preserved in a Latin version.³ He was an independent critic, and a straightforward, sober, historical interpreter. He had no sympathy with the mystical methods of the Alexandrian school, and repudiated their extravagant notions of inspiration; but he went to an opposite extreme of denying the inspiration of many portions of the Scriptures, and furnished specimens of rationalistic exposition quite barren and unsatisfactory. Nevertheless the Syrian Nestorians regarded him as the greatest of exegetes. His method of teaching the subjects of Christology and anthropology were severely condemned after his decease, especially

¹ Eccl. Hist., book vi, chap. iii.

² So stated by Theodore the Reader, as cited in Suidas' Lexicon (Küster's ed. vol. i, p. 593. Cambr., 1705), under the name Diodorus. Fragments of the commentaries of Diodorus are given in vol xxxiii of Migne's Greek Patrologie Coursus Completus.

³ Theodore's Commentary on the Minor Prophets was published by Mai, in vol. vii of his Patrum Nova Bibliotheca (Rome, 1854), and by Wegner (Berol., 1834). Fragments of his other works are given by Fritzsche, Theod. Mops., in N. Test. Comm. (Turici, 1847), and Pitra, Spicil. Solesm. (Par., 1854). See also Sieffert, Theod. Mops. V. T. sobre interpretandi vindex, (Regim., 1827), and Kihn, Theod. Mops. und J. Africanus als Exegeten (Fr ib., 1880).

because the Nestorians appealed to them as identical with their own.

While Theodore represented the more independent and rationalistic spirit of the Antiochian school, Chrysostom exhibited its more conservative and practical tendency. The Chrysostom. tender devotion of a pious Christian mother, the rhetorical polish acquired in the school of Libanius, and the assiduous study of the Scriptures at the monastery of the learned Diodorus, were all together admirably adapted to develop the profound exegete and the eloquent preacher of the word of God. "Through a rich inward experience," says Neander, "he lived into the understanding of the Holy Scriptures; and a prudent method of interpretation, on logical and grammatical principles, kept him in the right track in deriving the spirit from the letter of the sacred volume. His profound and simple, yet fruitful, homiletic method of treating the Scriptures, show to what extent he was indebted to both, and how, in his case, both co-operated together."¹

Chrysostom wrote more than six hundred homilies on the Scriptures. They consist of expository discourses on Genesis, the Psalms, and most of the New Testament. Those on the Gospel of Matthew and the Pauline epistles are specially valuable, and such modern exegetes as Tholuck and Alford have enriched their pages by numerous quotations from this father. The least valuable of his expository discourses are those upon the prophets, only a few of which remain. His ignorance of Hebrew, and his failure to apprehend the spirit of the Old Testament prophets, are apparent. The homilies on the Psalms, however, though without critical merit, furnish a rich banquet, for Chrysostom's deep religious experience brought him into complete sympathy with the psalmist. Although his credulous nature yielded to many superstitions of his age, and his pious feeling inclined him to asceticism and the self-mortifications of monastic life, John Chrysostom is unquestionably the greatest commentator among the early fathers of the Church. Theodore of Mopsuestia may have been more sharply critical, Origen was more encyclopædic in his learning, and others were more original and profound in apprehending some of the doctrines of the Christian faith, but he surpassed them all in the general good judgment which appears in his expositions, in the richness of his suggestions, and the practical value of what he said or wrote. He is the greatest ornament and noblest representative of the exegetical school of Antioch.²

¹ History of the Christian Religion and Church. vol. ii, p. 693.

² The best edition of Chrysostom's works is that of Montfaucon, Greek and Latin, 13 vols., Paris, 1718-38. Reprinted 1834-39, and also in Migne's Greek Patrology,

In this connexion we should also notice the works of Theodoret, who was trained at the monastery near Antioch, where he abode for twenty years, devoting himself to theological studies. The teachings of Diodorus, Theodore, and Chrysostom, who were identified with this same monastery, exerted great influence over the mind of Theodoret, and he followed substantially their system of biblical interpretation. In his Preface to the Psalms he says: "When I happened upon various commentaries, and found some expositors pursuing allegories with great superabundance, others adapting prophecy to certain histories so as to produce an interpretation accommodated to the Jews rather than to the nurselings of faith, I considered it the part of a wise man to avoid the excess of both, and to connect now with ancient histories whatever things belonged to them." Most of his remaining works are expository, but often mixed with that which is apologetic and controversial.¹ They cover most of the books of the Old Testament, and the epistles of Paul.²

The churches of Syria early developed into two main divisions, those of the eastern and the western provinces. As Antioch was the chief center of the western cities, so were Edessa and Nisibis of the more eastern, and when, after the days of Chrysostom and Theodoret, the school of Antioch declined, those chief centres of Christian activity in Mesopotamia became more famous as seats of literary culture and exegetical learning. The appearance of the Syriac version of the New Testament as early as the middle of the second century, and the Diatessaron of Tatian, indicates the interest of the Syrian mind in the study of the Scriptures. Lucian, the founder of the Antiochian school, received his early training in the Scriptures from Macarius of Edessa. The Ignatian epistles appear also to have exerted great influence in Eastern Syria, and they were early translated into the Syriac tongue. "The school of Eastern Syria," says Dorner, "was distinguished by its vivid fancy, by its religious spirit, at once fiery and practical, by fervour, and, in part, depth of thought. It exhibited, also, a tendency to the impassioned style and too gorgeous imagery of the East, to mysticism and asceticism. . . . The Church of Western Syria displayed, at an early period, that sober, judicious,

vols. xlvii-lxiv. An English translation of many of the Homilies is given in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, 1842-53.

¹ Comp. Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum* vol. iv, pp. 35-142.

² The best edition of Theodoret's works is that of Schulze and Nösselt, 5 vols., Halle, 1769-74. See also Migne's *Greek Patrologia: Cursus Completus*, vols. lxxx-lxxxiv.

and critical spirit for which it became renowned, and by which it was especially distinguished from the third to the fifth century. The eastern school inclined to theosophy, and thus had a certain affinity with the religious systems which prevailed in the East; the western, on the other hand, took its stand on the firm basis of experience and history. In a word, the contrast between the two divisions of the Syrian Church bore a not inconsiderable resemblance to that which exists between the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions in Germany."¹

One of the greatest fathers of the Syrian Church was Ephraem, commonly called Ephraem Syrus, who flourished at Edessa about A. D. 370. He spent most of his life in ^{Ephraem Syrus.} writing and preaching, and was a vigorous opponent of Arianism. His learning and piety were the admiration of his contemporaries, and he was often designated as the prophet of the Syrians. He was a voluminous writer, and has left numerous commentaries, homilies, and poems. Many of his exegetical discourses and polemical and practical homilies are written in poetical form. His commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament and the Book of Job are extant in Syriac, and those of the Pauline epistles in an Armenian translation. It is doubtful whether he understood or used the Greek language. His method of exposition is mainly that of the allegorists, his style is brilliant and glowing, often running into bombast, and his interpretations are often fanciful, farfetched, and extravagant.²

The school of Nisibis maintained itself longer than that of Edessa, and continued until the ninth century. The Canon ^{Barsumas and} of Nisibis prescribed a three years' course of exegetical ^{Ibas.} study in the Old and New Testaments. Barsumas, who was ejected from the school of Edessa, became bishop of Nisibis in A. D. 435, and founded there the theological seminary which served to maintain and propagate Nestorianism in various countries of the East. The works of Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, translated into Syriac by Ibas, contributed much toward the cultivation of biblical and theological study throughout Eastern Syria.

The fathers of the Western Church were, as a class, much inferior to those of the Eastern in their expositions of the Scriptures.

¹ History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, div. ii, vol. i, p. 29.

² The best edition of the works of Ephraem Syrus is that of Assemani in six vols., Rome, 1732-46. Nine of the metrical homilies and thirty-five of the Syriac hymns have been translated into English by Burgess: *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, London, 1853. See also Lengerke, *De Ephraemi Syri arte hermeneutica*, Königsb., 1831.

One chief reason for this fact was their comparative ignorance of the original languages of the Bible. A notable exception is that of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, near Rome. It is doubtful whether he should be claimed more by the West than the East, for he was a disciple of Irenæus, and a friend and admirer of Origen, and, according to Baronius, a disciple of Clement of Alexandria. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that he spent the greater portion of his life in Rome and its vicinity. His great work, recently discovered, on the Refutation of all Heresies, contains numerous expositions of different passages of Scripture, and shows that he was an extreme allegorist. He appears to have written commentaries on most of the Bible, and numerous fragments remain. His exegetical method is substantially that of Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, and in some things, if possible, even more extravagant. Nevertheless, his writings are of great value as exhibiting the heresies and disputes of his time, and some of his Scripture expositions are thoughtful and suggestive.¹

In the later part of the fourth and the earlier part of the fifth century there flourished, contemporaneously, the greatest biblical scholar, the greatest theologian, and the most distinguished heretic, of the ancient Western Church. These were Jerome, Augustine, and Pelagius. Jerome was born at Stridon, on the borders of Pannonia, but early in life removed to Rome, where he diligently prosecuted his studies under the best masters. He afterward travelled through Gaul, and transcribed Hilary's commentary on the Psalms. About A. D. 372 he visited the East, passing through the most interesting provinces of Asia Minor, and pausing for a time at Antioch in Syria. Here he was prostrated by a severe fever, and in a dream received strong condemnation for his devotion to the heathen classics, which he thereupon vowed to renounce forever. He betook himself to monastic life, and thought to crucify his taste for Roman literature by the study of Hebrew. He afterward visited Constantinople, and pursued his studies, especially in Greek, under Gregory of Nazianzum. Here he translated Eusebius' Chronicle, and the commentaries of Origen on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. About A. D. 386 he settled in Bethlehem of Judæa, and there, in monkish seclusion and assiduous study, spent the rest of his life. He wrote commentaries upon most of the books of the Bible, revised the old Latin version, and made a new translation of

¹ The extant works of Hippolytus have been published in many editions, the best of which is, perhaps, that of Lagarde, Lps., 1858. An English translation is given in vols. vi and ix of the Edinburgh Ante-Nicene Christian Library.

the Old Testament from the original Hebrew text. His generation was not competent to appreciate these literary labours, and not a few regarded it as an impious presumption to assume that the Septuagint version could be improved by an appeal to the Hebrew. That seemed like preferring Barabbas to Jesus. Nevertheless, the Vulgate speedily took rank with the great versions of the Bible, and became the authorized translation used in the Western Church. It is more faithful to the Hebrew than the Septuagint, and was probably made with the help of Origen's Hexapla, which was then accessible in the library of Cæsarea.

"As a commentator," writes Osgood, "Jerome deserves less honour than as a translator, so hasty his comments generally are, and so frequently consisting of fragments, gathered from previous writers. His merit however is—Osgood on Jerome as a commentator. and this was by no means a common one in his day—that he generally aims to give the literal sense of the passages in question. He read apparently all that had been written by the leading interpreters before him, and then wrote his own commentaries in great haste without stopping to distinguish his own views from those of the authorities consulted. He dashed through a thousand lines of the text in a single day, and went through the Gospel of Matthew in a fortnight. He sometimes yielded to the allegorical methods of interpretation, and showed frequent traces of the influence of his study of Origen. Yet he seems not to have inclined to this method so much from his own taste as from the habit of his time. And if, of the four doctors of the Church particularized by some writers, to Gregory belongs excellence in tropology, to Ambrose in allegory, to Augustine in anagoge, to Jerome is given the palm in the literal and grammatical sense. . . . Rich and elegant as his style frequently is, he does not appear to have had very good taste as a critic. He had not that delicate appreciation of an author's meaning that enables one to seize hold of the main idea or sentiment, and through this interpret the language and illustrations. He could not reproduce the thoughts of the prophets and poets of the Old Testament in his own mind, and throw himself into their position. Their poetic figures he sometimes treats as logical propositions, and finds grave dogmas in casual illustrations."¹

¹ Jerome and his Times; article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Feb., 1848, pp. 138, 139. The works of Jerome have been published in many forms; best edition, by Valarsi and Maffei in 11 vols., Verona, 1734-42; reprinted, with some revision, Venice, 1766-71. See also Migne's *Latin Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, vols. xxii-xxx, Paris, 1845, 1846. The best treatise on Jerome is that of Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben und Werke aus seinen Schriften dargestellt*, Gotha, 1865.

In learning and general culture Jerome was much superior to Augustine, but in depth and penetration, in originality of genius and power of thought, Augustine, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, was by far the greatest man of his age. If it be any evidence of greatness for one mind to shape and direct the theological studies and speculations of more than a thousand years, and after all the enlightenment of modern times to maintain his hold upon men of the deepest piety and the highest intellectual power, then must it be conceded that few if any Christian writers of all the ages have equalled Augustine. But of his doctrines and his rank as a theologian it is not in our way to speak. Only as an interpreter of Scripture do we here consider him, and as such we cannot in justice award him a place correspondent with his theological fame. His conceptions of divine truth were comprehensive and profound, but having no knowledge of Hebrew and a very imperfect acquaintance with Greek, he was incapacitated for thorough and independent study of the sacred books. He was dependent on the current faulty Latin version, and not a few of his theological arguments are built upon an erroneous interpretation of the Scripture text. In his work on Christian Doctrine he lays down a number of very excellent rules for the exposition of the Bible, but in practice he forsakes his own hermeneutical principles, and often runs into excessive allegorizing. He allows four different kinds of interpretation, the historical, the ætiological, the analogical, and the allegorical, but he treats these methods as traditional, and gives them no extended or uniform application. His commentaries on Genesis and Job are of little value. His exposition of the Psalms contains many rich thoughts, together with much that is vague and mystical. The treatise in four books on the Consensus of the Evangelists is one of the best of the ancient attempts to construct a Gospel harmony, but his Evangelical Inquiries (*Quaestiones Evangelicae*) are full of fanciful interpretation. His best expositions are of those passages on which his own rich experience and profound acquaintance with the operations of the human heart enabled him to comment with surpassing beauty. His exegetical treatises are the least valuable of his multifarious writings, but through all his works are scattered many brilliant and precious gems of thought.¹

¹ Augustine's works have been printed in very many editions, the latest of which is that of Migne, in 15 vols. Paris, 1842. More sumptuous is the Benedictine edition, in 11 folio vols. Venice, 1729-35. An English translation of his exposition of the Psalms and Gospels is given in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, and his commentary on John, the work on Christian Doctrine, the Enchiridion, and numerous other treatises are published in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, Edinburgh.

During the long period known as the Middle Ages, the true exegetical spirit could scarcely be expected. To this period belong the so-called Catenists, or compilers of expositions from the more ancient fathers. It was not an age of original research, but of imitation and appropriation from the treasures of the past. Among the most noted of these compilers are Procopius of Gaza, Andreas, and Arethas. The venerable Bede, one of the most eminent fathers of the English Church, made himself familiar with all the learning of his age, and wrote commentaries on the entire New Testament, and a large portion of the Old. But they are compilations from the works of Augustine, Basil, and Ambrose. Other names of note are Alcuin, Haymo, and Theophylact. The notes of the last named on the New Testament have always been held in high estimation. Although the works of Chrysostom are the chief source of his extracts, he occasionally expresses his dissent from him, and shows more independence than most of the Catenists.

Nicholas de Lyra flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In addition to the usual studies of his age he acquired a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, a rare accomplishment for a Christian, and his great learning and useful writings secured him the friendship of the most illustrious men of his times, and the title of the "plain and useful doctor." His greatest work is entitled *Continuous Comments, or Brief Annotations on the whole Bible* (*Postillæ perpetuæ, seu brevia commentaria in universa Biblia*), and exhibits a great advance upon most of the exegesis of the Middle Ages. For although he recognises a fourfold sense, as shown in the well-known lines,

*Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia,*

he gives decided preference to the literal sense, and in his expositions shows comparatively little regard for any other. He frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the learned Hebrew exegetes, especially Rabbi Solomon Isaac (Rashi), whose sober methods of interpretation he generally followed. The influence his writings had on Luther and other reformers is celebrated in the familiar couplet:

*Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset.*

His comments on the New Testament are less valuable than those on the Old, and follow closely Augustine and Aquinas. He was ignorant of the Greek language, and based his expositions on the text of the Vulgate.¹ But his great *Postillæ perpetuæ* accomplished

¹ Comp. Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, vol. i, pp. 109-120.

much in preparing the way of a more thorough grammatical interpretation of the Bible.¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, but hardly to be classed with the great reformers, flourished two celebrated scholars to whom biblical literature is greatly indebted, Reuchlin and Erasmus. John Reuchlin was recognised as a leader of the German Humanists, and was particularly famous for his devotion to the study of Hebrew. He justly deserves the title of father of Hebrew learning in the Christian Church. He far surpassed the Jews of his time in the knowledge of their own language, and published, besides many other works, a treatise on the Rudiments of Hebrew, another on the Accents and Orthography of the Hebrew Language, and a Grammatical Interpretation of the Seven Penitential Psalms. He was also acknowledged everywhere as an authority in Latin and Greek, as well as in Hebrew, and the most learned men of his age sought his instruction and counsel. His great services in the cause of biblical learning led men to say of him, "Jerome is born again."

Desiderius Erasmus was by his wit, wisdom, culture, and varied erudition, the foremost representative, and, one might say, the embodiment, of Humanism. He and Reuchlin were called the "Eyes of Germany." Erasmus became early fascinated with the ancient classics, translated several Greek authors into Latin, and edited numerous editions of their works. He also edited a number of the Greek and Latin fathers. Without any such deep religious experience and profound convictions as Luther, and possessed of no such massive intellect as Melancthon, he was noted rather for versatility of genius and prodigious literary industry. Nevertheless, he was one of the most distinguished precursors of the Reformation, and it was truly said: "Erasmus laid the egg; Luther hatched it." He appears to have turned his attention to biblical studies about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and published in 1505 a new edition of Lorenzo Valla's Remarks on the New Testament. He edited and published in 1516 the first edition of the Greek Testament. It was printed in folio, accompanied with an elegant Latin version, and various readings from several manuscripts, the works of the fathers, and the Vulgate. The first edition was hastily prepared, precipitated rather than edited, as Erasmus himself wrote, in order to bring it out in advance of Cardinal Ximenes' Complutensian Polyglot, which did not appear until 1520. Erasmus afterward wrote and published Annotations on the New Testament, and also Paraphrases on the whole New Testament ex-

¹ The best edition of Lyra's Postillæ is that published at Antwerp, 1634, 6 vols. fol.

cept the Book of Revelation, which were so highly esteemed in England that it was required of every parish church to possess a copy of the English translation. These publications introduced a new era in biblical learning, and went far toward supplanting the scholasticism of the previous ages by better methods of theological study.¹

With the Reformation of the sixteenth century the mind of Germany and of other European states broke away from the ignorance and superstition of the Middle Ages, the Holy Scriptures were appealed to as the written revelation of God, containing all things necessary to salvation, and the doctrine of justification by faith was magnified against priestly absolution and the saving meritoriousness of works. The great commanding mind and leader of this remarkable movement was Martin Luther, who, in October, 1517, published the famous theses which were like the voice of a trumpet sounding forth the beginning of a better day. Five years later he put forth his German translation of the New Testament. This was one of the most valuable services of his life, for it gave to his people the holy oracles in the simple, idiomatic, and racy language of common life, and enabled them to read for themselves the teachings of Christ and the apostles. It was followed by successive portions of the Old Testament until, in 1534, the whole Bible was completed and became of incalculable influence in effecting the triumph of Protestantism. The arduous effort of Luther to make his translation of the Bible as accurate as possible went far toward the establishing of sound methods of criticism and exegesis. His helps in this great enterprise consisted of Erasmus' edition of the New Testament, the Sepuagint, the Vulgate, a few of the Latin fathers, and an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew. He also received valuable assistance from Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, and several learned rabbis. He spent twelve of the best years of his life upon this monumental work. Portions of the original autograph are still preserved in the royal library of Berlin, and show with what anxious care he sought to make the version as faithful as possible. Sometimes three or four different forms of expression were written down before he determined which one to adopt. Luther's commentary on the Galatians, which has been translated into English, and published in many editions, was characterized by himself as being very "plentiful in words." It is an elaborate treatise adapted for use as public lectures and devo-

The Reformation the morning of a better day.

Luther's German Bible.

His exegetical works.

¹ Erasmus' works have been printed in many forms. The best edition is that of Le Clerc, in 11 vols. folio. Leyden, 1703.

tional reading, and is particularly notable for its ample exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith. Luther also prepared notes on Genesis, the Psalms, the Sermon on the Mount, the Gospel of John, and other portions of the New Testament.¹ His knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was limited, and he sometimes mistook the meaning of the sacred writer, but his religious intuitions and deep devotional spirit enabled him generally to apprehend the true sense of Scripture.

Although Luther occupies the foremost place among the reformers, he was far surpassed in scholarship and learning by Melanchthon. Philip Melanchthon, in whom he found an indispensable friend and helper, in temperament and manners the counterpart of himself. Luther may be compared with Paul, whose bold and fearless spirit he admirably represented; Melanchthon exhibited rather the tender and loving spirit of John. Melanchthon appears to have been favoured with every opportunity and means of education which that age afforded. He was regarded as a prodigy of ancient learning, especially skilled in the knowledge of Greek, a pupil of Reuchlin, and a friend of Erasmus, both of whom extolled his remarkable talents and ripe scholarship. His thorough acquaintance with the original languages of the Scriptures, his calm judgment and cautious methods of procedure, qualified him for pre-eminence in biblical exegesis. He clearly perceived the Hebraic character of the New Testament Greek, and showed the importance of the study of Hebrew even for the exposition of the Christian Scriptures. As an aid in this line of study he published an edition of the Septuagint. Luther listened with delight to his expository lectures on Romans and Corinthians, obtained his manuscript, and sent it without his knowledge to the printer. On its appearance he wrote to his modest friend thus characteristically: "It is I who publish this commentary of yours, and I send yourself to you. If you are not satisfied with yourself you do right; it is enough that you please us. Yours is the fault, if there be any. Why did you not publish them yourself? Why did you let me ask, command, and urge you to publish to no purpose? This is my defence against you. For I am willing to rob you and to bear the name of a thief. I fear not your complaints or accusations."²

Melanchthon's exegetical lectures embrace Genesis, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel, Hag-

¹ Luther's exegetical works in Latin, edited by Elspeger, Schmid, and Irmischer, were published at Erlangen, in 23 vols. 12mo. 1729-44; in German, in vols. xxxiii-liv of his collected works as edited by Irmischer, 1843-53.

² Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken, ed. De Wette, ii, 238. Comp. ii, 303.

gai, Zechariah, and Malachi, of the Old Testament; and Matthew, John, Romans, Corinthians, Colossians, Timothy, and Titus of the New Testament. Luther's German Bible was greatly indebted to the careful revision of Melanchthon, who ^{His exegetical lectures.} himself translated the Books of Maccabees. Although his quiet, meditative tendencies led him at times into allegorical methods of exegesis, which he found so generally adopted by the fathers, he followed in the main the grammatical historical method, was careful to trace the connexion and course of thought, and aimed to ascertain the mind of the Spirit in the written word.¹

Of all the exegetes of the period of the Reformation the first place must unquestionably be given to John Calvin, ^{John Calvin.} whose learning was ample, whose Latin style surpassed in purity and elegance that of any writer of his time, and whose intellect was at once acute and penetrating, profound and comprehensive. His stern views on predestination are too often offensively prominent, and he at times indulges in harsh words against those who differ from him in opinion. In textual and philological criticism he was not equal to Erasmus, Melanchthon, Ecolampadius, or his intimate friend Beza, and he occasionally falls into notably incorrect interpretation of words and phrases; but as a whole, his commentaries are justly celebrated for clearness, good sense, and masterly apprehension of the meaning and spirit of the sacred writers. With the exception of Judges, Ruth, Kings, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, and the Apocalypse, his comments, expository lectures, and homilies extend over the whole Bible. In his Preface to the Epistle to the Romans he maintains that the chief excellence of an interpreter is a perspicuous brevity which does not divert the reader's thoughts by long and prolix discussions, but directly lays open the mind of the sacred writer. His commentaries, accordingly, while not altogether free from blemishes, exhibit a happy exegetical tact, a ready grasp of the more obvious meaning of words, and an admirable regard to the context, scope, and plan of the author. He seldom quotes from other commentators, and is conspicuously free from mystical, allegorical, and forced methods of exposition. His exegesis breathes everywhere—especially in the Psalms—a most lively religious feeling, indicating that his own personal experience enabled him to penetrate as by intuition into the depths of meaning treasured in the oracles of God.²

¹ Melanchthon's works, edited by Bretschneider and Bindseil, form 28 vols. of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. Halle and Brunswick. 1834-60.

² Calvin's works were published in 9 folio vols., Amsterdam, 1671 (best edition).

Next to Calvin we may appropriately notice his intimate friend and fellow reformer, Theodore Beza, who early enjoyed the instruction of such masters as Faber (Stapulensis), Budæus, and John Lascaris, and became so distinguished as an apt and brilliant scholar that of one hundred, who with him received the master's degree, he stood first. He lived to the great age of eighty-six, and was the author of many useful works. The principal monument of his exegetical skill is his Latin translation of the New Testament, with full annotations.¹ He was a consummate critic, a man of remarkable quickness and versatility of intellect, and widely distinguished for his profound and varied learning. His comments are unlike those of Calvin in not making prominent the religious element of the sacred writings, but his philological learning and constant reference to the Greek and Hebrew texts are more conspicuous.

A careful study of the exegetical writings of the sixteenth century reveals two tendencies which early appeared among the Protestant reformers, and developed gradually during the next two centuries, until in modern times the one has run into extreme rationalism, and the other into a narrow and dogmatic orthodoxy. These tendencies early separated the so-called Lutheran and Reformed parties. The more rigid orthodox Lutherans exhibited a proclivity to authoritative forms, and assumed a dogmatic tone and method in their use of the Scriptures. The Reformed theologians showed greater readiness to break away from churchly customs and traditional ideas, and treat the Scriptures with a respectful, but free, critical spirit. In general exposition no great differences appeared among the early reformers. Luther and Melancthon represent the dogmatic, Zwingle, Œcolampadius, and Beza the more grammatico-historical method of scriptural interpretation. Calvin combined some elements of both, but belonged essentially to the Reformed party. It was not until two centuries later that a cold, illiberal, and dogmatic orthodoxy provoked an opposite extreme of lawless rationalism.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the progress of

A new edition, edited by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, is given in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, Brunswick, 1863-87 (yet incomplete). Tholuck's edition of his *New Testament Commentaries*, in 7 vols. 8vo, is a very convenient one. English translation of Calvin's works in 52 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh.

¹ The editio optima of Beza's New Testament was published at Cambridge (1 vol. fol., 1542), and contains his own new translation placed in a column between the Greek text on the one side and the Vulgate on the other. It is accompanied by a copious critical and exegetical commentary by the translator himself, and the commentary of Camerarius is appended to the end of the volume.

biblical criticism and exegesis was most marked. The way for a more thorough grammatical study had been prepared by such philologists as John Buxtorf, Schindler, Vatablus, ^{Polyglots and Critici Sacri.} and Joseph Scaliger. About 1615 Le Jay projected his immense work, the Paris Polyglot. Its publication was begun in 1628 and completed in 1645 in ten imperial folio volumes, containing the entire Bible in seven languages (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Greek, and Latin). This costly work, which ruined the fortune of Le Jay, was soon superseded by the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, the first volume of which was issued in 1654 and the sixth and last in 1657. It was followed in 1669 by the Heptaglot Lexicon of Castell in two folio volumes. These massive tomes, together with that great collection of critical and exegetical writings known as the *Critici Sacri* (London, 1660, nine vols. fol.) and Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669-74, five vols. fol.), forming in all twenty-two large folios, begun and finished in the space of twenty-one years (1653-74), at the expense of a few English divines and noblemen, constitute a magnificent exegetical library, and will long endure as a monument of English biblical scholarship in the seventeenth century.

No sketch of the history of biblical interpretation should fail to mention Hugo Grotius, one of the most remarkable men ^{Grotius.} of the seventeenth century, and eminent alike in theology, politics, and general literature. Though suffering the confiscation of his property, imprisonment, and exile, his learning and talents commanded for him the attention of kings and princes, and of the educated men of Europe. Besides learned works in civil jurisprudence, apologetics, and dogmatic theology, he wrote annotations on the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha. His exegesis is distinguished for its philological and historical character, and the uniform good sense displayed throughout. He has been called the forerunner of Ernesti, but he often noticeably fails to grasp the plan and scope of the sacred writers, and to trace the connexion of thought. He lacked the profound religious intuition of Luther and Calvin, and leaned to a rationalistic treatment of Scripture.¹

One of the most eminent scholars of the Dutch Reformed Church of the seventeenth century was Voetius, who received his ^{Voetius.} early training at Leyden under Gomar, Arminius, and their colleagues. He was an influential member of the Synod of Dort, and a violent opponent of the Remonstrants. He also made a

¹ All the theological works of Grotius were published in three folio volumes at London, in 1679. His annotations, with a life of the author, are contained in the first two volumes. They also appear in the *Critici Sacri*.

great work of his life to oppose the Cartesian philosophy. But his methods of procedure tended to cultivate a narrow and dogmatic spirit, and his exegesis, accordingly, aimed rather to support and defend a theological system than to ascertain by valid reason the exact meaning of the sacred writers. He was vehemently polemical, and became the acknowledged head and leader of a school of exegesis which assumed to adhere strictly to the literal sense, but, at the same time, regarded all biblical criticism as highly dangerous to the orthodox faith. The Voetians would fain have made the dogmas of the Synod of Dort the authoritative guide to the sense of Scripture, and were restless before an appeal to the original texts of the Bible and independent methods of interpretation.

The great opponent both of scholasticism and of a narrow dogmatical exegesis was John Cocceius, a man of broad and thorough scholarship, an adept in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and rabbinical literature, and a worthy compeer of such scholars as Buxtorf, Walton, and Grotius. He devoted himself chiefly to biblical exposition, publishing commentary after commentary until he had gone through nearly all canonical books.¹ Although his labours revived and encouraged allegorical and mystical methods of interpretation, it must be conceded that he exhibited many of the very best qualities of a biblical exegete, and did as much as any man of his time to hold up the Holy Scriptures as the living fountain of all revealed theology, and the only authoritative rule and standard of faith. He insisted that the Old and New Testaments must be treated as one organic whole, and that each passage should be interpreted according to the meaning of its words, the connexion of thought as traceable through an entire discourse, book, or epistle, and the analogy of faith, or scope and plan of the one complete revelation of God. He maintained that Christ is the great subject of divine revelation in the Old Testament as well as in the New, and hence arose the saying that Cocceius found Christ everywhere in the Old Testament, but Grotius nowhere. It is due, however, to the memory of Cocceius to say that while he too often pressed the typical import of Old Testament texts to an undue extreme, he acted on the valid principle that the Hebrew Scriptures contain the germs of the Gospel revelation, and that, according to the express teaching of our Lord (John v, 39; Luke xxiv, 27), the Old Testament contained many things concerning himself. The errors into which he fell are less grave than those of not a few modern critics who exhibit a notable onesidedness in failing to see that the written revelation of

¹ The works of Cocceius were published at Amsterdam, 1676-78, in 8 vols. folio, and in 1701 in 10 vols. folio.

God is truly an organic whole, and that the New Testament cannot be interpreted without the Old, nor the Old without the New.

A fresh impulse was given to biblical studies in Germany by the founding of the University of Halle in 1694. This was due mainly to the influence of Spener, the father of Pietism. The Protestant Churches had fallen into a cold, formal orthodoxy, and the symbols and sacraments took precedence of scriptural knowledge and personal piety. As early as 1675 Spener had urged, in his *Pia Desideria*, that all Christian doctrine should be sought in a faithful study of the Holy Scriptures rather than in the symbols of the Church, and that the living truths of God's word should be brought home to the hearts of the people. Associated with him at Halle was A. H. Francke, who had previously become noted at Leipsic by his exegetical lectures. Both these men were eminent as preachers and abundant in pulpit ministrations. Francke's exegetical lectures extended over the books of the Old and New Testaments, and he published treatises on the interpretation of Scripture, and on methods of theological study. These noble leaders of Pietism maintained that it is the first duty of the theologian to ascertain the true meaning of the Scriptures, not from traditional beliefs, but from a critical and grammatical study of the original texts.

During the eighteenth century biblical criticism and interpretation took on a more scientific character. It was a period of research, of philosophical investigation, of sceptical and rationalistic assaults upon Christianity, of extensive revival and of political revolution. These exciting movements gave encouragement to biblical studies, developed an array of distinguished scholars too numerous to be even named in these pages, and prepared the way for the exact grammatico-historical interpretation which is yielding rich and varied products in our own time. The science of Textual Criticism was promoted by the labours of Van der Hooght, J. H. Michaelis, Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi on the Old Testament, and by those of Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach on the New. Bengel's best work, however, was his *Gnomon* of the New Testament, a condensed but remarkably rich and suggestive commentary, the general principles and methods of which have not been greatly excelled by any later exegete.

Probably the most distinguished name in the history of exegesis in the eighteenth century is that of John Augustus Ernesti, whose *Institutio interpretis Novi Testamenti* (Lipz., 1761), or *Principles of New Testament Interpretation*, has been accepted as a standard textbook on hermeneutics by four gen-

erations of biblical scholars. "He is regarded," says Hagenbach, "as the founder of a new exegetical school, whose principle simply was that the Bible must be rigidly explained according to its own language, and, in this explanation, it must neither be bribed by any external authority of the Church, nor by our own feeling, nor by a sportive and allegorizing fancy—which had frequently been the case with the mystics—nor, finally, by any philosophical system whatever. He here united in the main with Hugo Grotius, who had laid down similar principles in the seventeenth century. Ernesti was a philologist. He had occupied himself just as enthusiastically with the ancient classics of Rome and Greece as with the Bible, and claimed that the same exegetical laws should be observed in the one case as in the other. He was perfectly right in this respect; even the Reformers wished the same thing. His error here was, perhaps, in overlooking too much the fact that, in order to perceive the religious truths of the Scriptures, we must not only understand the meaning of a declaration in its relations to language and history, but that we must also spiritually appropriate it by feelingly transposing ourselves to it, and by seeking to understand it from itself. Who will deny that, in order to understand the epistles of the Apostle Paul, we must adopt from the very outset a mode of view different from that which we would employ in order to understand the epistles of Cicero, since the circle of ideas of these two men is very different? Religious writings can be perfectly understood only by an anticipating spirit, which peers through the logical and grammatical web of the thoughts to the depths below. . . . The principle that we must expound the Scriptures like every other book could at least be so misapprehended that it might be placed in the same rank with the other writings of antiquity, and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which is the only guide to the depths of the Scriptures, be regarded as superfluous. As for Ernesti personally, he was orthodox, like Michaelis and Mosheim. He even defended the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper. And yet these men, and others of like character, are distinguished from their orthodox predecessors by their insisting upon independence, by struggling for sobriety, and, if you will allow, for dryness also. But, with all this, they were further distinguished from their predecessors by a certain freedom and mildness of judgment which men had not been accustomed to find in theologians. Without any desire or wish on their own part they effected a transition to a new theological method of thought, which soon passed beyond the limits of their own labours."¹

¹ History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, vol. i, pp. 259–261. English translation by Hurst. New York, 1869.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century there was in Germany a notable reaction against the old rigid orthodoxy which German Rationalism had been dominant, and also against the degenerating Pietism, which was given to magnify a blind emotional faith, and rapidly deteriorated into a superstitious mysticism and extravagance. Semler contributed greatly to this movement by his theory of Accommodation, applied to the interpretation of Scripture. His beautiful piety, however, preserved him from the evil effects of his own theories, and he was surprised at the use others made of his critical principles. There were men in Germany who were thoroughly infected with the leaven of English deism and French infidelity, and they were not slow to appropriate Semler's destructive methods for the propagation of unbelief among the people. Of this class were Edelmann and Bahrdt, whose writings breathed the most offensive spirit of hostility to all accepted Christian doctrine. The publication of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments (1785-92), by Lessing, contributed still more to the spread of scepticism. They extolled the deists, glorified human beings, and treated the miracles of the Bible as incredible myths and legends, which an intelligent age ought to reject. And so, at the beginning of our present century, rationalism had wellnigh taken possession of the best minds of Germany. It has continued its work of destructive criticism even to our day, and such names as J. G. Eichhorn, Paulus, Tuch, Von Bohlen, Strauss, C. H. Weisse, and F. C. Baur have given peculiar brilliancy to its methods. Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen have in the most recent times exhibited great ingenuity and scholarship in their essays to reconstruct the very foundation of Old Testament history, and place the writings of Moses after those of the prophets.

This destructive school of Rationalism has been to a great extent opposed by what is often called the mediation school of interpreters. The man who more than any other initiated a reaction against the rationalism current at the beginning of this century was Schleiermacher. And yet he was far from orthodox in his teaching. He was neither strictly evangelical nor rationalistic, but combined elements of both. He showed that vital piety is a matter of the heart, and consists in the consciousness of God in the soul, and, accordingly, is not attainable by reason, or dependent on human culture. But in his methods of interpretation, he followed mainly the ways of the rationalists. He treated the Old Testament as having no divine authority, but as historically important because of its relations to Christianity. His disciples branched off into different schools, and in their attitude toward evangelical doctrine were negative or positive, or followed a middle course be-

tween the two, and each school could appeal in defence of its positions to the teachings of the master whom they all honoured. As exegetes, De Wette, Lücke, the Rosenmüllers, Gesenius, and Ewald carried out the rationalistic tendencies of Schleiermacher. De Wette, however, deserves special notice as being unsurpassed in critical tact and exegetical ability by any biblical scholar of modern times. His views were formed under the influence of such theological teachers as Paulus, and are essentially rationalistic, but he rejected the naturalistic method of explaining miracles, and anticipated Strauss in many of the prominent positions of the mythical interpretation. But he showed greater regard for the religious element of Scripture, and never indulged in disrespectful insinuations hostile to its divine authority.

The German evangelical school of interpreters includes men of different shades of opinion, from the rigidly orthodox to divines of a free critical spirit, intent, like Neander, to know and maintain only essential truth. G. C. Storr, at the beginning of the century, was the leading representative of what is known as the old Tübingen school. He aimed to check the growth of rationalism by a purely scriptural teaching, but his method was unscientific in that he failed to give due prominence to the organic unity of the Bible, and rested too largely on isolated texts. Hengstenberg, professor of theology at Berlin, was recognized for almost half a century as one of the staunchest defenders of orthodoxy, but his tone and methods were highly dogmatic. Hävernick, Bleek, Umbreit, Tholuck, Stier, H. Olshausen, Keil, Delitzsch, Meyer, and Lange represent the better class of the evangelical interpreters, and their varied contributions to exegetical theology are worthy of the very highest commendation.

American scholarship has as yet produced comparatively little that bears favourable comparison with the great exegetical works of British and German authors. But the translators of Lange's Commentary, nearly all Americans, have exhibited therein an exegetical ability quite equal to those of the original writers, and, in some of the volumes, the additions made by the translators are the most valuable parts of the work. In the earlier part of this century Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson did more than any other two men in the United States to promote an interest in exegetical studies. The former published commentaries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Romans, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, all of which show the skill of a master, and have maintained, up to the present time, a place among the very ablest expositions of these books. But Robinson's contributions to biblical literature were even

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more profound and valuable than those of Stuart. His translation of Wahl's *Clavis Philologica* was superseded by his own Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, a work that has had incalculable influence in directing the studies of theological students and ministers, and only now gives place to the admirable Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, prepared by J. H. Thayer, another American scholar.

It is noticeable that the best modern American exegesis, while not less thorough and painstaking than that of Europe, is more conservative and evangelical. There is less tendency to speculate and build up theories and hypotheses. The intense utilitarianism of American life has doubtless begotten some measure of superficialness in scholarship as well as in other things, but it has also exerted a most valuable influence in preserving the theologians of the country from the wild and useless extremes of speculation, to which not a few in other lands have been carried away.

It would require a large volume to describe even briefly the contributions to biblical interpretation which have been ^{Modern Exegesis.} made within the last half-century. The breadth and thoroughness of biblical scholarship at the present time may be inferred from the fact that there are hundreds of modern expositors, little known and read, who are far superior in learning and methods of interpretation to any of the fathers or mediæval writers. We mention with highest regard such names as Alford and Ellicott and Lightfoot of England, and Stuart and Edward Robinson and J. A. Alexander, of America; and yet we should remember that there are scores of exegetes now living who easily rank with these. The historical importance of Philo and Origen and Chrysostom and Jerome makes them much more conspicuous than these later writers, but the intrinsic value of the expositions of Scripture produced by the moderns is immeasurably superior to those of the ancients. The rationalistic critics have done great service to the science of interpretation. The suggestions of Semler, the productions of Gesenius, the critical acuteness of De Wette and Ewald, and even the works of Strauss, and Baur, and Graf, and Kuenen, have given an impulse to the scientific study of the Holy Scriptures which has already produced inestimable gain, and which promises even better for the future. For scholarly and critical assaults upon their faith have only driven the friends of evangelical religion to a deeper and better study of their sacred books. The most accomplished scholars of the world are finding in the study and elucidation of the Bible a worthy and ennobling field of labour, and are devoting their lives to it with enthusiastic delight.

CHAPTER IV.

METHODS OF INTERPRETATION.

THE history of biblical exposition, as traceable in the works of the great exegetes and critics, shows us what diverse methods of interpretation have at various periods prevailed. Doubtless through all these centuries the common sense of readers has accepted the obvious import of the principal portions of the Bible. For, as Stuart observes, "from the first moment that one human being addressed another by the use of language down to the present hour, the essential laws of interpretation became, and have continued to be, a practical matter. The person addressed has always been an *interpreter* in every instance where he has heard and understood what was addressed to him. All the human race, therefore, are, and ever have been, interpreters. It is a law of their rational, intelligent, communicative nature."¹ Erroneous and absurd methods of explanation are mostly traceable to false notions of the Bible itself. On the one hand we find a superstitious reverence for the letter of Scripture, prompting to search for hidden treasures of thought in every word; on the other, prejudices and assumptions hostile to the spirit of the holy writings have begotten methods of interpretation which pervert, and often flatly contradict, the plainest statements of Scripture.

The ancient Jewish expositions of the Old Testament exhibit numerous absurd methods of interpretation. For example, the letters of a word were reduced to their numerical value, and then some other word or statement was sought having the same letters in another order, or other letters aggregating the same numerical value, and the two words were thereupon regarded as equivalent in meaning. The numerical value of the letters in the name Eliezer (אליעזר) is three hundred and eighteen, the number of Abraham's trained men (Gen. xiv, 14), from which it was inferred that Abraham's servant Eliezer was alone as powerful as the three hundred others. And so, by ingenious manipulation, every peculiar grammatical form, every instance of pleonasm, or ellipsis, or apparently superfluous use of a particle, was made to yield some remarkable significance. It is easy to see that such capricious

¹ Article by Professor M. Stuart, in the American Biblical Repository for Jan., 1832, p. 125.

methods must necessarily involve the exposition of the Scriptures in utter confusion; and yet the learned rabbies who employed them sought by these means to show the manifold excellence and wisdom of their sacred books. The study of the ancient Jewish exegesis is, accordingly, of little value in ascertaining the true meaning of the Scriptures. The methods of procedure are fanciful and arbitrary and encourage the pernicious habit of searching the oracles of God for something that will minister to a morbid curiosity. But for the illustration of ancient Jewish opinions, especially for the elucidation of certain doctrines and customs, and sometimes for the criticism of the Hebrew text, the comments of the rabbinical writers may be of much service.

The allegorical method of interpretation obtained an early prominence among the Jews of Alexandria. Its origin is usually attributed to the mingling of Greek philosophy and the biblical conceptions of God. Many of the theophanies and anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament were repugnant to the philosophic mind, and hence the effort to discover behind the outer form an inner substance of truth. The biblical narratives were often treated like the Greek myths, and explained as either a historical or an enigmatical embodiment of moral and religious lessons. The most distinguished representative of Jewish allegorical interpretation was Philo of Alexandria, and an example of his allegorizing may be seen in the following remarks on the rivers of Eden (Gen. ii, 10-14):

In these words Moses intends to sketch out the particular virtues. And they, also, are four in number, prudence, temperance, courage, and justice. Now the greatest river, from which the four branches flow off, is generic virtue, which we have already called goodness; and the four branches are the same number of virtues. Generic virtue, therefore, derives its beginning from Eden, which is the wisdom of God; which rejoices, and exults, and triumphs, being delighted at and honoured on account of nothing else, except its Father, God. And the four particular virtues are branches from the generic virtue, which, like a river, waters all the good actions of each with an abundant stream of benefits.¹

Similar allegorizing abounds in the early Christian fathers. Thus, Clement of Alexandria, commenting on the Mosaic prohibition of eating the swine, the hawk, the eagle, and the raven, observes: "The sow is the emblem of voluptuous and unclean lust of food. . . . The eagle indicates robbery, the hawk injustice, and the raven greed." On Exod. xv, 1, "Jehovah has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider has he thrown into the sea," Clement remarks:

¹ The Allegories of the Sacred Laws, book i, 19 (Bohn's edition).

The many-limbed and brutal affection, lust, with the rider mounted, who gives the reins to pleasures, he casts into the sea—throwing them away into the disorders of the world. Thus, also, Plato, in his book on the soul [Timæus], says that the charioteer and the horse that ran off—the irrational part, which is divided into two, into anger and concupiscence—fall down; and so the myth intimates that it was through the licentiousness of the steeds that Phaëthon was thrown out.¹

The allegorical method of interpretation is based upon a profound reverence for the Scriptures, and a desire to exhibit their manifold depths of wisdom. But it will be noticed at once that its habit is to disregard the common signification of words, and give wing to all manner of fanciful speculation. It does not draw out the legitimate meaning of an author's language, but foists into it whatever the whim or fancy of an interpreter may desire. As a system, therefore, it puts itself beyond all well-defined principles and laws.

Closely allied to the allegorical interpretation is the Mystical,² according to which manifold depths and shades of meaning are sought in every word of Scripture. The allegorical interpreters have, accordingly, very naturally run into much that is to be classed with mystical theorizing. Clement of Alexandria maintained that the laws of Moses contain a fourfold significance, the natural, the mystical, the moral, and the prophetic. Origen held that, as man's nature consists of body, soul, and spirit, so the Scriptures have a corresponding threefold sense, the bodily (*σωματικός*), or literal, the psychical (*ψυχικός*), or moral, and the spiritual (*πνευματικός*); which latter he further distinguishes as allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. In the early part of the ninth century the learned Rhabanus Maurus recommended four methods of exposition, the historical, the allegorical, the anagogical, and the tropological. He observes:

By these the mother Wisdom feeds the sons of her adoption. Upon youth and those of tender age she bestows drink, in the milk of history; on such as have made proficiency in faith, food, in the bread of allegory; to the good, such as strenuously labour in good works, she gives a satisfying portion in the savoury nourishment of tropology. To those, in fine, who have raised themselves above the common level of humanity by a contempt of earthly things, and have advanced to the highest by heavenly desires, she gives the sober intoxication of theoretic contemplation in the wine of anagogy. . . . History, which narrates examples of perfect men,

¹ Miscellanies, book v, chap. viii.

² According to Ernesti, the mystical interpretation differs from the allegorical, as among the Greeks *θεωπία* differs from *ἀλληγορία*. Institutes, chap. ix. 3.

excites the reader to imitate their sanctity; allegory excites him to know the truth in the revelation of faith; tropology encourages him to the love of virtue by improving the morals; and anagogy promotes the longing after eternal happiness by revealing everlasting joys. . . . Since then, it appears that these four modes of understanding the Holy Scriptures unveil all the secret things in them, we should consider when they are to be understood according to one of them only, when according to two, when according to three, and when according to all the four together.¹

Among the mystical interpreters we may also place the celebrated Emanuel Swedenborg, who maintains a three-^{Swedenborgian} fold sense of Scripture, according to what he calls "the ^{interpretation.} Science of Correspondencies." As there are three heavens, a lowest, a middle, and a highest, so there are three senses of the Word, the natural or literal, the spiritual, and the celestial. He says:

The Word in the letter is like a casket, where lie in order precious stones, pearls, and diadems; and when a man esteems the Word holy, and reads it for the sake of the uses of life, the thoughts of his mind are, comparatively, like one who holds such a cabinet in his hand, and sends it heavenward; and it is opened in its ascent, and the precious things therein come to the angels, who are deeply delighted with seeing and examining them. This delight of the angels is communicated to the man, and makes consecration, and also a communication of perceptions.²

He explains the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" (Exod. xx, 13), first, in its natural sense, as forbidding murder and also the cherishing of hatred and revenge; secondly, in the spiritual sense, as forbidding "to act the devil and destroy a man's soul;" and thirdly, in the celestial or heavenly sense, the angels understand killing to signify hating the Lord and the Word.

Somewhat allied to the mystical is that Pietistic mode of exposition, according to which the interpreter claims to be ^{Pietistic inter-} guided by an "inward light," received as "an unction ^{pretation.} from the Holy One" (1 John ii, 20). The rules of grammar and the common meaning and usage of words are discarded, and the internal Light of the Spirit is held to be the abiding and infallible Revealer. Some of the later Pietists of Germany, and the Quakers of England and America have been especially given to this mode of handling the Scriptures.³ It is certainly to be supposed that

¹ From Maurus, *Allegoriae in Universam Sacram Scripturam*, as given in Davidson, *Hermeneutics*, pp. 165, 166.

² *The True Christian Religion*, chap. iv, 6.

³ From pietistic extravagance we of course except such men as Spener and A. H. Francke, the great leaders of what is known as Pietism in Germany. The noble practical character of their work and teaching saved them from the excesses into which most of those run who are commonly called Pietists. "The principal efforts of the

this holy inward light would never contradict itself, or guide its followers into different expositions of the same scripture. But the divergent and irreconcilable interpretations prevalent among the adherents of this system show that the "inward light" is untrustworthy. Like the allegorical and mystical systems of interpretation, Pietism concedes the sanctity of the Scriptures, and seeks in them the lessons of eternal life; but as to principles and rules of exegesis it is more lawless and irrational. The Allegorist professes to follow certain analogies and correspondencies, but the Quaker-Pietist is a law unto himself, and his own subjective feeling or fancy is the end of controversy. He sets himself up as a new oracle, and while assuming to follow the written word of God, puts forth his own *dictum* as a further revelation. Such a procedure, of course, can never commend itself to the common sense and the rational judgment.

A method of exposition, which owes its distinction to the celebrated J. S. Semler, the father of the destructive school of German Rationalism, is known as the Accommodation Theory. According to this theory the Scripture teachings respecting miracles, vicarious and expiatory sacrifice, the resurrection, eternal judgment, and the existence of angels and demons, are to be regarded as an accommodation to the superstitious notions, prejudices, and ignorance of the times. The supernatural was thus set aside. Semler became possessed with the idea that we must distinguish between religion and theology, and between personal piety and the public teaching of the Church. He rejected the doctrine of the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, and argued that, as the Old Testament was written for the Jews, whose religious notions were narrow and faulty, we cannot accept its teachings as a general rule of faith. Matthew's Gospel, he held, was intended for Jews outside of Palestine, and John's Gospel for Christians who had more or less of Grecian culture. Paul at first adapted himself to Jewish modes of thought with the hope of winning over many of his countrymen to Christianity, but failing in this, he turned to the Gentiles, and became pre-eminent in holding up Christianity as the religion for all men. The different books of Scripture were, accordingly, designed to serve only a temporary

Pietists," says Immer, "were directed toward the edificatory application of Scripture, as may be seen from Francke's *Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturae Sacrae*. This predominance of effort at edification soon degenerated into indifference to science, and at last into proud contempt of it. Mystical and typological trifling arose; chiliaric phantasies found great acceptance; the Scriptures were not so much explained as overwhelmed with pious reflections." *Hermeneutics*, p. 46.

purpose, and many of their statements may be summarily set aside as untrue.

The fatal objection to this method of interpretation is that it necessarily impugns the veracity and honour of the sacred writers, and of the Son of God himself. It represents them as conniving at the errors and ignorance of men, and confirming them and the readers of the Scriptures in such ignorance and error. If such a principle be admitted into our expositions of the Bible, we at once lose our moorings, and drift out upon an open sea of conjecture and uncertainty.

A passing notice should also be taken of what is commonly called the Moral Interpretation, and which owes its origin to the celebrated philosopher of Königsberg, Immanuel Kant. Moral Interpretation of Kant. The prominence given to the pure reason, and the idealism maintained in his metaphysical system, naturally led to the practice of making the Scriptures bend to the preconceived demands of reason. For, although the whole Scripture be given by inspiration of God, it has for its practical value and purpose the moral improvement of man. Hence, if the literal and historical sense of a given passage yield no profitable moral lesson, such as commends itself to the practical reason, we are at liberty to set it aside, and attach to the words such a meaning as is compatible with the religion of reason. It is maintained that such expositions are not to be charged with insincerity, inasmuch as they are not to be set forth as the meaning strictly intended by the sacred writers, but only as a meaning which the writers may possibly have intended.¹ The only real value of the Scriptures is to illustrate and confirm the religion of reason.

It is easy to see that such a system of interpretation, which professedly ignores the grammatical and historical sense of the Bible, can have no reliable or self-consistent rules. Like the mystical and allegorical methods, it leaves every thing subject to the peculiar faith or fancy of the interpreter.

So open to criticism and objection are all the above-mentioned methods of interpretation, that we need not be surprised to find them offset by other extremes. Of all rationalistic theories the

¹ See Kant, *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, p. 161. This "was the work of his old age, and at all periods of his life he seems to have been at least as deficient in religious sentiment as in emotional imagination, which is allied to it. . . . It treats the revelations of Scripture in regard to the fall of man, to his redemption, and to his restoration, as a moral allegory, the data of which are supplied by the consciousness of depravity, and of dereliction from the strict principles of duty. It is Strauss in the germ." M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, article Kant.

Naturalistic is the most violent and radical. A rigid application of this theory is exhibited in Paulus' Commentary on the New Testament,¹ in which it is maintained that the biblical critic should always distinguish between what is fact and what is mere opinion. He accepts the historical truth of the Gospel narratives, but holds that the mode of accounting for them is a matter of opinion. He rejects all supernatural agency in human affairs, and explains the miracles of Jesus either as acts of kindness, or exhibitions of medical skill, or illustrations of personal sagacity and tact, recorded in a manner peculiar to the age and opinions of the different writers. Jesus' walking on the sea was really a walking on the shore; but the boat was all the time so near the shore, that when Peter jumped into the sea Jesus could reach and rescue him from the shore. The excitement was so great, and the impression on the disciples so deep, that it seemed to them as if Jesus had miraculously walked on the sea, and come to their help. The apparent miracle of making five loaves feed five thousand people was done simply by the example, which Jesus bade his disciples set, of distributing of their own little store to those immediately about them. This example was promptly followed by other companies, and it was found that there was more than sufficient food for all. Lazarus did not really die, but fell into a swoon, and was supposed to be dead. But Jesus suspected the real state of the case, and coming to the tomb at the opportune moment, happily found that his suspicions were correct; and his wisdom and power in the case made a profound and lasting impression.

This style of exposition, however, was soon seen to set at naught the rational laws of human speech, and to undermine the credibility of all ancient history. It exposed the sacred books to all manner of ridicule and satire, and only for a little time awakened any considerable interest.

The Naturalistic method of interpretation was followed by the Mythical. Its most distinguished representative was David Friedrich Strauss, whose *Life of Jesus* (*Das Leben Jesu*), first published in 1835, created a profound sensation in the Christian world. The Mythical theory, as developed and rigidly carried out by Strauss, was a logical and self-consistent application to biblical exposition of the Hegelian (pantheistic) doctrine that the idea of God and of the absolute is neither shot forth miraculously, nor revealed in the individual, but developed in the consciousness of humanity. According to Strauss, the Messianic idea was gradually developed, in the expectations and yearnings of the Jewish

¹ Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über das neue Testament. 4 vols. 1800-1804.

nation, and at the time Jesus appeared it was ripening into full maturity. The Christ was to spring from the line of David, be born at Bethlehem, be a prophet like Moses, and speak words of infallible wisdom. His age should be full of signs and wonders. The eyes of the blind should be opened, the ears of the deaf should be unstopped, and the tongue of the dumb should sing. Amid these hopes and expectations Jesus arose, an Israelite of remarkable beauty and force of character, who, by his personal excellence and wise discourse, made an overwhelming impression upon his immediate friends and followers. After his decease, his disciples not only yielded to the conviction that he must have risen from the dead, but began at once to associate with him all their Messianic ideals. Their argument was: "Such and such things must have pertained to the Christ; Jesus was the Christ; therefore such and such things happened to him."¹ The visit of the wise men from the East was suggested by Balaam's prophecy of the "star out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv, 17). The flight of the holy family into Egypt was worked up out of Moses' flight into Midian; and the slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem out of Pharaoh's order to destroy every male among the infant Israelites of Egypt. The miraculous feeding of the five thousand with a few loaves of bread was appropriated from the Old Testament story of the manna. The transfiguration in the high mountain apart was drawn from the accounts of Moses and Elijah in the mount of God. In short, Christ did not institute the Christian Church, and send forth his gospel, as narrated in the New Testament; rather, the Christ of the Gospels was the mythical creation of the early Church. Adoring enthusiasts clothed the memory of the man Jesus with all that could enhance his name and character as the Messiah of the world. But what is fact and what is fiction must be determined by critical analysis. Sometimes it may be impossible to draw the dividing line.

Among the criteria by which we are to distinguish the mythical, Strauss instances the following: A narrative is not his-
 torical (1) when its statements are irreconcilable with ^{Strauss' crite-}ria of myths.
 the known and universal laws which govern the course of events; (2) when it is inconsistent with itself or with other accounts of the same thing; (3) when the actors converse in poetry or elevated discourse unsuitable to their training and situation; (4) when the essential substance and groundwork of a reported occurrence is either unconceivable in itself, or is in striking harmony with some Messianic idea of the Jews of that age.²

¹ See *Life of Jesus*, Introduction, § 14.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction, § 16.

We need not here enter upon a detailed exposure of the fallacies of this mythical theory. It is sufficient to observe, on the four critical rules enumerated above, that the first dogmatically denies the possibility of miracles; the second (especially as used by Strauss) virtually assumes, that when two accounts disagree, both must be false! the third is worthless until it is clearly shown what is suitable or unsuitable in each given case; and the fourth, when reduced to the last analysis, will be found to be simply an appeal to one's subjective notions. To these considerations we add that the Gospel portraiture of Jesus is notably unlike the prevalent Jewish conception of the Messiah at that time. It is too perfect and marvellous to have been the product of any human fancy. Myths arise only in unhistoric ages, and a long time after the persons or events they represent, whereas Jesus lived and wrought his wonderful works in a most critical period of Greek and Roman civilization. Furthermore, the New Testament writings were published too soon after the actual appearance of Jesus to embody such a mythical development as Strauss assumes. While attempting to show how the Church spontaneously originated the Christ of the gospels, this whole theory fails to show any sufficient cause or explanation of the origin of the Church and of Christianity itself. The mythical interpretation, after half a century of learned labours, has notably failed to commend itself to the judgment of Christian scholars, and has few advocates at the present time.

The four last-named methods of interpretation may all be designated as Rationalistic; but under this name we may also place some other methods which agree with the naturalistic, the mythical, the moral, and the accommodation theories, in denying the supernatural element in the Bible. The peculiar methods by which F. C. Baur, Renan, Schenkel, and other rationalistic critics have attempted to portray the life of Jesus, and to account for the origin of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, often involve correspondingly peculiar principles of interpretation. All these writers, however, proceed with assumptions which virtually beg the questions at issue between the naturalist and the supernaturalist. But they all conspicuously differ among themselves. Baur rejects the mythical theory of Strauss, and finds the origin of many of the New Testament writings in the Petrine and Pauline factions of the early Church. These factions arose over the question of abolishing the Old Testament ceremonial and the rite of circumcision. The Acts of the Apostles is regarded as the monument of a pacification between these rival parties, effected in the early part of the second century. The book is treated as large-

ly a fiction, in which the author, a disciple of Paul, represents Peter as the first to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and exhibits Paul as conforming to divers Jewish customs, thus securing a reconciliation between the Pauline and Petrine Christians.¹ Renan, on the other hand, maintains a legendary theory of the origin of the gospels, and attributes the miracles of Jesus, like the marvels of mediæval saints, partly to the blind adoration and enthusiasm of his followers, and partly to pious fraud. Schenkel essays to make the life and character of Christ intelligible by stripping it of the divine and the miraculous, and presenting him as a mere man.

Against all these rationalistic theories it is obvious to remark that they exclude and destroy each other. Strauss exploded the naturalistic method of Paulus, and Baur shows that the mythical theory of Strauss is untenable. Renan pronounces against the theories of Baur, and exposes the glaring fallacy of making the Petrine and Pauline factions account for the origin of the New Testament books, and the books account for the factions. Renan's own methods of criticism appear to be utterly lawless, and his light and captious remarks have led many of his readers to feel that he is destitute of any serious or sacred convictions, and that he would readily make use of furtive means to gain his end. He is continually foisting into the Scriptures meanings of his own, and making the writers say what was probably never in their thoughts. He assumes, for instance, as a teaching of Jesus, that the rich man was sent to Hades because he was rich, and Lazarus was glorified because he was a pauper. Many of his interpretations are based upon the most unwarrantable assumptions, and are unworthy of any serious attempt at refutation. The logical issue lies far back of his exegesis, in the fundamental questions of a personal God and an overruling providence.

The development of speculative philosophy through Kant, Jacobi, Herbart, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel has exerted a profound influence upon the critical minds of Germany, and has affected the exegetical style and methods of many of the great biblical scholars of the nineteenth century. This philosophy has tended to make the German mind intensely subjective, and has led not a few theologians to view both history and doctrines in relation to some preconceived theory rather than in their practical bearings on human life. Thus, the critical methods of Reuss, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, in their treatment of Old Testament litera-

¹ Several notions of the Tübingen critical school, represented by Baur, may be found in substance among the teachings of Semler, the author of this destructive species of criticism.

ture, seem based, not so much on a candid examination of all the contents of the sacred books of Israel, as upon the application of a philosophy of human history to the books. A dispassionate study of the works of these critics begets a conviction that the detailed arguments, by which they aim to support their positions, are not the real steps of the process by which their conclusions were first reached. The various assaults upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch have been noticeably a succession of adjustments. One critical theory has given place to another, as in the assaults on the credibility of the gospels, and the methods employed are largely of the nature of special pleading to maintain a preconceived theory. Reuss tells us in the Preface of his great work on the History of the Jewish Scriptures that his point of view is not that of biblical history, but one inferred from a comparison of the legal codes, and, beginning with an "intuition," he aimed "to find the Ariadne thread which would lead out of the labyrinth of current hypotheses of the origin of the Mosaic and other Old Testament books into the light of a psychologically intelligible course of development for the Israelitish people.' His procedure is, accordingly, an ingenious attempt to make his philosophy of history in general account for the records of Israel's history, and, so far from interpreting the written records according to legitimate principles, he rearranges them according to his own fancy, and virtually constructs a new history conspicuously inconsistent with the obvious import of the ancient records.

Sceptical and rationalistic assaults upon the Scriptures have called out a method of interpretation which may be called **Apologetic and Dogmatic methods.** Apologetic. It assumes to defend at all hazards the authenticity, genuineness, and credibility of every document incorporated in the sacred canon, and its standpoint and methods are so akin to that of the Dogmatic exposition of the Bible that we present the two together. The objectionable feature of these methods is that they virtually set out with the ostensible purpose of maintaining a preconceived hypothesis. The hypothesis may be right, but the procedure is always liable to mislead. It presents the constant temptation to *find* desired meanings in words, and ignore the scope and general purpose of the writer. There are cases where it is well to assume an hypothesis, and to use it as a means of investigation; but in all such cases the hypothesis is only assumed tentatively, not affirmed dogmatically. In the exposition of the Bible, apology and dogma have a legitimate place. The true apology defends the sacred books against an unreasonable and cap-

¹ Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Alten Testament, p. viii. Braunschweig, 1881.

tious criticism, and presents their claims to be regarded as the revelation of God. But this can be done only by pursuing rational methods, and by the use of a convincing logic. So also the Scriptures are profitable for dogma, but the dogma must be shown to be a legitimate teaching of the Scripture, not a traditional idea attached to the Scripture. The extermination of the Canaanites, the immolation of Jephthah's daughter, the polygamy of the Old Testament saints, and their complicity with slavery, are capable of rational explanation, and, in that sense, of a valid apology. The true apologist will not attempt to justify the cruelties of the ancient wars, or hold that Israel had a legal right to Canaan; he will not seek to evade the obvious import of language, and maintain that Jephthah's daughter was not offered at all, but became a Jewish nun; nor will he find it necessary to defend the Old Testament practice of polygamy, or of slavery. He will let facts and statements stand in their own light, but guard against false inferences, and rash conclusions. So also the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the vicarious atonement, justification, regeneration, sanctification, and the resurrection, have a firm foundation in the Scriptures; but how unscientific and objectionable many of the methods by which these and other doctrines have been maintained! When a theologian assumes the standpoint of an ecclesiastical creed, and thence proceeds, with a polemic air, to search for single texts of Scripture favourable to himself or unfavourable to his opponent, he is more than likely to overdo the matter. His creed may be as true as the Bible itself, but his method is reprehensible. Witness the disputes of Luther and Zwingli over the matter of consubstantiation. Read the polemic literature of the Antinomian, the Calvinistic, and the Sacramentarian controversies. The whole Bible is ransacked and treated as if it were an atomical collection of dogmatic proof-texts. How hard is it, even at this day, for the polemic divine to concede the spuriousness of 1 John v, 7. It should be remembered that no apology is sound, and no doctrine sure, which rests upon uncritical methods, or proceeds upon dogmatical assumptions. Such procedures are not exposition, but imposition. Moreover, the habit of treating the views of others with contempt, or of declaring what this passage *must* mean, and what that *cannot possibly* signify, is not adapted to command the confidence of students who think for themselves. Hengstenberg and Ewald represented two opposite extremes of opinion, but the imperious and offensive dogmatism of their writings has detracted largely from the influence of their otherwise invaluable contributions to biblical literature.

In distinction from all the above-mentioned methods of interpretation, we may name the Grammatico-Historical as the method which most fully commends itself to the judgment and conscience of Christian scholars. Its fundamental principle is to gather from the Scriptures themselves the precise meaning which the writers intended to convey. It applies to the sacred books the same principles, the same grammatical process and exercise of common sense and reason, which we apply to other books. The grammatico-historical exegete, furnished with suitable qualifications, intellectual, educational, and moral,¹ will accept the claims of the Bible without prejudice or adverse prepossession, and, with no ambition to prove them true or false, will investigate the language and import of each book with fearless independence. He will master the language of the writer, the particular dialect which he used, and his peculiar style and manner of expression. He will inquire into the circumstances under which he wrote, the manners and customs of his age, and the purpose or object which he had in view. He has a right to assume that no sensible author will be knowingly inconsistent with himself, or seek to bewilder and mislead his readers.

¹ Compare pp. 23-30 on the Qualifications of an Interpreter.

PART FIRST.

GENERAL HERMENEUTICS.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

THERE are certain general principles of thought and language which underlie all intelligible writings. When one rational mind desires to communicate thought to another it employs such conventional means of intercourse as are supposed to be understood by both. Words of defined meaning and usage serve this purpose in all the languages of men, and accordingly, if one understand the written thoughts of another, he must know the meaning and usage of his words. It is the province of interpretation to observe the methods and laws of human thought as exhibited in the ordinary processes of speech. "The perfect understanding of a discourse," says Schleiermacher, "is a work of art, and involves the need of an art-doctrine, which we designate by the term Hermeneutics. Such an art-doctrine has existence only in so far as the precepts admitted form a system resting upon principles which are immediately evident from the nature of thought and language."¹

In general, therefore, we hold that the Bible, as a body of literature, is to be interpreted like all other books. The writers of the several parts and those who assume to explain what is written are alike supposed to be in accord with the logical operations of the human mind. The first work of the interpreter is accordingly philological. He should know the primary signification of each word, the manner of its usage, and the peculiar shades of meaning it may have acquired. With the study of words he must also unite a knowledge of the genius and grammatical structure of the language employed, for thus only can one come into possession of the precise thoughts of an author, and judge of their adaptation to impress the first readers. The main object of an author in writing is also to be diligently sought, for in the light of his chief purpose the details of his composition are often more

¹ Outline of the Study of Theology, p. 142. Edinb., 1850.

clearly apprehended. Along with the scope of a book the form of its structure is also to be studied, and the logical relation of its several parts discerned. A wide comparison of all related books, or of similar passages of writing, is invaluable, and hence the comparison of one Scripture with another may often serve to set the whole in clearest light. Especially important is it for the exegete to transfer himself in spirit to the times of an ancient writer, learn the circumstances under which he wrote, and look out upon the world from his point of view.

These general principles are applicable alike to the interpretation of the Bible and of all other books, and are appropriately designated General Hermeneutics. Such principles are of the nature of comprehensive and fundamental doctrines. They become to the practical interpreter so many maxims, postulates, and settled rules. He holds them in mind as axioms, and applies them in all his expositions with uniform consistency. For it is evident that a false principle admitted into the method of an interpreter will vitiate his entire exegetical process. And when, for example, we find that in the explanation of certain parts of the Scriptures no two interpreters out of a whole class agree, we have good reason to presume at once that some fatal error lurks in their principles of interpretation. It was surely no purpose or desire of the sacred writers to be misunderstood. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the Holy Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is of the nature of a puzzle designed to exercise the ingenuity of the reader. It is to be expected, therefore, that sound hermeneutical principles will serve as elements of safety and satisfaction in the study of God's written word.

The process of observing the laws of thought and language, as exhibited in the Holy Scriptures, is an ennobling study. It affords an edifying intercourse with eminent and choice spirits of the past, and compels us for the time to lose sight of temporary interests, and to become absorbed with the thoughts and feelings of other ages. He who forms the habit of studying, not only the divine thoughts of revelation, but also the principles and methods according to which those thoughts have been expressed, will acquire a moral and intellectual culture worthy of the noblest ambition.

Importance of
general principles.

Ennobling tendency of hermeneutical study.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRIMARY MEANING OF WORDS.

It is interesting and profitable to observe how new languages originate; how they become modified and changed; how new dialects arise, and how, at length, a national form of speech may go out of use and become known as a dead language. Attention to these facts makes it apparent that any given language is an accumulation and aggregate of words which a nation or community of people use for the interchange and expression of their thoughts. "Language," says Whitney, "has, in fact, no existence save in the minds and mouths of those who use it; it is made up of separate articulated signs of thought, each of which is attached by a mental association to the idea it represents, is uttered by voluntary effort, and has its value and currency only by the agreement of speakers and hearers. It is in their power, subject to their will."¹

To understand, therefore, the language of a speaker or writer, it is necessary, first of all, to know the meaning of his words. The interpreter, especially, needs to keep in mind the difference, so frequently apparent, between the primitive signification of a word and that which it subsequently obtains. We first naturally inquire after the original meaning of a word, or what is commonly called its etymology. Next we examine the *usus loquendi*, or actual meaning which it bears in common usage; and then we are prepared to understand the occasion and import of synonymes, and how a language becomes enriched by them.

Whatever may be the common meaning of a word, as used by a particular people or age, it often represents a history. Language has been significantly characterized as fossil poetry, fossil history, fossil ethics, fossil philosophy. "This means," says Trench, "that just as in some fossil, curious and beautiful shapes of vegetable or animal life, the graceful fern, or the finely vertebrated lizard, extinct, it may be, for thousands of years, are permanently bound up with the stone, and rescued from that perishing which would have otherwise been theirs, so in words are

¹ Language and the Study of Language, p. 35.

beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and feeling of past ages, of men whose very names have perished, preserved and made safe forever."¹ Benjamin W. Dwight declares etymology to be "fossil poetry, philosophy, and history combined. In the treasured words of the past, the very spirits of elder days look out upon us, as from so many crystalline spheres, with friendly recognition. We see in them the light of their eyes; we feel in them the warmth of their hearts. They are relics, they are tokens, and almost break into life again at our touch. The etymologist unites in himself the characteristics of the traveller, roaming through strange and far-off climes; the philosopher, prying into the causes and sequences of things; the antiquary, filling his cabinet with ancient curiosities and wonders; the historiographer, gathering up the records of by-gone men and ages; and the artist, studying the beautiful designs in word architecture furnished him by various nations."

Take, for example, that frequently occurring New Testament word *ἐκκλησία*, commonly rendered *church*. Compounded of *ἐκ*, *out of*, and *καλεῖν*, to *call*, or *summon*, it was first used of an assembly of the citizens of a Greek community, summoned together by a crier, for the transaction of business pertaining to the public welfare. The preposition *ἐκ* indicates that it was no motley crowd,² no mass-meeting of nondescripts, but a select company gathered *out from* the common mass; it was an assembly of free citizens, possessed of well-understood legal rights and powers. The verb *καλεῖν* denotes that the assembly was legally *called* (compare the *ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ* of Acts xix, 39), summoned for the purpose of deliberating in lawful conclave. Whether the etymological connexion between the Hebrew *קָהָל* and the Greek *καλεῖν* be vital or merely accidental, the Septuagint translators generally render *קָהָל* by *ἐκκλησία*, and thus by an obvious process, *ἐκκλησία* came to represent among the Hellenists the Old Testament conception of "the congregation of the people of Israel," as usually denoted by the Hebrew word *קָהָל*. Hence it was natural for Stephen to speak of the congregation of Israel, which Moses led out of Egypt, as "the *ἐκκλησία* in the wilderness" (Acts vii, 38), and equally natural for the word to become the common designation of the Christian community of converts from Judaism and the world. Into this New Testament sense of the word, it was also important that the full force of *ἐκ* and *καλεῖν* (*κλησίς*, *κλητός*) should continue.

¹ The Study of Words. Introductory Lecture, p. 12. New York, 1861.

² Article on The Science of Etymology, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1858, p. 438.

³ Compare the *confused assembly*, *ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη*, composed of the *multitude*, *ὁ ὄχλος*, in Acts xix, 32, 33, 40.

As the old Greek assembly was called by a public herald (*κήρυξ*), so "the Church of God (or of the Lord), which he purchased with his own blood" (Acts xx, 28), is the congregation of those who are "called to be saints" (*κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*, Rom. i, 7), "called out of darkness into his marvellous light" (1 Pet. ii, 9), called "unto his kingdom and glory" (1 Thess. ii, 12), and called by the voice of an authorized herald or preacher (Rom. x, 14, 15; 1 Tim. ii, 7).¹ With this fundamental idea the church may denote either the small assembly in a private house (Rom. xvi, 5; Philemon 2), the Christian congregations of particular towns and cities (1 Cor. i, 2; 1 Thess. i, 1), or the Church universal (Eph. i, 22; iii, 21). But a new idea is added when our Lord says, "I will build my Church" (Matt. xvi, 18). Here the company of the saints (*κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*) is conceived of as a house, a stately edifice; and it was peculiarly fitting that Peter, the disciple to whom these words were addressed, should afterward write to the general Church, and designate it not only as "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation," but also as "a spiritual house," builded of living stones (1 Pet. ii, 5, 9). Paul also uses the same grand image, and speaks of the household of God as "having been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, grows unto a living temple in the Lord" (Eph. ii, 20, 21). And then again, to this image of a building (comp. 1 Cor. iii, 9) he also adds that of a living human body of which Christ is the head, defining the whole as "his body, the fulness (*πλήρωμα*) of him who fills all things in all" (Eph. i, 23). Comp. also Rom. xii, 5; 1 Cor. xii, 12-28; and Col. i, 18.

Observe also the forms and derivatives of the Hebrew *כָּסַף*, to cover. The primary meaning is to cover over, so as to hide from view. The ark was thus covered or overlaid with a covering of some material like pitch (Gen. vi, 14). Then it came to be used of a flower or shrub, with the resin or powder of which oriental females are said to have covered and stained their finger nails (Cant. i, 14). Again we find it applied to villages or hamlets (1 Sam. vi, 18; 1 Chron. xxvii, 25), apparently, as Gesenius suggests, because such places were regarded as a covering or shelter to the inhabitants. The verb is also used of the abolishing or setting aside of a covenant (Isa. xxviii, 18). But the deeper meaning of the word is that of covering, or hiding sin, and thus making an atonement. Thus Jacob thought to cover his brother Esau with a present (Gen. xxxii, 20). His words are, literally, "I will cover his face with the present which goes before

¹ A similar interesting history attaches to the words *κήρυξ* and *κηρύσσω*.

me, and afterward I will see his face; perhaps he will lift up my face." Feeling that he had sorely wronged his brother, he would now fain cover his face with such a princely gift that Esau would no more behold those wrongs of the past. His old offences being thus hidden, he hopes to be permitted to see his brother's face in peace; and perhaps even Esau will condescend to lift up his face—raise from the dust the face of the prostrate and penitent Jacob. The transition was easy from this use of the verb to that of *making an atonement*, a meaning which it constantly conveys in the books of the law (Lev. xvii, 11). And hence the use of the noun כַּפָּר in the sense of *ransom, satisfaction* (Exod. xxx, 12), and the plural כַּפָּרִים, *atonements* (Exod. xxx, 10; Lev. xxiii, 27, 28). Hence, also, that word of profound significance, כַּפֹּרֶת, *capporeth*, the *mercy-seat*, the lid or cover of the ark which contained the tables of the law (Exod. xxv, 17–22)—the symbol of mercy covering wrath.

Additional interest is given to the study of words by the science of comparative philology. In tracing a word through a whole family of languages, we note not only the variety of forms it may have taken, but the different usage and shades of meaning it acquired among different peoples. The Hebrew words אב, *father*, and בן, *son*, are traceable through all the Semitic tongues; and maintain their common signification in all. The Greek word for *heart*, καρδία, appears also in the Sanskrit *hrid*, Latin *cor*, Italian *cuore*, Spanish *corazon*, Portuguese, *coraçam*, French *cœur*, and English *core*. Some words, especially verbs, acquire new meanings as they pass from one language to another. Hence the meaning which a word bears in Arabic or Syriac may not be the meaning it was designed to convey in Hebrew. Thus the Hebrew word עָמַד is frequently used in the Old Testament in the sense *to stand, to be firm, to stand up*; and this general idea can be traced in the corresponding word and its derivatives in the Arabic, Ethiopic (to *erect a column, to establish*), Chaldee (to *rise up*), Samaritan and Talmudic; but in the Syriac it is the word commonly used for *baptism*. Some say this was because the candidate stood while he was baptized; others, that the idea associated with baptism was that of *confirming* or *establishing* in the faith; while others believe that the Syriac word is to be traced to a different root. Whatever be the true explanation, it is easy to see that the same word may have different meanings in cognate languages, and, therefore, a signification which appears in Arabic or Syriac may be very remote from that which the word holds in the Hebrew. Hence great caution is necessary in tracing etymologies.

Help of comparative philology.

It is well known that, in all languages, the origin of many words has become utterly lost. The wonder, indeed, ^{Rare words,} is that we are able to trace the etymology of such a ^{and ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.} large proportion. The extensive literature of the Greek language enables the New Testament interpreter to ascertain without much difficulty the roots and usage of most of the words with which he has to deal. But the Old Testament Scriptures embody substantially all the remains of the Hebrew language, and when we meet with a word which occurs but once in the entire literature extant, we may often be puzzled to know the exact meaning which it was intended to convey. In such cases help from cognate tongues is particularly important. The word ^{נָסַח}, in Gen. xxviii, 12, occurs nowhere else in Hebrew. The root appears to be ^{נָסַח}, to *cast up*, to *raise*; and from the same root comes the word ^{נִסְכֵּי}, used of public *highways* (Judg. xx, 32; Isa. xl, 3; lxii, 10), the *paths* of locusts (Joel ii, 8), the *courses* of the stars (Judg. v, 20), and *terraces* or *stairways* to the temple (2 Chron. ix, 11). The Arabic word *sullum* confirms the sense of *stairway* or *ladder*, and leaves no reasonable doubt as to the meaning of *sullam* in Gen. xxviii, 12. Jacob saw, in his dream, an elevated ladder or stairway reaching from the earth to the heavens. In determining the sense of such ^{ἀπαξ λεγόμενα}, or words occurring but once, we have to be guided by the context, by analogy of kindred roots, if any appear in the language, by ancient versions of the word in other languages, and by whatever traces of the word may be found in cognate tongues.

One of the most noted of New Testament ^{Ἐπιούσιος.} ἀπαξ λεγόμενα is the word ^{ἐπιούσιον} in the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi, 11; Luke xi, 3. It occurs nowhere else in Greek literature. Two derivations have been urged, one from *ἐπί* and *λέναι*, or the participle of *ἐπιμι*, to *go toward* or *approach*; according to which the meaning would be, "give us our *coming* bread," that is, bread for the coming day; to-morrow's bread. This is etymologically possible, and, on the ground of analogy, has much in its favour. But this meaning does not accord with *σήμερον*, *this day*, occurring in the same verse, nor with our Lord's teaching in verse 34 of the same chapter. The other derivation is from *ἐπί* and *οὐσία*, *existence*, *subsistence* (from *εἰμί*, to *be*), and means that which is necessary for existence, "our essential bread." This latter seems by far the more appropriate meaning.

Another difficult word is ^{Πιστικός.} πιστικός, used only in Mark xiv, 3, and John xii, 3, to describe the nard (*νάρδος*) with which Mary anointed the feet of Jesus. It is found in manuscripts of several Greek authors (Plato, *Gorgias*, 455 a.; Aristotle,

Rhet. i, 2) apparently as a false reading for *πειστικός*, *persuasive*; but this signification would have no relevancy to nard. Scaliger proposed the meaning *pounded nard*, deriving *πιστικός* from *πίσσω*, to *pound*, a possible derivation, but unsupported by any thing analogous. Some think the word may be a proper adjective denoting the place from which the nard came; i. e., *Pistic nard*. The Vulgate of John xii, 3, has *nardi pistici*. This use of the word, however, is altogether uncertain. The Vulgate of Mark xiv, 3, has *spicati*, as denoting the spikes or ears of the nard plant; hence the word *spikenard*. But there is no good ground for accepting this interpretation. Many derive the word from *πίνω* (or *πιπίσκω*), to *drink*, and understand *drinkable* or *liquid nard*, and urge that several ancient writers affirm that certain anointing oils were used for drinking. If such were the meaning here, however, the word should refer to the ointment (*ύρον*), not the nard. The explanation best suited to the context, and not without warrant in Greek usage, makes the word equivalent to *πιστός*, *faithful*, *trustworthy*; applied to a material object it would naturally signify *genuine*, *pure*, that on which one can rely.

In determining the meaning of compound words we may usually resort to the lexical and grammatical analogy of lan- Compound words.
guages. The signification of a compound expression is generally apparent from the import of the different terms of which it is compounded. Thus, the word *εληνοποιοί*, used in Matt. v, 9, is at once seen to be composed of *ερήνη*, *peace*, and *ποιέω*, to *make*, and signifies *those who make* (work or establish) *peace*. The meaning, says Meyer, is "not the *peaceful* (*εληνικοί*, James iii, 17; 2 Macc. v, 25; or *εληνεύοντες*, Sirach vi, 7), a meaning which does not appear even in Pollux, i, 41, 152 (Augustine thinks of the *moral inner harmony*; De Wette, of the inclination of the contemporaries of Jesus to war and tumult; Bleek reminds us of Jewish party hatred); but *the founders of peace* (Xen. Hist. Gr., vi, 3, 4; Plut. Mor., p. 279 B.; comp. Col. i, 20; Prov. x, 10), who as such minister to God's good pleasure, who is the God of peace (Rom. xvi, 20; 2 Cor. xiii, 11), as Christ himself was the highest founder of peace (Luke ii, 14; John xvi, 33; Eph. ii, 14)."¹ Similarly we judge of the meaning of *ἐθελοθρησκεία* in Col. ii, 23, compounded of *ἐθέλω* and *θρησκεία*, and signifying *will worship*, *self-chosen worship*; *πολύσπλαγχνος*, *very compassionate* (James v, 11); *συναυξάνομαι*, to *grow together with* (Matt. xiii, 30); *τροποφορέω*, to *bear as a nourisher* (Acts xiii, 18), and many other compounds, which, like the above, occur but once in the New Testament.

¹ Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Gospel of Matthew, in loco.

CHAPTER III.

THE USUS LOQUENDI

SOME words have a variety of significations, and hence, whatever their primitive meaning, we are obliged to gather from the context, and from familiarity with the usage of the language, the particular sense which they bear in a given passage of Scripture. Many a word in common use has lost its original meaning.

How few of those who daily use the word *sincere* are aware that it was originally applied to pure honey, from which all wax was purged. Composed of the Latin words *sine*, without, and *cera*, wax, it appears to have been first used of honey strained or separated from the wax-like comb. The word *cunning* no longer means knowledge, or honourable skill, but is generally used in a bad sense, as implying artful trickery. The verb *let* has come to mean the very opposite of what it once did, namely to *hinder*; and *prevent*, which was formerly used in the sense of *going before*, so as to prepare the way or assist one, now means to intercept or obstruct. Hence the importance of attending to what is commonly called the *usus loquendi*, or current usage of words as employed by a particular writer, or prevalent in a particular age. It often happens, also, that a writer uses a common word in some special and peculiar sense, and then his own definitions must be taken, or the context and scope must be consulted, in order to determine the precise meaning intended.

The meaning of words becomes changed.

There are many ways by which the *usus loquendi* of a writer may be ascertained. The first and simplest is when he himself defines the terms he uses. Thus the word *ἄριστος*, *perfect*, *complete*, occurring only in 2 Tim. iii, 17, is defined by what immediately follows: "That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." That is, he is made perfect or complete in this, that he is thoroughly furnished and fitted, by the varied uses of the inspired Scripture, to go forward unto the accomplishment of every good work. We also find the word *τέλειοι*, commonly rendered *perfect*, defined in Heb. v, 14, as those "who by practice have the senses trained unto a discrimination of good and of evil." They are, accordingly, the mature and experienced Christians as distinguished from *babes*, *νήπιοι*.

Writer often defines his own terms.

Compare verse 13, and 1 Cor. ii, 8. So also, in Rom. ii, 28, 29, the apostle defines the genuine Jew and genuine circumcision as follows: "For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly (*ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*); nor is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, who is one inwardly (*ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ*); and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God."

But the immediate context, no less than the writer's own definitions, generally serves to exhibit any peculiar usage of words. Thus, *πνεῦμα*, *wind*, *spirit*, is used in the New Testament to denote the wind (John iii, 8), the vital breath (Rev. xi, 11), the natural disposition or temper of mind (Luke ix, 55; Gal. vi, 1), the life principle or immortal nature of man (John vi, 63), the perfected spirit of a saint in the heavenly life (Heb. xii, 23), the unclean spirits of demons (Matt. x, 1; Luke iv, 36), and the Holy Spirit of God (John iv, 24; Matt. xxviii, 19; Rom. viii, 9-11). It needs but a simple attention to the context, in any of these passages, to determine the particular sense in which the word is used. In John iii, 8, we note the two different meanings of *πνεῦμα* in one and the same verse. "The wind (*τὸ πνεῦμα*) blows where it will, and the sound of it thou hearest; but thou knowest not whence it comes and whither it goes; so is every one who is born of the Spirit" (*ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*). Bengel holds, indeed, that we should here render *πνεῦμα* in both instances by spirit, and he urges that the divine Spirit, and not the wind, has a *will* and a *voice*.¹ But the great body of interpreters maintain the common version. Nicodemus was curious and perplexed to know the *how* (*πῶς*, verses 4 and 9) of the Holy Spirit's workings, and as the Almighty of old spoke to Job out of the whirlwind, and appealed to the manifold mysteries of nature in vindication of his ways, so here the Son of God appeals to the mystery in the motion of the wind. "Wouldst thou know the whence and whither of the Spirit, and yet thou knowest not the origin and the end of the common wind? Wherefore dost thou not marvel concerning the air which breathes around thee, and of which thou livest?"² "Our Lord," says Alford, "might have chosen any of the mysteries of nature to illustrate the point. He takes that one which is above others symbolic of the action of the Spirit, and which in both languages, that in which he spoke, as well as that in which his speech is reported, is expressed by the same word. So that the words as they stand apply themselves at once to the Spirit and his working, without any figure."³

¹ Gnomon of the New Testament, in loco.

² Comp. Strier, Words of the Lord Jesus, in loco.

³ Greek Testament, in loco.

The word *στοιχεῖον*, used in classical Greek for the upright post of a sundial, then for an elementary sound in language (from letters standing in rows), came to be used almost solely in the plural, *τὰ στοιχεῖα*, in the sense of *elements* or *rudiments*. In 2 Pet. iii, 10 it evidently denotes the elements of nature, the component parts of the physical universe; but in Gal. iv, 3, 9, as the immediate context shows, it denotes the ceremonials of Judaism, considered as elementary object lessons, adapted to the capacity of children. In this sense the word may also denote the ceremonial elements in the religious cultus of the heathen world (compare verse 8).¹ The enlightened Christian should grow out of these, and pass beyond them, for otherwise they trammel, and become a system of bondage. Compare also the use of the word in Col. ii, 8, 20 and Heb. v, 12.

In connexion with the immediate context, the nature of the subject may also determine the usage of a word. Thus, in 2 Cor. v, 1, 2, the reference of the words *οικία*, *house*, *σκῆνος*, *tabernacle*, *οικοδομή*, *building*, and *οικητήριον*, *habitation*, to the body as a covering of the soul hardly admits of question. The whole passage (verses 1-4) reads literally thus: "For we know that if our house of the tabernacle upon earth were dissolved, a building from God we have, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. For also in this we groan, yearning to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven, since indeed also (*εἵτε καὶ*) being clothed we shall not be found naked. For, indeed, we who are in the tabernacle groan, being burdened, in that we would not be unclothed, but clothed upon, to the end that that which is mortal may be swallowed up by the life." Hodge holds that the "building from God" is heaven itself, and argues that in John xiv, 2, heaven is compared to a house of many mansions; in Luke xvi, 9, to a habitation; and in Heb. xi, 10, and Rev. xxi, 10, to a city of dwellings.² But the scripture in question is too explicit, and the nature of the subject too limited, to allow other scriptures, like those cited, to determine its meaning. No one doubts that the phrase, "our house of the tabernacle upon earth," refers to the human body, which is liable to dissolution. It is compared to a tent, or tabernacle (*σκῆνος*), and also to a vesture, thus presenting us with a double metaphor. "The word tent," says Stanley, "lent itself to this imagery, from being used in later Greek writers for the human body, especially in medical writers, who seem to have been led to adopt the word from the *skin*-materials

¹ Comp. Lightfoot's Commentary on Galatians iv, 11.

² Commentary on Second Corinthians, in loco.

of which tents were composed. The explanation of this abrupt transition from the figure of a house or tent to that of a garment, may be found in the image, familiar to the apostle, both from his occupations and his birthplace, of the tent of Cilician haircloth, which might almost equally suggest the idea of a habitation and of a vesture. Compare the same union of metaphors in Psa. civ, 2, 'Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain' (of a tent)."¹

The main subject, then, is the present body considered as an earthly house, a tabernacle upon earth. In it we groan; in it we are under burden; in it we endure "the momentary lightness of our affliction" (τὸ παρὰντὶκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως), which is mentioned in chapter iv, 17, and which is there set in contrast with an "eternal weight of glory" (αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης). To this earthly house, heaven itself, whether considered as the house of many mansions (John xiv, 2) or the city of God (Rev. xxi, 10), affords no true antithesis. The true antithesis is the heavenly body, the vesture of immortality, which is from God. For the opposite of *our house* is the *building from God*; the one may be *dissolved*, the other is *eternal*; the one is *upon earth* (ἐπὶ γῆος), the other is (not heaven itself, but) *in the heavens*. The true parallel to the entire passage before us is 1 Cor. xv, 47-54, where the earthly and the heavenly bodies are contrasted, and it is said (ver. 53) "this corruptible must be clothed with incorruption, and this mortal must be clothed with immortality."

The above example also illustrates how antithesis, contrast, or Contrast or opposition. may serve to determine the meaning of words. A further instance may be cited from Rom. viii, 5-8. In verse 4 the apostle has introduced the antithetic expressions κατὰ σάρκα, and κατὰ πνεῦμα, *according to the flesh* and *according to the spirit*. He then proceeds to define, as by contrast, the two characters. "For they who are according to the flesh the things of the flesh do mind (φρονοῦσιν, *think of, care for*), but they, according to the spirit, the things of the spirit. For the mind of the flesh is death, but the mind of the spirit life and peace. Because the mind of the flesh is enmity toward God, for to the law of God it does not submit itself, for it is not able; and they who are in the flesh are not able to please God." The spirit, throughout this passage, is to be understood of the Holy Spirit: "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," mentioned in verse 2, which delivers the sinner "from the law of sin and of death." The being *according to the flesh*, and the being *in the flesh*, are to be understood of

¹ Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, in loco.

unregenerate and unsanctified human life, conditioned and controlled by carnal principles and motives. This Scripture, and more that might be cited, indicates, by detailed opposition and contrast, the essential and eternal antagonism between sinful carnality and redeemed spirituality in human life and character.

The *usus loquendi* of many words may be seen in the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry. Whether the parallelism be synonymous or antithetic,¹ it may serve to exhibit in an unmistakable way the general import of the terms employed. Take, for example, the following passage from the eighteenth Psalm, verses 6-15 (Heb. 7-16):

- 6 In my distress I call Jehovah,
And to my God I cry;
He hears from his sanctuary my voice,
And my cry before him comes into his ears.
- 7 Then shakes and quakes the land,
And the foundations of the mountains tremble,
And they shake themselves, for he was angry.
- 8 There went up a smoke in his nostril,
And fire from his mouth devours;
Hot coals glowed from him.
- 9 And he bows the heavens and comes down,
And a dense gloom under his feet;
- 10 And he rides upon a cherub, and flies,
And soars upon the wings of the wind.
- 11 He sets darkness his covering,
His pavilion round about him,
A darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.
- 12 From the brightness before him his thick clouds passed away,
Hail, and hot coals of fire.
- 13 Then Jehovah thunders in the heavens,
And the Most High gives forth his voice,
Hail, and hot coals of fire.
- 14 And he sends forth his arrows and scatters them,
And lightnings he shot, and puts them in commotion.
- 15 And the beds of the waters are seen,
And the foundations of the world are uncovered,
From thy rebuke, O Jehovah!
From the breath of the wind of thy nostril.

It requires but little attention here to observe how such words as *call*, *cry*, *he hears my voice*, and *my cry comes into his ears* (verse 6), mutually explain and illustrate one another. The same may be said of the words *shakes*, *quakes*, *tremble*, and *shake themselves*, in

¹ On Hebrew Parallelisms, see pp. 149, 152.

verse 7; *smoke, fire, and coals* in verse 8; *rides, flies, and soars* in verse 10; *arrows and lightnings, scatters and puts in commotion*, in verse 14; and so to some extent of the varied expressions of nearly every verse.

Here, too, may be seen how subject and predicate serve to explain one another. Thus, in verse 8, above, *smoke goes up, fire devours, hot coals glow*. So in Matt. v, 13: "if the salt become tasteless," the sense of the verb $\mu\omega\rho\alpha\nu\theta\eta$, *become tasteless*, is determined by the subject $\delta\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, *salt*. But in Rom. i, 22, the import of this same verb is to *become foolish*, as the whole sentence shows: "Professing to be wise, they become foolish," i. e., made fools of themselves. The word is used in a similar signification in 1 Cor. i, 20: "Did not God make foolish the wisdom of the world?" The extent to which qualifying words, as adjectives and adverbs, serve to limit or define the meaning is too apparent to call for special illustration.

A further and most important method of ascertaining the *usus loquendi* is an extensive and careful comparison of similar or parallel passages of Scripture. When a writer has treated a given subject in different parts of his writings, or when different writers have treated the same subject, it is both justice to the writers, and important in interpretation, to collate and compare all that is written. The obscure or doubtful passages are to be explained by what is plain and simple. A subject may be only incidentally noticed in one place, but be treated with extensive fulness in another. Thus, in Rom. xiii, 12, we have the exhortation, "Let us put on the armour of light," set forth merely in contrast with "cast off the works of darkness;" but if we inquire into the meaning of this "armour of light," how much more fully and forcibly does it impress us when we compare the detailed description given in Ephesians vi, 13-17: "Take up the whole armour of God. . . . Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; withal taking up the shield of faith wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Compare also 1 Thess. v, 8.

The meaning of the word $\psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ (compare the Greek $\nu\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$) in Jer. xvii, 9, must be determined by ascertaining its use in other passages. The common version translates it "desperately wicked," but usage does not sustain this meaning. The primary sense of the word appears to be *incurably sick, or diseased*. It is used in

2 Sam. xii, 15, to describe the condition of David's child when smitten of the Lord so that it *became very sick* (שָׁחָה). It is used in reference to the lamentable idolatry of the kingdom of Israel (Micah i, 9), where the common version renders, "Her wound is *incurable*," and gives in the margin, "She is grievously sick of her wounds." The same signification appears also in Job xxxiv, 6: "My wound (פָּגַע, wound caused by an arrow) is incurable." In Isa. xvii, 11, we have the thought of "incurable pain," and in Jer. xv, 18, we read, "Wherefore has my pain been enduring, and my stroke incurable?" Compare also Jer. xxx, 12, 15. In Jer. xvii, 16, the prophet uses this word to characterize the day of grievous calamity as a *day of mortal sickness* (שִׁחָה יוֹם). In the ninth verse, therefore, of the same chapter, where the deceitful heart is characterized by this word, which everywhere else maintains its original sense of a *diseased and incurable condition*, we should also adhere to the main idea made manifest by all these parallels: "Deceitful is the heart above every thing; and *incurably diseased* is it; who knows it?"¹

The *usus loquendi* of common words is, of course, to be ascertained by the manner and the connection in which ^{General and} they are generally used. We feel at once the incon- ^{familiar usage.}gruity of saying, "Adriansz or Lippersheim discovered the telescope, and Harvey invented the circulation of the blood." We know from familiar usage that *discover* applies to the finding out or uncovering of that which was in existence before, but was hidden from our view or knowledge, while the word *invent* is applicable to the contriving and constructing of something which had no actual existence before. Thus, the astronomer *invents* a telescope, and by its aid *discovers* the motions of the stars. The passage in 1 Cor. xiv, 34, 35, has been wrested to mean something else than the prohibition of women's speaking in the public assemblies of churches. Some have assumed that the words *churches* and *church* in these verses are to be understood of the business meetings of the Christians, in which it was not proper for the women to take part. But the entire context shows that the apostle has especially in mind the worshipping assembly. Others have sought in the word *λαλεῖν* a peculiar sense, and, finding that it bears in classic Greek writers the meaning of *babble*, *prattle*, they have strangely taught that Paul means to say: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted them to *babble*. . . . For it is a shame for a woman to *babble* in church!" A slight examination shows that in this same chapter the word *λαλεῖν*, to *speak*, occurs

¹ On the importance of comparing parallel passages, see further in Chapter vii.

more than twenty times, and in no instance is there any necessity or reason to understand it in other than its ordinary sense of *discoursing, speaking*. Who, for instance, would accuse Paul of saying, "I thank God, I *babble* with tongues more than ye all" (verse 18); or "let two or three of the prophets *babble*, and the others judge" (verse 29)? Hence appears the necessity, in interpretation, of observing the general usage rather than the etymology of words.

In ascertaining the meaning of rare words, ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, or Ancient ver-
sions. words which occur but once, and words of doubtful import, the ancient versions of Scripture furnish an important aid. For, as Davidson well observes, "An interpreter cannot arrive at the right meaning of every part of the Bible by the Bible itself. Many portions are dark and ambiguous. Even in discovering the correct sense, no less than in defending the truth, other means are needed. Numerous passages will be absolutely unintelligible without such helps as lie out of the Scriptures. The usages of the Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek languages cannot be fully known by their existing remains.¹

In the elucidation of difficult words and phrases the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament holds the first rank among the ancient versions. It antedates all existing Hebrew manuscripts; and parts of it, especially the Pentateuch, belong, without much doubt, to the third century before the Christian era. Philo and Josephus appear to have made more use of it than they did of the Hebrew original; the Hellenistic Jews used it in their synagogues, and the New Testament writers frequently quote from it. Being made by Jewish scholars, it serves to show how before the time of Christ the Jews interpreted their Scriptures. Next in importance to the Septuagint is the Vulgate, or Latin Version, largely prepared in its present form by St. Jerome, who derived much knowledge and assistance from the Jews of his time. After these we place the Peshito-Syriac Version, the Targums, or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament, especially that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.² The other ancient versions, such as the Arabic, Coptic, Æthiopic, Armenian, and Gothic, are of less value, and, in determining the meaning of rare words, cannot be relied on as having any considerable weight or authority.

¹ Hermeneutics, page 316.

² On the history and character of all these ancient versions, see Harman's, Keil's, or Bleek's "Introduction;" also the various biblical dictionaries and cyclopedias.

A study and comparison of these ancient versions will show that they often differ very widely. In many instances it is easy to see, in the light of modern researches, that the old translators fell into grave errors, and were often at a loss to determine the meaning of rare and doubtful words. When the context, parallel passages, and several of the versions agree in giving the same signification to a word, that signification may generally be relied upon as the true one. But when the word is an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, and the passage has no parallel, and the versions vary, great caution is necessary lest we allow too much authority to one or more versions, which, after all, may have been only conjectural.

The following examples will illustrate the use, and the interest attaching to the study, of the ancient versions. In the Authorized English Version of Gen. i, 2, the words *וְהָיָה וְרֵקְוָה* are translated, *without form and void*. The Targum of Onkelos has *וְרֵיקְוָה וְרֵיקְוָה*, *waste and empty*; the Vulgate: *inanis et vacua, empty and void*; Aquila: *κένωμα καὶ οὐδέν, emptiness and nothing*. Thus, all these versions substantially agree, and the meaning of the Hebrew words is now allowed to be *desolation and emptiness*. The Syriac merely repeats the Hebrew words, but the Septuagint reads *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, invisible and unformed*, and cannot be allowed to set aside the meaning presented in all the other versions.

In Gen. xlix, 6, the Septuagint gives the more correct translation of *וְקָדְרוּ שָׁרָה*, *they houghed an ox, ἐνευροκόπησαν ταῦρος*; but the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, Aquila, and Symmachus read, like the Authorized Version, *they digged down a wall*. Here, however, the authority of versions is outweighed by the fact that, in all other passages where the Piel of this word occurs, it means to *hamstring* or *hough* an animal. Compare Josh. xi, 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii, 4; 1 Chron. xviii, 4. Where the *usus loquendi* can thus be determined from the language itself, it has more weight than the testimony of many versions.

The versions also differ in the rendering of *עֲצָבָת* in Psa. xvi, 4. This word elsewhere (Job ix, 28; Psa. cxlvii, 3; Prov. x, 10; xv, 13) always means *sorrow*; but the form *עֲצָב* means *idols*, and the Chaldee, Symmachus, and Theodotion so render *עֲצָבָת* in Psa. xvi, 4: *they multiply their idols, or many are their idols*. But the Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aquila, render the word *sorrows*, and this meaning is best sustained by the usage of the language.

In Cant. ii, 12, *עַת הַקָּצִיר* is rendered by the Septuagint *καὶρὸς τῆς τομῆς, time of the cutting*; Symmachus, *time of the pruning* (*κλα-*

δένειν); so also the Vulgate, *tempus putationis*. Most modern interpreters, however, discard these ancient versions here, and understand the words to mean, *the time of song is come*; not merely or particularly *the singing of birds*, as the English version, but all the glad songs of springtime, in which shepherds and husbandmen alike rejoice. In this interpretation they are governed by the consideration that שִׁיר and שִׁירֹת signify *song* and *songs* in 2 Sam. xxiii, 1; Job xxxv, 10; Ps. xcv, 2; cxix, 54; Isa. xxiv, 16; xxv, 5, and that when "the blossoms have been seen in the land" the pruning time is altogether past.

In Isa. lii, 13 all the ancient versions except the Chaldee render the word שָׁכֵל in the sense of *acting wisely*. This fact gives great weight to that interpretation of the word, and it ought not to be set aside by the testimony of one version, and by the opinion, which is open to question, that שָׁכֵל is in some passages equivalent to הֵלֵךְ, to *prosper*.

From the above examples it may be seen what judgment and caution are necessary in the use of the ancient versions of the Bible. In fact, no specific rules can safely be laid down to govern us in the use of them. Sometimes the etymology of a word, or the context, or a parallel passage may have more weight than all the versions combined; while in other instances the reverse may be true. Where the versions are conflicting, the context and the analogy of the language must generally be allowed to take the precedence.

In ascertaining the meaning of many Greek words the ancient glossaries and glossaries of Hesychius, Suidas, Photius, and others are useful; but as they treat very few of the obscure words of the New Testament, they are of comparatively little value to the biblical interpreter. Scholia, or brief critical notes on portions of the New Testament, extracted chiefly from the writings of the Greek Fathers, such as Origen and Chrysostom, occasionally serve a good purpose,¹ but they have been superseded by the more thorough and scholarly researches of modern times, and the results of this research are embodied in the leading critical commentaries and biblical lexicons of the present day. The Rabbinical commentaries of Aben-Ezra, Jarchi, Kimchi, and Tanchum are often found serviceable in the exposition of the Old Testament.

¹ The commentaries of Theodoret and Theophylact are largely composed of extracts from Chrysostom. To the same class belong the commentaries of Euthymius, Zigabenus, Ecumenius, Andreas, and Arethas. The Catenae of the Greek Fathers by Procopius, Olympiodorus, and Nicephorus treat several books of the Old Testament. The celebrated Catena Aurea of Thomas Aquinas covers the Four Gospels, and was translated and published at Oxford in 1845 by J. H. Newman.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNONYMES.

WORDS, being the conventional signs and representatives of ideas, are changeable in both form and meaning by reason of the changes constantly taking place in human society. In process of time the same word will be applied to a variety of uses, and come to have a variety of meanings. Thus, the name *board*, another form of the word *broad*, was originally applied to a piece of timber, hewed or sawed so as to form a wide, thin plank. It was also applied to a table on which food was placed, and it became common to speak of gathering around the festive *board*. Thence it came by a natural process to be applied to the food which was placed upon the table, and men were said to work or pay for their *board*. By a similar association the word was also applied to a body of men who were wont to gather around a table to transact business, and hence we have *board* of trustees, *board* of commissioners. The word is also used for the deck of a vessel; hence the terms *on board*, *overboard*, and some other less common nautical expressions. Thus it often happens, that the original meaning of a word falls into disuse, and is forgotten, while later meanings become current, and find a multitude and variety of applications. But while a single word may thus come to have many meanings, it also happens that a number of different words are used to designate the same, or nearly the same, thing. By such a multiplication of terms a language becomes greatly enriched, and capable of expressing more minutely the different shades and aspects of any particular idea. Thus in English we have the words *wonder*, *surprise*, *admiration*, *astonishment*, and *amazement*, all conveying the same general thought, but distinguishable by different shades of meaning. The same is true of the words *axiom*, *maxim*, *aphorism*, *apothegm*, *adage*, *proverb*, *byword*, *saying*, and *saw*. Such words are called synonymes, and they abound in all cultivated languages. The biblical interpreter needs discernment and skill to determine the nice distinctions and shades of meaning attaching to Hebrew and Greek synonymes. Often the exact point and pith of a passage will be missed by failing to make the proper discrimination between synonymous expressions. There

Some words
have many
meanings.

Several words
of like mean-
ing.

are, for instance, eleven different Hebrew words used in the Old Testament for *kindling a fire*, or *setting on fire*,¹ and seven Greek words used in the New Testament for *prayer*;² and yet a careful study of these several terms will show that they all vary somewhat in signification, and serve to set forth so many different shades of thought or meaning.

We take, for illustration, the different Hebrew words which are used to convey the general idea of *killing*, or *putting to death*. The verb *קָטַל* occurs but three times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and means in every case to kill by putting an end to one's existence. The three instances are the following: Job xiii, 15, "If he *kill* me," or "Lo, let him *kill* me;" and Job xxiv, 14, "At light will the murderer rise up; he will *kill* the poor and needy;" and Psa. cxxxix, 19, "Thou wilt *kill* the wicked, O God." The primary idea of the word, according to Gesenius, is that of *cutting*; hence cutting off; making an end of by destruction. So the noun *קָטַל* is used in Obadiah 9 in connexion with *כָּרַת*, *cut off*—"shall be cut off by *slaughter*;" i. e., by a general destruction. In the Chaldee chapters of Daniel the verb *קָטַל* is used in a variety of forms seven times, but it seems to retain in every instance essentially the same meaning as the Hebrew verb. The simple fact of the *killing* or *cutting off* is stated without any necessary implication as to the method or occasion of the act.

The word more commonly used to denote *putting to death* is (the Hiphil, Hophal, and some of the rarer forms of) *מָוַת*, to *die*. The grammatical structure of the language enables us at once to perceive that the primary idea in the use of this word is that of *causing to die*. Thus, in Josh. x, 26 and xi, 17, it is used to denote the result of violent smiting (*נָקָה*): "Joshua smote them and *caused them to die*;" "All their kings he took, and he smote them and *caused them to die*." Compare 1 Sam. xvii, 50; xxii, 18; 2 Sam. xviii, 15; 2 Kings xv, 10, 14. In short, the distinguishing idea of this word, as used for *killing*, is that of putting to death, or causing to die, by some violent and deadly measure. In this sense the word is used in the Old Testament Scriptures over two hundred times. The prominent thought in *קָטַל* is merely that of *cutting off*; getting one out of the way; while in *מָוַת* and *הָמָת* the idea of *death*, as the result of some fatal means and procedure, is more noticeable. The murderer or the assassin *kills* (*קָטַל*) his victim or enemy; the warrior, the ruler, and the Lord himself, *causes to die*, or *puts to death* (*הָמָת*) whom he will, and he

¹ Namely: *אור, בער, דלֵק, חרה, יצת, יקר, להט, נשק, קוד, קטר, שרף*.

² *Εὐχή, προσευχή, δέησις, ἐντευξις, εὐχαριστία, αἴτημα, and ἱκετηρία*.

performs the act by some certain means (specified or unspecified), which will accomplish the desired result. The latter word is accordingly used of public executions, the slaughter involved in war, and the putting to death for the maintenance of some principle, or the attainment of some ulterior end. It is never used to express the idea of murder; but God himself says: "I put to death" (Deut. xxxii, 39). Compare 1 Sam. ii, 6; 2 Kings v, 7; Hosea ix, 16.

Another word for *killing* is **הָרַג**. Unlike **הָקַט**, it may be used for private homicide, or murder (Gen. iv, 8; xxvii, 41), or assassination (2 Chron. xxiv, 25; 2 Kings x, 9), or general slaughter and massacre (Judges viii, 17; Esther ix, 15). The slaying it denotes may be done by the sword (1 Kings ii, 32), or by a stone (Judges ix, 54), or a spear (2 Sam. xxiii, 21), or by the word of Jehovah (Hos. vi, 5), or even by grief, or a viper's tongue (Job v, 2; xx, 16). But the characterizing idea of the word, as distinguished from **הָקַט** and **הָרַג**, seems to be that of *wholesale or vengeful slaughter*. Thus Jehovah *slew* all the firstborn of Egypt (Exod. xiii, 15), but the slaughter was a vengeful judgment-stroke, a plague. Thus Simeon and Levi *slew* the men of Shechem, and that slaughter was a cruel and vindictive massacre (Gen. xxxiv, 26; xlix, 6). This word is used of the slaughter of Jehovah's prophets by Jezebel, and of the prophets of Baal by Elijah (1 Kings xix, 1, 10), and in this sense generally, whether the numbers slain be few or many. Compare Judges viii, 17, 21; Esther ix, 6, 10, 12; Ezek. ix, 6. In Isa. xxii, 13 the word is used of the slaughter of oxen, but the context shows that the slaughter contemplated was on a large scale, at a time of feasting and revelry. So, again, in Psa. lxxviii, 47, we read: "He *slays* with hail their vines," but the passage is poetical, and the thought is that of a sweeping destruction, by which vines and trees, as well as other things that suffered in the plagues of Egypt, were, so to speak, slaughtered.

רָצַח has the primary signification of *crushing*, a violent breaking in pieces, and is generally used to denote the *act of murder* or *manslaughter* in any degree. This is the word used in the commandment, "Thou shalt not *commit murder*" (Exod. xx, 13; Deut. v, 17); less properly translated, "Thou shalt not *kill*," for often *to kill* is not necessarily *to murder*. In Num. xxxv the participial form of the word is used over a dozen times to denote the *manslayer*, who flees to a city of refuge, and twice (verses 27, 30) the verb is used to denote the execution of such manslayer by the avenger of blood.

The word **כָּבַח** is used for the *slaying of animals*, especially in preparation for a feast. It corresponds more nearly with the word *butcher*. Thus, when Joseph's brethren came, bringing Benjamin with them, Joseph commanded the ruler of his house to bring the men to the house, and *kill a killing* (**כָּבַח כָּבַח**, Gen. xliii, 16). Compare 1 Sam. xxv, 11; Prov. ix, 2. When the word is applied to the slaughter of men it is always with the idea that they are slaughtered or butchered like so many animals (Psa. xxxvii, 14; Jer. li, 40; Lam. ii, 21; Ezek. xxi, 10, (15).

A kindred word is **זָבַח**, used of the *sacrificing of animals for offerings*. It is thus ever associated with the idea of *immolation*, and the derivative noun **זֶבַח** means a *sacrificial offering* to God. "This verb," says Gesenius, "is not used of the priests as slaughtering victims in sacrifice, but of private persons offering sacrifices at their own cost." Compare Gen. xxxi, 54; Exod. viii, 29, (25); 1 Sam. xi, 15; 2 Chron. vii, 4; xxxiii, 17; Ezek. xx, 28; Hos. xiii, 2; Jon. i, 16.

Another word, constantly used in connection with the killing of animals for sacrifice, is **שָׁחַת**; but it differs from **זָבַח** especially in this, that the latter emphasizes rather the idea of *sacrifice*, while **שָׁחַת** points more directly to the *slaughter* of the victim. Hence **זָבַח** is often used intransitively, in the sense of *offering sacrifice*, without specifying the object sacrificed; but **שָׁחַת** is always transitive, and connected with the object slain. This latter word is often applied to the slaying of persons (Gen. xxii, 10; 1 Kings xviii, 40; 2 Kings x, 7, 14; Isa. lvii, 5; Ezek. xvi, 21), but in a sacrificial sense, as the immediate context shows. Judg. xii, 6, would seem to be an exception, but the probable thought there is that the Ephraimites who could not pronounce the "Shibboleth" were slain as so many human sacrifices.

Thus each of these seven Hebrew words, all of which involve the idea of *killing* or *slaughter*, has its own distinct shade of meaning and manner of usage.

The Hebrew language has twelve different words to express the idea of *sin*. First, there is the verb **חָטָא**, which, like Hebrew words for sin.

the Greek *ἁμαρτάνω*, means, primarily, *to miss a mark*, and is so used (in Hiphil) in Judg. xx, 16, where mention is made of seven hundred left handed Benjamites who could sling stones

"to the hair, and not *miss*." In Prov. viii, 36, it is contrasted with **מָצָא**, to *find* (verse 35): "They that *find* me, find life; . . . and he that *misses* me wrongs his soul." Compare also Prov. xix, 2: "He that hastens with his feet *misses*;" that is, makes a misstep; gets off the track. The exact meaning

in Job v, 24, is more doubtful: "Thou shalt visit thy pasture (or habitation), and shalt not *miss*." The sense, according to most interpreters, is: Thou shalt miss nothing; in visiting thy pasture and thy flocks thou shalt find nothing gone; no sheep or cattle missing. It is easy to see how the idea of making a misstep, or missing a mark, passed over into the moral idea of missing some divinely appointed mark; hence *failure, error, shortcoming*, an action that has miscarried. Accordingly, the noun מִטָּה means *fault, error, sin*. It is interesting to note how the Piel, or intensive form of the verb מִטָּה, conveys the idea of *making an offering for sin* (compare Lev. vi, 26, (19); ix, 15), or *cleansing* by some ceremonial of atonement (Exod. xxix, 36; Lev. xiv, 52); as if the thought of bearing the penalty of sin, and making it appear loathsome and damnable, were to be made conspicuous by an intense effort to purge away its guilt and shame. Hence arose the common usage of the noun מִטָּה in the sense of *sin offering*.

We should next compare the words מַעֲרֵב, מַעֲרִיב, and מַעֲרִיב. The first is from the root מָעַר, to *twist, to make crooked, to distort*, and signifies *moral perversity*. In the English version it is commonly translated *iniquity*. It indicates the inherent badness of a perverted soul, and in Psa. xxxii, 5, we have the expression: Thou hast taken away the *iniquity* (מַעֲרֵב) of my *sin*" (חַטָּאת). Closely cognate with מַעֲרֵב is מַעֲרִיב, from the root מָעַר, to *turn away, to distort*, and would seem to differ from it in usage by being applied rather to *outward action* than to *inner character*; מַעֲרֵב indicates specially what a sinner *is*, מַעֲרִיב, what he *does*. The primary sense of מַעֲרִיב, on the other hand, is *emptiness, or nothingness*. It is used of idolatry (1 Sam. xv, 23; Isa. xli, 29; lxvi, 3; Hos. x, 5, 8; Zech. x, 2), and in the English version is occasionally translated *vanity* (Job xv, 35; Psa. x, 7; Prov. xxii, 8). It denotes wickedness, or sin, as something that has no enduring reality or value. It is a false, vain appearance; a deceitful shadow, destitute of stability. So, then, in these three words we have suggested to us bad character, bad action, and the emptiness of sinful pursuits.

The word which especially denotes *evil*, or that which is essentially *bad*, is רָע, with its cognate רָעָה and רָעָה, all from the root רָעָה, to *break, shatter, crush, crumble*. It indicates a character or quality which, for all useful or valuable purposes, is utterly *broken and ruined*. Thus the noun רָע, in Gen. xli, 19, denotes the utter *badness* of the seven famine-smitten heifers of Pharaoh's dream, and is frequently used of the wickedness of wrong action (Deut. xxviii, 20; Psa. xxviii, 4; Isa. i, 16; Jer. xxiii, 2; xlv, 22; Hos. ix, 15). The words רָע and רָעָה, besides being frequently

employed in the same sense (compare Gen. vi, 5; viii, 21; 1 Kings ii, 44; Jer. vii, 12, 24; Zech. i, 4; Mal. ii, 17), are also used to denote the *evil* or *harm* which one may do to another (Psa. xv, 3; xxi, 11; xxxv, 4; lxxi, 13). In all the uses of this word the idea of a *ruin* or a *breach* is in some way traceable. The wickedness of one's heart is in the moral *wreck* or *ruin* it discloses. The evil of a sinner's wicked action is a *breach* of moral order.

Another aspect of sinfulness is brought out in the word עָלַל and its noun עָלָל. It is usually translated *trespass*, but the fundamental thought is *treachery*, some covert and faithless action. Thus it is used of the unfaithfulness of an adulterous woman toward her husband (Num. v, 12), of the taking strange wives (Ezra x, 2, 10), of the offense of Achan (Josh. vii, 1; xxii, 20; 1 Chron. ii, 7), and generally of unfaithfulness toward God (Deut. xxxii, 51; Josh. xxii, 16; 2 Chron. xxix, 6; Ezek. xx, 27; xxxix, 23). By this word any transgression is depicted as a plotting of treachery, or an exhibition of unfaithfulness to some holy covenant or bond.

By a transposition of the first two letters of עָלַל we have the word עָלַל, which is used of the exhaustive *toils* of mortal life and their attendant *sorrow* and *misery*. In Num. xxiii, 21, and Isa. x, 1, it is coupled in parallelism with נָחַשׁ, *emptiness*, *vanity*, and may be regarded as the accompaniment of the vain pursuits of men. It is that *labour*, which, in the book of Ecclesiastes, where the word occurs thirty-four times, is shown both to begin and end in "vanity and vexation of spirit;" a striving after the wind (Eccles. i, 14; ii, 11, 17, 19).

The word עָבַר, to *cross over*, like the Greek *παράβατω*, is often used metaphorically of *passing over the line of moral obligation*, or going aside from it. Hence it corresponds closely with the word *transgress*. In Josh. vii, 11, 15; Judg. ii, 20; 2 Kings xviii, 12; Hos. vi, 7; viii, 1, it is used of transgressing a covenant; in Deut. xxvi, 13, of a commandment; in 1 Sam. xv, 24, of the word (lit., *mouth*) of Jehovah; and in Isa. xxiv, 5, of the law. Thus words of counsel and warning, covenants, commandments, laws, may be *crossed over*, *passed by*, *walked away from*; and this is the peculiar aspect of human perversity which is designated by the word עָבַר, to *transgress*.

The two words פָּשַׁע and רָשָׁע may be best considered together. פָּשַׁע and רָשָׁע. The former conveys the idea of *revolt*, *rebellion*; the latter *disturbance*, *tumultuous rage*. The former word is used, in 1 Kings xii, 19, of Israel's revolt from the house of David; and in 2 Kings i, 1; iii, 7; viii, 20, 22; 2 Chron. xxi, 10, of the

rebellions of Moab, Edom, and Libnah; and the noun *עֲוֹן*, which is usually rendered *transgression*, should always be understood as a fault or trespass considered as a revolt or an apostasy from some bond of allegiance. Hence it is an aggravated form of sin, and in Job xxxiv, 37, we find the significant expression: "He adds upon his sin rebellion." The primary thought in *עֲוֹן* may be seen from Isa. lvii, 20, where it is said: "The wicked (*הַפְּשָׁעִים*) are like the troubled (*שֶׁבַע*, *tossed, agitated*) sea; for rest it cannot, and its waters will cast up (*שֶׁבַע*, *toss about*) mud and mire." So also in Job xxxiv, 29, the Hiphil of the verb *עָוָה* is put in contrast with the Hiphil of *נָחַם*, to rest, to be quiet: "Let him give rest, and who will give trouble?" The wicked man is one who is ever troubled and troubling. His counsels (Psa. i, 1), his plots (Psa. xxxvii, 12), his dishonesty and robberies (Psa. xxxvii, 21; cxix, 61), and manifold iniquities (Prov. v, 22), are a source of confusion and disturbance in the moral world, and that continually.

It remains to notice briefly the word *חַטָּאת*, the primary idea of which seems to be that of guilt or blame involved in *חַטָּאת* and *חַטָּאת* committing a trespass through ignorance or negligence, and *חַטָּאת* (*חַטָּאת, חַטָּאת*), with which it is frequently associated. The two words appear together in Lev. iv, 13: "If the whole congregation of Israel err through ignorance (*חַטָּאת*), and the matter be hidden from the eyes of the assembly, and they have done with one from all the commandments of Jehovah what should not have been done, and have become guilty" (*חַטָּאת*). Compare verses 22, 27, and chapter v, 2, 3, 4, 17, 19. Hence it was natural that the noun *חַטָּאת* should become the common word for the *trespass offering* which was required of those who contracted guilt by negligence or error. For the passages just cited, and their contexts, show that any violation or infringement of a divine commandment, whether committed knowingly or not, involved one in fault, and the guilt, contracted unconsciously, required for its expiation a trespass offering as soon as the sin became known. Accordingly, it will be seen that *חַטָּאת*, and its derivatives, point to *errors* committed through ignorance (Job vi, 24; Num. xv, 27), while *חַטָּאת* denotes rather the guiltiness contracted by such errors, and felt and acknowledged when the sin becomes known.

A study of the divine names used in the Hebrew Scriptures is exceedingly interesting and suggestive. They are *Adonai*, *El*, *Elah*, *Elim*, *Eloah*, *Elion*, *Elohim*, *Shaddai*, *Jah*, and *Jehovah*. All these may be treated as synonymes, and yet each divine name has its peculiar concept and its corresponding usage.

Divine names.

The synonymes of the New Testament furnish an equally interesting and profitable field of study. Many words appear to be used interchangeably, and yet a careful examination will usually show that each conveys its own distinct idea. Take, for instance, *καινός* and the two Greek words for *new*, *καινός* and *νέος*. Both *καινός* and *νέος* are applied to the *new man* (comp. Eph. ii, 15; Col. iii, 10), the *new covenant* (Heb. ix, 15; xii, 24), and *new wine* (Matt. ix, 17; xxvi, 29); but a wider comparison shows that *καινός* denotes what is new in *quality* or *kind*, in opposition to something that has already existed and been known, used, and worn out; while *νέος* denotes what is new in *time*, what has not long existed, but is *young* and *fresh*. Both words occur in Matt. ix, 17: "They put new (*νέον*) wine into new (*καινούς*) skins." The new wine is here conceived as fresh, or recently made; the skins as never used before. The skin bottles may have been old or new as to age, but in order to preserve wine just made, they must not have been put to that use before. But the wine referred to in Matt. xxvi, 29, is to be thought of rather as a *new kind of wine*: "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it with you new (*καινόν*, new in a higher sense and quality), in the kingdom of my Father." So also Joseph's tomb, in which our Lord's body was laid, was called a new one (*καίνος*, Matt. xxvii, 60; John xix, 41), not in the sense that it had recently been hewn from the rock, but because no one had ever been laid in it before. The new (*καινή*) commandment of John xiii, 34 is the law of love, which, proceeding from Christ, has a new aspect and scope; a depth and beauty and fulness which it had not before. But when John wrote his epistles of brotherly love it had become "an old commandment" (1 John ii, 7), long familiar, even "the word which ye heard from the beginning." But then he (verse 8) adds: "Again, a new commandment (*ἐντολὴν καινὴν*) I write to you, which thing is true in him and in you; because the darkness is passing away and the true light is already shining." The passing away of the old darkness and the growing intensity of the true light, according to proper Christian experience, continually develop and bring out new glories in the old commandment. This thing (*ὅ*), namely, the fact that the old commandment is also new, is seen to be true both in Christ and in the believer; because in the latter the darkness keeps passing away, and in the former the true light shines more and more.

In like manner the *tongues* mentioned in Mark xvi, 17 are called *καίμαι*, because they would be new to the world, "other tongues" (Acts ii, 4), unlike anything in the way of speaking which had been known before. So, too, the new name, new Jerusalem, new song,

new heaven and new earth (Rev. ii, 17; iii, 12; v, 9; xiv, 3; xxi, 1), to designate which *καινός* is used, are the renewed, ennobled, and glorious apocalyptic aspects of the things of the kingdom of God. The word *νέος* is used nine times in the Synoptic Gospels of wine recently made. In 1 Cor. v, 7, it is applied to the new lump of leaven, as that which has been recently prepared. It is used of the new man in Col. iii, 10, where the putting on the new man is spoken of as *a work recently accomplished*; whereas *καινός* is used in Eph. ii, 15, denoting rather the *character of the work accomplished*. So the new covenant may be conceived of as new, or recent (Heb. xii, 24), in opposition to that long ago given at Sinai, while it may also be designated as new in the sense of being different from the old (Matt. xxvi, 28; 2 Cor. iii, 6), which is worn out with age, and ready to vanish away (Heb. viii, 13). Let it be noted, also, that "newness of life" and "newness of spirit" (Rom. vi, 4; vii, 6), are expressed by *καινότης*; but *youth* is denoted by *νεότης* (Matt. xix 20; Mark x, 20; Luke xviii, 21; Acts xxvi, 4; 1 Tim. iv, 12).

The two words for *life*, *βίος* and *ζωή*, are easily distinguishable as used in the New Testament. *βίος* denotes the present human life considered especially with reference to modes and conditions of existence. It nowhere means *lifetime*, or *period of life*; for the true text of 1 Pet. iv, 3, which was supposed to convey this meaning, omits the word. It commonly denotes the *means of living*; that on which one depends as a means of supporting life. Thus the poor widow cast into the treasury her whole *living* (*βίον*, Mark xii, 44). Another woman spent all her *living* on physicians (Luke viii, 14). The same meaning appears in Luke xv, 12, 30; xxi, 4. In Luke viii, 14 and 1 John iii, 17 it denotes, rather, life as conditioned by riches, pleasures, and abundance. In 1 Tim. ii, 2; 2 Tim. ii, 4; 1 John ii, 16 it conveys the idea of the manner and style in which one spends his life; and so, in all its uses, *βίος* has reference solely to the life of man as lived in this world. *Ζωή*, on the other hand, is the antithesis of *death* (*θάνατος*), and while used occasionally in the New Testament in the sense of physical existence (Acts xvii, 25; 1 Cor. iii, 22; xv, 19; Phil. i, 20; James iv, 14), is defined by Cremer as "the kind of existence possessed by individualized being, to be explained as *self-governing existence*, which God *is*, and man *has* or *is said to have*, and which, on its part, is supreme over all the rest of creation."¹ Tholuck

¹ Biblio-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament, p. 272. Cremer goes on to show how from the sense of *physical existence* the word is also used to denote a perfect and abiding antithesis to death (Heb. vii, 16), a positive freedom from death (Acts ii, 28; 2 Cor. v, 4), and the sum of the divine promises under the Gospel, "belonging

observes: "The words ζωή and θάνατος (*death*), along with the cognate verbs, although appearing in very various applications, are most clearly explained when we suppose the following views to have lain at the basis of them. God is the *life eternal* (ζωή αἰώνιος, 1 John v, 20), or the *light*, (φῶς, 1 John i, 5; James i, 7). Beings made in the image of God have true life only in fellowship with him. Wherever this life is absent there is *death*. Accordingly the idea of ζωή comprehends *holiness* and *bliss*, that of θάνατος *sin* and *misery*. Now as both the ζωή and the θάνατος manifest themselves in different degrees, sometimes under different aspects, the words acquire a variety of significations. The highest grade of the ζωή is the life which the redeemed live with the Saviour in the glorious kingdom of heaven. Viewed on this side, ζωή denotes continued existence after death, communion with God, and blessedness, of which each is implied in the other."¹

In Jesus' conversation with Simon Peter at the sea of Tiberias αγαπάω and (John xxi, 15-17), we have four sets of synonyms: φιλέω.

First, the words αγαπάω and φιλέω, for which we have no two corresponding English words. The former, as opposed to the latter, denotes a *devout reverential love*, grounded in reason and admiration. Φιλέω, on the other hand, denotes the love of a warm personal affection, a *tender emotional love of the heart*. "The first expresses," says Trench, "a more reasoning attachment, of choice and selection (*diligere—deligere*), from seeing in the object upon whom it is bestowed that which is worthy of regard; or else from a sense that such was fit and due toward the person so regarded, as being a benefactor, or the like; while the second, without being necessarily an unreasoning attachment, does yet oftentimes give less account of itself to itself; is more instinctive, is more of the feelings, implies more passion."² The range of φιλέω, according to Cremer, is wider than that of αγαπάω, but αγαπάω stands high above φιλέω on account of its moral import. It involves the moral affection of conscious, deliberate will, and may therefore be depended on in moments of trial. But φιλέω, involving the love of natural inclination and impulse, may be variable.³ Observe, then,

to those to whom the future is sure, already in possession of all who are partakers of the New Testament salvation, 'that leadeth unto life,' and who already in this life begin life eternal." (Matt. vii, 14; Tit. i, 2; 2 Tim. i, 1; Acts xi, 18; xiii, 48). He further observes, that in the writings of Paul "ζωή is the substance of Gospel preaching, the final aim of faith (1 Tim. i, 16);" in the writings of John it "is the subject matter and aim of divine revelation." Comp. John v, 39; 1 John v, 20; etc.

¹ Commentary on Romans v, 12.

² Synonymes of the New Testament, sub verbo.

³ Comp. Biblico-Theological Lexicon, pp. 11, 12.

the use of these words in the passage before us. "Jesus says to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonah, dost thou devoutly love (*ἀγαπᾷς*) me more than these? He says to him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest (*οἶδας*, *seest*) that I tenderly love (*φιλῶ*) thee." In his second question our Lord, in tender regard for Simon, omits the words *more than these*, and simply asks: "Dost thou devoutly love (*ἀγαπᾷς*) me?" To this Simon answers precisely as before, not venturing to assume so lofty a love as *ἀγαπάω* implies. In his third question (verse 17) our Lord uses Simon's word, thus approaching nearer to the heart and emotion of the disciple: "Simon, son of Jonah, dost thou tenderly love (*φιλεῖς*) me?" The change of word, as well as his asking for the third time, filled Peter with grief (*ἐλυπήθη*), and he replied with great emotion: "O Lord, all things thou knowest (*οἶδας*, *seest*, *dost perceive*), thou dost surely know (*γινώσκεις*, art fully cognizant of the fact, hast full assurance by personal knowledge) that I tenderly love (*φιλῶ*) thee." The distinction between *οἶδα* (from *εἶδω*, to *see*, to *perceive*) and *γινώσκω* (to obtain and have knowledge of) is very subtle, and the words appear to be often used interchangeably. According to Cremer, "there is merely the difference that *γινώσκειν* implies an active relation, to wit, a self-reference of the knower to the object of his knowledge; whereas, in the case of *εἰδέναι*, the object has simply come within the sphere of perception, within the knower's circle of vision."¹ As used by Peter the two words differ, in that *γινώσκω* expresses a deeper and more positive knowledge than *οἶδα*.

According to many ancient authorities we have in this passage three different words to denote lambs and sheep. In verse 15 the word is *ἀρνία*, *lambs*, in verse 16 *πρόβατα*, *sheep*, and in verse 17 *προβάτια*, *sheeplings*, or *choice sheep*. The difference and distinct import of these several words it is not difficult to understand. The *lambs* are those of tender age; the young of the flock. The *sheep* are the full-grown and strong. The *sheeplings*, *προβάτια*, are the choice full-grown sheep, those which deserve peculiar tenderness and care, with special reference, perhaps, to the milch-ewes of the flock. Compare Isa. xl, 11. Then, in connexion with these different words for sheep we have also the synonymes *βόσκω* and *ποιμαίνω*, to denote the various cares and work of the shepherd. *Βόσκω* means to *feed*, and is used especially of a shepherd providing his flock with pasture, leading them to the field, and furnishing them with food. *Ποιμαίνω* is a word of wider significance, and involves the whole office and work of a shepherd. It comes more nearly to our word

¹ Biblico-Theological Lexicon, p. 230.

tend, and includes the ideas of feeding, folding, governing, guiding, guarding, and whatever a good shepherd is expected to do for his flock. *Bóσκω* denotes the more special and tender care, the giving of nourishment, and is appropriately used when speaking of lambs. *Ποιμαίνω* is more general and comprehensive, and means to rule as well as to feed. Hence appear the depth and fulness of the three-fold commandment: "Feed my lambs," "Tend my sheep," "Feed my choice sheep." The lambs and the choice sheep need special nourishment; all the sheep need the shepherd's faithful care. It is well to note, that, on the occasion of the first miraculous draught of fishes, at this same sea of Galilee (Luke v, 1-10), Jesus sounded the depths of Simon Peter's soul (verse 8), awakened him to an awful sense of sin, and then told him that he should thereafter catch men (verse 10). Now, after this second like miracle, at the same sea, and with another probing of his heart, he indicates to him that there is something more for him to do than to catch men. He must know how to care for them after they have been caught. He must be a shepherd of the Lord's sheep as well as a fisher of men, and he must learn to imitate the manifold care of the Great Shepherd of Israel, of whom Isaiah wrote (Isa. xl, 11): "As a shepherd he will feed his flock (עֶרְבָּ); in his arms he will gather the lambs (אֶת־כְּבָשִׁים), and in his bosom bear; the milch-ewes (גִּלְיֹת) he will gently lead."

The synonymes of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures have been as yet but slightly and imperfectly treated.¹ They afford the biblical scholar a broad and most interesting field of study. It is a spiritual as well as an intellectual discipline to discriminate sharply between synonymous terms of Holy Writ, and trace the diverging lines of thought, and the far-reaching suggestions which often arise therefrom. The foregoing pages will have made it apparent that the exact import and the discriminative usage of words are all-important to the biblical interpreter. Without an accurate knowledge of the meaning of his words, no one can properly either understand or explain the language of any author.

¹ The only works of note on the subject are, Girdlestone, *Synonymes of the Old Testament*, London, 1871; and Trench, *Synonymes of the New Testament*, originally published in two small volumes, and subsequently in one; Ninth Edition, London, 1880. The work of Tittmann, *De Synonymis in Novo Testamento*, translated and published in two volumes of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet, is now of no great value. Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* contains a very excellent treatment of a number of the New Testament synonymes; and Wilson's *Syntax and Synonymes of the Greek Testament* (London, 1864) is well worthy of consultation. A brief but very valuable discussion of the New Testament synonymes is also furnished in Grimm's *Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated and enlarged by Thayer. New York, 1887.

CHAPTER V.

THE GRAMMATICO-HISTORICAL SENSE.

HAVING become familiar with the meaning of words, and thoroughly versed in the principles and methods by which their signification and usage are ascertained, we are prepared to investigate the grammatico-historical sense. This phrase is believed to have originated with Karl A. G. Keil, whose treatise on Historical Interpretation and Text-Book of New Testament Hermeneutics¹ furnished an important contribution to the science of interpretation. We have already defined the grammatico-historical method of interpretation as distinguished from the allegorical, mystical, naturalistic, mythical, and other methods,² which have more or less prevailed. The grammatico-historical sense of a writer is such an interpretation of his language as is required by the laws of grammar and the facts of history. Sometimes we speak of the literal sense, by which we mean the most simple, direct, and ordinary meaning of phrases and sentences. By this term we usually denote a meaning opposed to the figurative or metaphorical. The grammatical sense is essentially the same as the literal, the one expression being derived from the Greek, the other from the Latin. But in English usage the word grammatical is applied rather to the arrangement and construction of words and sentences. By the historical sense we designate, rather, that meaning of an author's words which is required by historical considerations. It demands that we consider carefully the time of the author, and the circumstances under which he wrote.

Grammatico-historical sense defined.

"Grammatical and historical interpretation, when rightly understood," says Davidson, "are synonymous. The special laws of grammar, agreeably to which the sacred writers employed language, were the result of their peculiar circumstances; and history alone throws us back into these circumstances. A new language was not made for the authors of Scripture; they conformed to the current language of the country and time. Their compositions would not have been otherwise intelligible. They

Davidson's statement.

¹ De historica librorum sacrorum interpretatione ejusque necessitate. Lps., 1788. Lehrbuch der Hermeneutik des N. T. nach Grundsätzen der grammatisch-historischen Interpretation. Lpz., 1810. A Latin translation, by Emmerling, appeared in 1811.

² Compare above, p. 70.

took up the *usus loquendi* as they found it, modifying it, as is quite natural, by the relations internal and external amid which they thought and wrote." The same writer also observes: "The grammatico-historical sense is made out by the application of grammatical and historical considerations. The great object to be ascertained is the *usus loquendi*, embracing the laws or principles of universal grammar which form the basis of every language. These are nothing but the logic of the mind, comprising the modes in which ideas are formed, combined, and associated, agreeably to the original susceptibilities of the intellectual constitution. They are the physiology of the human mind as exemplified practically by every individual. General grammar is wont to be occupied, however, with the usage of the best writers; whereas the laws of language as observed by the writers of Scripture should be mainly attended to by the sacred interpreter, even though the philosophical grammarian may not admit them all to be correct. It is the *usus loquendi* of the inspired authors which forms the subject of the grammatical principles recognized and followed by the expositor. The grammar he adopts is deduced from the use of the language employed in the Bible. This may not be conformed to the practice of the best writers; it may not be philosophically just; but he must not, therefore, pronounce it erroneous. The modes of expression used by each writer—the utterances of his mental associations, constitute his *usus loquendi*. These form his grammatical principles; and the interpreter takes them as his own in the business of exegesis. Hence, too, there arises a special as well as a universal grammar. Now we attain to a knowledge of the peculiar *usus loquendi* in the way of historical investigation. The religious, moral, and psychological ideas, under whose influence a language has been formed and moulded; all the objects with which the writers were conversant, and the relations in which they were placed, are traced out *historically*. The costume of the ideas in the minds of the biblical authors originated from the character of the times, country, place, and education, under which they acted. Hence, in order to ascertain their peculiar *usus loquendi*, we should know all those institutions and influences whereby it was formed or affected."¹

The general principles and methods by which we ascertain the *usus loquendi* of single terms, or words, have been presented in the preceding chapter. Substantially the same principles are to serve us as we proceed to investigate the grammatico-historical sense. We must attend to the

¹ Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 225, 226.

definitions and construction which an author puts upon his own terms, and never suppose that he intends to contradict himself or puzzle his readers. The context and connection of thought are also to be studied in order to apprehend the general subject, scope, and purpose of the writer. But especially is it necessary to ascertain the correct grammatical construction of sentences. Subject and predicate and subordinate clauses must be closely analyzed, and the whole document, book, or epistle, should be viewed, as far as possible, from the author's historical standpoint.

A fundamental principle in grammatico-historical exposition is that words and sentences can have but one signifi- Words and sentences but one meaning in one place. cation in one and the same connection. The moment we neglect this principle we drift out upon a sea of uncertainty and conjecture. It is commonly assumed by the universal sense of mankind that unless one designedly put forth a riddle, he will so speak as to convey his meaning as clearly as possible to others. Hence that meaning of a sentence which most readily suggests itself to a reader or hearer, is, in general, to be received as the true meaning, and that alone. Take, for example, the account of Daniel and his three companions, as given in the first chapter of the Book of Daniel. The simplest child readily grasps the meaning. There can be no doubt as to the general import of the words throughout the chapter, and that the writer intended to inform his readers in a particular way how God honoured those young men because of their abstemiousness, and because of their refusal to defile themselves with the meats and drinks which the king had appointed for them. The same may be said of the lives of the patriarchs as recorded in the Book of Genesis, and, indeed, of any of the historical narratives of the Bible. They are to be accepted as a trustworthy record of facts.

This principle holds with equal force in the narratives of miraculous events. For the miracles of the Bible are re- Miracles to be literally understood. corded as facts, actual occurrences, witnessed by few or by many as the case might be, and the writers give no intimation that their statements involve any thing but plain literal truth. Thus, in Josh. v, 13-vi, 5, a man appears to Joshua, holding a sword in his hand, announcing himself as "a prince of the host of Jehovah" (verse 14), and giving directions for the capture of Jericho. This may, possibly, have occurred in a dream or a waking vision; but such a supposition is not in strictest accord with the statements. For it would involve the supposition that Joshua dreamed that he fell on his face, and took off his shoes from his feet, as well as looked and listened. Revelations from Jehovah

were wont to come through visions and dreams (Num. xii, 6), but the simplest exposition of this passage is that the angel of Jehovah openly appeared to Joshua, and the occurrences were all outward and actual, rather than by vision or dream.

The simple but mournful narrative of the offering up of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. xi, 30-40) has been perverted to mean that Jephthah devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity—an exposition that arose from the *a priori* assumption that a judge of Israel must have known that human sacrifices were an abomination to Jehovah. But no one presumes to question that he vowed to offer as a burnt-offering that which came forth from the doors of his house to meet him (verse 31). Jephthah could scarcely have thought of a cow, or a sheep, or goat, as coming out of his house to meet him. Still less could he have contemplated a dog, or any unclean animal. The awful solemnity and tremendous force of his vow appear, rather, in the thought that he contemplated no common offering, but a victim to be taken from among the inmates of his house. But he then little thought that of all his household—servants, young men, and maidens—his daughter and only child would be the first to meet him. Hence his anguish, as indicated in verse 35. But she accepted her fate with a sublime heroism. She asked two months of life in which to bewail her virginity, for that was to her the one only thing that darkened her thoughts of death. To die unwedded and childless was the sting of death to a Hebrew woman, and especially one who was as a princess in Israel. Take away that bitter thought, and with Jephthah's daughter it were a sublime and enviable thing to “die for God, her country, and her sire.”

The notion that, previously to her being devoted to a life of virginity and seclusion, she desired two months to mourn over such a fate, appears exceedingly improbable, if not absurd. For, as Capellus well observes, “If she desired or felt obliged to bewail her virginity, it were especially suitable to bewail that when shut up in the monastery; previously to her being shut up it would have been more suitable, with youthful friends and associates, to have spent those two months joyfully and pleasantly, since afterward there would remain to her a time for weeping more than sufficiently long.”¹ The sacred writer declares (verse 39) that, after the two months, Jephthah did to his daughter the vow *which he had vowed*—not something else which he had not vowed. He records, not as the manner in which he did his vow, but as the most thrilling knell that in the ears of her father and companions sounded over that

¹ Critici Sacri, tom. ii, p. 2076.

daughter's funeral pile, and sent its lingering echo into the later times, that "she knew no man."¹

The narratives of the resurrection of Jesus admit of no rational explanation aside from that simple grammatico-historical sense in which the Christian Church has ever understood them. The naturalistic and mythical theories, when applied to this miracle of miracles, utterly break down. The alleged discrepancies between the several evangelists, instead of disproving the truthfulness of their accounts, become, on closer inspection, confirmatory evidences of the accuracy and trustworthiness of all their statements. If the New Testament narratives are deserving of any credit at all, the following facts are evident: (1) Jesus foretold his death and resurrection, but his disciples were slow to comprehend him, and did not fully accept his statements. (2) Immediately after the crucifixion the disciples were smitten with deep dejection and fear; but after the third day they all claimed to have seen the Lord, and they gave minute details of several of his appearances. (3) They affirm that they saw him ascend into the heavens, and soon afterward are found preaching "Jesus and the resurrection" in the streets of Jerusalem and in all Palestine and the regions beyond. (4) Many years afterward Paul declared these facts, and affirmed that Jesus appeared at one time to above five hundred brethren, of whom the greater part were still alive (1 Cor. xv, 6). He affirmed, that, if Christ had not been raised from the dead, the preaching of the Gospel and the faith of the Church were

Jesus' resurrection a literal historical fact.

¹ We gain nothing by attempting to evade the obvious import of any of the biblical narratives. On the treatment of this account of Jephthah's daughter Stanley observes: "As far back as we can trace the sentiment of those who read the passage, in Jonathan the Targumist, and Josephus, and through the whole of the first eleven centuries of Christendom, the story was taken in its literal sense as describing the death of the maiden, although the attention of the Church was, as usual, diverted to distant allegorical meanings. Then, it is said, from a polemical bias of Kimchi, arose the interpretation that she was not killed, but immured in celibacy. From the Jewish theology this spread to the Christian. By this time the notion had sprung up that every act recorded in the Old Testament was to be defended according to the standard of Christian morality; and, accordingly, the process began of violently wresting the words of Scripture to meet the preconceived fancies of later ages. In this way entered the hypothesis of Jephthah's daughter having been devoted as a nun; contrary to the plain meaning of the text, contrary to the highest authorities of the Church, contrary to all the usages of the old dispensation. In modern times a more careful study of the Bible has brought us back to the original sense. And with it returns the deep pathos of the original story, and the lesson which it reads of the heroism of the father and daughter, to be admired and loved, in the midst of the fierce superstitions across which it plays like a sunbeam on a stormy sea."—Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. First Series, p. 397.

but an empty thing, based upon a gigantic falsehood. This conclusion follows irresistibly from the above-named facts. We must either accept the statements of the evangelists, in their plain and obvious import, or else meet the inevitable alternative that they knowingly put forth a falsehood (a concerted testimony which was essentially a lie before God), and went preaching it in all the world, ready to seal their testimony by tortures and death. This latter alternative involves too great a strain upon our reason to be accepted for a moment, especially when the unique and straightforward Gospel narratives furnish such a clear and adequate historical basis for the marvellous rise and power of Christianity in the world.

Winer's Grammar of the New Testament, and the modern critical commentaries on the whole or on parts of the New Testament—such as those of Meyer, De Wette, Alford, Ellicott, and Godet—have served largely to place the interpretation of the Christian Grammatical Scriptures on a sound grammatico-historical basis, and accuracy to be a constant use of these great works is all-important to looked for in the Scriptures. the biblical scholar. He must, by repeated grammatical praxis, make himself familiar with the peculiarities of the New Testament dialect. The significance of the presence or the absence of the article has often much to do with the meaning of a passage. "In the language of living intercourse," says Winer, "it is utterly impossible that the article should be omitted where it is decidedly necessary, or employed where it is not demanded. Ὀρος can never denote THE mountain, nor τὸ ὄρος A mountain."¹ The position of words and clauses, and peculiarities of grammatical structure, may often serve to emphasize important thoughts and statements. The special usage of the genitive, the dative, or the accusative case, or of the active, middle, or passive voice, often conveys a notable significance. The same is also true of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions. These serve to indicate peculiar shades of meaning, and delicate and suggestive relations of words and sentences, without a nice apprehension of which the real sense of a passage may be lost to the reader. The authorized version often obscures an important passage of the New Testament by a mistranslation of the aorist tense. Take, as a single example, 2 Cor. v, 14: "For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead." The ἵψ is now allowed to be an error in the text and should be omitted. The verse should then be translated: "For the love of Christ constrains us, having judged this, that one died for all; therefore the all died." The first verb, *constrains* (συνέχει), is in the present

Greek tenses.

¹ New Testament Grammar, p. 115. Andover, 1874.

tense, and denotes the then present experience of the apostle at the time of his writing: The love of Christ (Christ's love for men) now constrains us ("holds us in bounds"—Meyer); and this is the ever-present and abiding experience of all like the apostle. *Having judged* (*κρίναντας*) is the aorist participle, and points to a definite judgment which he had formed at some past time—probably at, or soon after, his conversion. The statement that one *died* (*ἀπέθανεν*, aorist singular) for all, points to that great historic event which, above every other, exhibited the love of Christ for men. "Ἀπαὶ πάντες ἀπέθανον, therefore the all died—"the all," who meet the condition specified in the next verse, and "live unto him who for their sakes died and rose again," are conceived as having died with Christ. They were crucified with Christ, united with him by the likeness of his death (Rom. vi, 5, 6).¹ Compare also Col. iii, 3: "For ye died (not ye are dead), and your life is hidden (*κρύπται*, *has become hidden*) with Christ in God." That is, ye died at the time ye became united with Christ by faith, and as a consequence of that death ye now have a spiritual life in Christ.

"With regard to the tenses of the verb," says Winer, "New Testament grammarians and expositors have been guilty of the greatest mistakes. In general, the tenses are employed in the New Testament exactly in the same manner as in Greek authors. The aorist marks simply the past (merely occurrence at some former time—viewed, too, as momentary), and is the tense employed in narration; the imperfect and pluperfect always have reference to secondary events connected in respect to time with the principal event (as relative tenses); the perfect brings the past into connexion with the present, representing an action in reference to the present as concluded. No one of these tenses, strictly and properly taken, can stand for another, as commentators often would have us believe. But where such an interchange appears to take place, either it is merely apparent, and a sufficient reason (especially a rhetorical one) can be discovered why this and no other tense has been used, or it is to be set down to the account of a certain inaccuracy peculiar to the language of the people, which did not conceive and express relations of time with entire precision."²

¹ When Christ died the redeeming death for all, all died, in respect of their fleshly life, with him; this *objective* matter of fact which Paul here affirms has its *subjective* realization in the faith of the individuals, through which they have *entered into* that death-fellowship with Christ *given* through his death for all, so that they have now, by means of baptism, become buried with him (Col. ii, 12).—Meyer, in loco.

² New Testament Grammar, p. 264. Comp. Buttmann's Grammar of the New Testament Greek; Thayer's Translation, pp. 194–206. Andover, 1878.

The grammatical sense is to be always sought by a careful study and application of the well-established principles and rules of the language. A close attention to the meaning and relations of words, a care to note the course of thought, and to allow each case, mood, tense, and the position of each word, to contribute its part to the general whole, and a caution lest we assign to words and phrases a scope and conception foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the language—these are rules, which, if faithfully observed, will always serve to bring out the real import of any written document.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTEXT, SCOPE, AND PLAN.

THE grammatico-historical sense is further developed by a study of the context and scope of an author's work. The word *Context, Scope, and Plan defined.* *context*, as the etymology intimates (Latin, *con*, together, and *textus*, woven), denotes something that is woven together, and, applied to a written document, it means the connexion of thought supposed to run through every passage which constitutes by itself a whole. By some writers it is called *the connexion*. The immediate context is that which immediately precedes or follows a given word or sentence. The remote context is that which is less closely connected, and may embrace a whole paragraph or section. The scope, on the other hand, is the end or purpose which the writer has in view. Every author is supposed to have some object in writing, and that object will be either formally stated in some part of his work, or else apparent from the general course of thought. The plan of a work is the arrangement of its several parts; the order of thought which the writer pursues.

The context, scope, and plan of a writing should, therefore, be studied together; and, logically, perhaps, the scope should be first ascertained. For the meaning of particular parts of a book may be fully apprehended only when we have mastered the general purpose and design of the whole. The plan of a book, moreover, is most intimately related to its scope. The one cannot be fully apprehended without some knowledge of the other. Even where the scope is formally announced, an analysis of the plan will serve to make it more clear. A writer who has a well-defined plan in his mind will be likely to keep to that plan, and make all his narratives and particular arguments bear upon the main subject.

The scope of several of the books of Scripture is formally stated by the writers. Most of the prophets of the Old Testament state the occasion and purpose of their oracles at the beginning of their books, and at the beginning of particular sections. The purpose of the Book of Proverbs is announced in verses 1-6 of the first chapter. The subject of Ecclesiastes is indicated at the beginning, in the words "Vanity of vanities." The design of John's Gospel is formally stated at the close of the twentieth chapter: "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name." The special purpose and occasion of the Epistle of Jude are given in verses 3 and 4: "Beloved, while giving all diligence to write to you of our common salvation, I found (or had) necessity to write to you exhorting to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints. For there crept in stealthily certain men, who of old were fore-written unto this judgment, ungodly, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Master, and our Lord Jesus Christ." The purport of this is, that while Jude was diligently planning and preparing to write a treatise or epistle on the common salvation, the circumstances stated in verse 4 led him to break off from that purpose for the time, and write to exhort them to contend earnestly for the faith once for all (*ἀπαξ, only once*; "no other faith will be given."—Bengel) delivered to the saints.

Scope of many books formally announced.

The scope of some books must be ascertained by a diligent examination of their contents. Thus, for example, the Book of Genesis is found to consist of ten sections, each beginning with the heading, "These are the generations," etc. This tenfold history of generations is preceded and introduced by the record of creation in chapter i, 1-ii, 3. The plan of the author appears, therefore, to be, first of all to record the miraculous creation of the heavens and the land, and then the developments (evolutions) in human history that followed that creation. Accordingly, the first developments of human life and history are called "the generations of the heavens and the land" (chap. ii, 4). The historical standpoint of the writer is "the day" from which the generations (*דורות, growths*) start, the day when man was formed of the dust of the ground and the breath of life from the heavens. So the first man is conceived as the product of the land and the heavens by the word of God, and the word *בָּרָא, create*, does not occur in this whole section. "The day" of chapter ii, 4, which most interpreters understand of the whole creative week, we take rather to be the *terminus a quo* of generations, the

Plan and Scope of Genesis seen in its contents.

day from which, according to verse 5, all the Edenic growths began; the day when the whole face of the ground was watered, when the garden of Eden was planted, and the first human pair were brought together. It was the sixth day of the creative week, "the day that Jehovah God made (*niyy*, in the sense of *effected, did, accomplished*, brought to completion) land and heavens." Adam was the "son of God" (Luke iii, 38), and the day of his creation was the point of time when Jehovah Elohim first revealed himself in history as one with the Creator. In chapter i, which records the beginning of the heavens and the land, only Elohim is named, the God in whom, as the plural form of the name denotes, centre all fulness and manifoldness of divine powers. But at chapter ii, 4, where the record of generations begins, we first meet with the name Jehovah, the personal Revealer, who enters into covenant with his creatures, and places man under moral law. Creation, so to speak, began with the pluripotent God—Elohim; its completion in the formation of man, and in subsequent developments, was wrought by Jehovah, the God of revelation, of law, and of love. Having traced the generations of the heavens and the land through Adam down to Seth (iv, 25, 26), the writer next records the outgrowths of that line in what he calls "the book of the generations of Adam" (v, 1). This book is no history of Adam's origin, for that was incorporated in the generations of the heavens and the land, but of Adam's posterity through Seth down to the time of the flood. Next follow "the generations of Noah (vi, 9), then those of his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth (x, 1), then those of Shem through Arphaxad to Terah (xi, 10-26), and then, in regular order, the generations of Terah (xi, 27, under which the whole history of Abraham is placed), Ishmael (xxv, 12), Isaac (xxv, 19), Esau (xxxvi, 1), and Jacob (xxxvii, 2). Hence the great design of the book was evidently to place on record the beginning and the earliest developments of human life and history. Keeping in mind this scope and structure of the book, we see its unity, and also find each section and subdivision sustaining a logical fitness and relation to the whole. Thus, too, the import of not a few passages becomes more clear and forcible.

A very cursory examination of the Book of Exodus shows us that its great purpose is to record the history of the Plan and Scope of Exodus. Exodus from Egypt and the legislation at Mt. Sinai, and it is readily divisible into two parts (1) chaps. i-xviii; (2) xix-xl; corresponding to these two great events. But a closer examination and analysis reveal many beautiful and suggestive relations of the different sections. First, we have a vivid narrative

of the bondage of *Israel* (chaps. i-xi). It is sharply outlined in chapter i, enhanced by the account of Moses' early life and exile (chaps. ii-iv), and shown in its intense persistence by the account of Pharaoh's hardness of heart, and the consequent plagues which smote the land of Egypt (chaps. v-xi). Second, we have the redemption of *Israel* (chaps. xii-xv, 21). This is first typified by the Passover (chaps. xii-xiii, 16), realized in the marvels and triumphs of the march out of Egypt, and the passage of the Red Sea (xiii, 17-xiv, 31), and celebrated in the triumphal song of Moses (xv, 1-21). Then, third, we have the consecration of *Israel* (xv, 22-xl) set forth in seven sections. (1) The march from the Red Sea to Rephidim (xv, 22-xvii, 7), depicting the first free activities of the people after their redemption, and their need of special Divine compassion and help. (2) Attitude of the heathen toward *Israel* in the cases of hostile Amalek and friendly Jethro (xvii, 8-xviii). (3) The giving of the Law at Sinai (xix-xxiv). (4) The tabernacle planned (xxv-xxvii). (5) The Aaronic priesthood and sundry sacred services ordained (xxviii-xxxi). (6) The backslidings of the people punished, and renewal of the covenant and laws (xxxii-xxxiv). (7) The tabernacle constructed, reared, and filled with the glory of Jehovah (xxxv-xl).

These different sections of Exodus are not designated by special headings, like those of Genesis, but are easily distinguished as so many subsidiary portions of one whole, to which each contributes its share, and in the light of which each is seen to have peculiar significance.

Many have taken in hand to set forth in order the course of thought in the Epistle to the Romans. There can be subject and no doubt, to those who have closely studied this epistle, Plan of the Epistle to the Romans. that, after his opening salutation and personal address, the apostle announces his great theme in verse 16 of the first chapter. It is *the Gospel considered as the power of God unto salvation to every believer, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek*. This is not formally announced as the thesis, but it manifestly expresses, in a happy personal way, the scope of the entire epistle. "It had for its end," says Alford, "the settlement, on the broad principles of God's truth and love, of the mutual relations and union in Christ of God's ancient people and the recently engrafted world. What wonder, then, if it be found to contain an exposition of man's unworthiness and God's redeeming love, such as not even Holy Scripture itself elsewhere furnishes?"¹

In the development of his plan the apostle first spreads out before

¹ Greek Testament; Prolegomena to Romans.

us an appalling portraiture of the heathen world, and adds, that even the Jew, with all his advantage of God's revelation, is under the same condemnation; for by the law the whole world is involved in sin, and exposed to the righteous judgment of God. This is the first division (i, 18-iii, 20). The second, which extends to the close of the eighth chapter, and ends with a magnificent expression of Christian confidence and hope, discusses and illustrates the proposition stated at its beginning: "Now, apart from law, a righteousness of God has been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets, even a righteousness of God through faith of Jesus Christ unto all them that believe" (iii, 21). Under this head we find unfolded the doctrine of justification by faith, and the progressive glorification of the new man through sanctification of the Spirit. Then follows the apostle's vindication of the righteousness of God in casting off the Jews and calling the Gentiles (chaps. ix-xi), an argument that exhibits throughout a yearning for Israel's salvation, and closes with an outburst of wondering emotion over the "depth of riches and wisdom and knowledge of God," and a doxology (xi, 33-36). The concluding chapters (xii-xvi) consist of a practical application of the great lessons of the epistle in exhortations, counsels, and precepts for the Church, and numerous salutations and references to personal Christian friends.

It will be found that a proper attention to this general plan and scope of the Epistle will greatly help to the understanding of its smaller sections.

Having ascertained the general scope and plan of a book of Scripture, we are more fully prepared to trace the context and bearings of its particular parts. The context, as we have observed, may be near or remote, according as we seek its immediate or more distant connexion with the particular word or passage in hand. It may run through a few verses or a whole section. The last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah exhibit a marked unity of thought and style, but they are capable of several subdivisions. The celebrated Messianic prophecy in chapters lii, 13-liii, 12, is a complete whole in itself, but most unhappily torn asunder by the division of chapters. But, though forming a clearly defined section by themselves, these fifteen verses must not be severed from their context, or treated as if they had no vital connexion with what precedes and what follows after. Alexander justly condemns "the radical error of supposing that the book is susceptible of distribution into detached and independent parts."¹ It has its divisions more or less clearly defined, but they cling to each other,

¹ *Later Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. 247. New York, 1847.

and are interwoven with each other, and form a living whole. It is beautifully observed by Nägelsbach, that "chapters xlix-lvii are like a wreath of glorious flowers intertwined with black ribbon; or like a song of triumph, through whose muffled tone there courses the melody of a dirge, yet so that gradually the mournful chords merge into the melody of the song of triumph. And at the same time the discourse of the prophet is arranged with so much art that the mourning ribbon ties into a great bow exactly in the middle. For chapter liii forms the middle of the entire prophetic cycle of chapters xl-lxvi."¹

The immediate connexion with what precedes may be thus seen: In lii, 1-12, the future salvation of Israel is glowingly depicted as a restoration more glorious than that from the bondage of Egypt or from Assyrian exile. Jerusalem awakes and rises from the dust of ruin; the captive is released from fetters; the feet of fleet messengers speed with good tidings, and the watchmen take up the glad report, and sound the cry of redemption. And then (verse 11) an exhortation is sounded to depart from all pollution and bondage, and the sublime exodus is contrasted (verse 12) with the hasty flight from Egypt, but with the assurance that, as of old, Jehovah would still be as the pillar of cloud and fire before them and behind them. At this our passage begins, and the thought naturally turns to the great Leader of this spiritual exodus—a greater than Moses, even though that ancient servant of Jehovah was faithful in all his house (Num. xii, 7). Our prophet proceeds to delineate Him whose sufferings and sorrows for the transgressions of his people far transcended those of Moses, and whose final triumph through the fruit of the travail of his soul shall be also infinitely greater.

The much-disputed passage in Matt. xi, 12 can be properly explained only by special regard to the context. Literally Matt. xi, 12 explained in the light of its context. translated, the verse reads: "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of the heavens suffers violence (*βιάζεται*), and violent ones are seizing upon it." There are seven different ways in which this passage has been explained.

1. The violence here mentioned is explained by one class of interpreters as a *hostile violence*—the kingdom is violently persecuted by its enemies, and violent persecutors seize on it as by storm. The words themselves would not unnaturally bear such a meaning, but we find nothing in the context to harmonize with a reference to hostile forces, or violent persecution.

2. Fritzsche translates *βιάζεται* by *magna vi praedicatur* (is

¹ Commentary on Isaiah, lii, 13, in Lange's Biblework.

proclaimed with great power); but this is contrary to the meaning of the word, and utterly without warrant.

3. The most common interpretation is that which takes *βιάζεσθαι* in a good sense, and explains it of the eager and anxious struggles of many to enter into the new kingdom of God. This view, however, is open to the twofold objection, that it does not allow the word *βιάζεσθαι* its proper significance, and it has no relevancy to the context. It could scarcely be said of the blind, the lame, the lepers, the deaf, the dead, and the poor, mentioned in verse 5, that they took the kingdom by violence, for whatever violence was exerted in their case proceeded not from them but from Christ.

4. According to Lange "the expression is metaphorical, denoting the violent bursting forth of the kingdom of heaven, as the kernel of the ancient theocracy, through the husk of the Old Testament. John and Christ are themselves the violent who take it by force—the former, as commencing the assault; the latter, as completing the conquest. Accordingly, this is a figurative description of the great era which had then commenced."¹ So far as this exposition might describe an era which began with John, it would certainly have relevancy to the immediate context; but no such era of a *violent* bursting forth of the kingdom of heaven had as yet opened. The kingdom of God was not yet come; it was only at hand. Besides, the making of both John and Christ the violent ones, in the sense of breaking open the husk of the Old Testament to let the kingdom of the heavens out, is a far-fetched and most improbable idea.

5. Others take *βιάζεσθαι* in a middle sense: the kingdom of heaven violently breaks in—forcibly introduces itself, or thrusts itself forward in spite of all opposition. This usage of the word may be allowed; but the interpretation it offers is open to the same objection as that of Lange just given. It cannot be shown that there was any such violent breaking in of the kingdom of God from the days of John the Baptist to the time when Jesus spoke these words. Besides, it is difficult, on this view, to explain satisfactorily the *βιασταί, violent ones*, mentioned immediately afterward.

6. Stier combines a good and a bad sense in the use of *βιάζεσθαι*: "The word has here no more and no less than its active sense, which passes into the middle. The kingdom of heaven proclaims itself *loudly and openly, breaking in with violence*; the poor are compelled (Luke xiv, 23) to enter it; those who oppose it are *constrained to take offence*. In short, all things proceed urgently with it; it goes with mighty movement and impulse; it works effectually

¹ Commentary, in loco.

upon all spirits on both sides and on all sides. . . . Its constraining power does violence to all; but it excites, at the same time, in the case of many, obstinate opposition. He who will not submit to it, must be offended and resist; and he, too, who yields to it, must press and struggle through this offence. Thus the kingdom of heaven *does* and *suffers* violence, *both* in its twofold influence."¹ Hence, according to Stier, the *violent ones* are either good or bad, since both classes are compelled to take some part in the general struggle, either for or against. This exposition, however, is without sufficient warrant in the history of the time, "from the days of John the Baptist until now," and it puts too many shades of meaning on the word *βιάσται*. Besides, this view also has no clear relevancy to the context.

7. We believe the true view will be attained only by giving each word its natural meaning, and keeping attention strictly to the context. The common meaning of *βιάζω* is to *take something by force*, to *carry by storm*, as a besieged city or fortress; and it here refers most naturally to the violent and hasty efforts to seize upon the kingdom of God which had been conspicuous since the beginning of the ministry of John. For this view seems to be demanded by the context. John had heard, in his prison, about the works of Christ, and, anxious and impatient for the glorious manifestation of the Messiah, sent two of his disciples to put the dubious question, "Art thou he that is coming, or look we for another?" (Matt. xi, 2, 3). Jesus' answer (verses 4-6) was merely a statement of his mighty works, and of the preaching of the Gospel to the poor—Old Testament prophetic evidence that the days of the Messiah were at hand—and the tacit rebuke: "Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended (*σκανδαλισθῇ find occasion of stumbling*) in me," was evidently meant for John's impatience. When John's disciples went away Jesus at once proceeded to speak of John's character and standing before the multitudes: When ye all flocked to the wilderness to hear John preach, did ye expect to find a wavering reed, or a finely dressed courtier? Or did ye expect, rather, to see a prophet? Yes, he exclaims, much more than a prophet. For he was the Messiah's messenger, himself prophesied of in the Scriptures (Mal. iii, 1). He was greater than all the prophets who were before him; for he stood upon the very verge of the Messianic era and introduced the Christ. But, with all his greatness, he misunderstands the kingdom of heaven; and from his days until now the kingdom of heaven suffers violence from many who, like him, think it may be forced into manifestation. That king-

¹ Words of the Lord Jesus, in loco.

dom comes according to an ordered progress. First, the prophets and the law until John—the Elijah foretold in Mal. iv, 5. John was but the forerunner of Christ, preparing his way, and Christ's manifestation in the flesh was not his coming in his kingdom. Herein, we think, expositors have generally misapprehended our Lord's doctrine. Thus Nast: "The Lord speaks of the absolutely certain and momentous fact that the kingdom of heaven has come, proclaims its presence, and sends forth its invitations in tones not to be misunderstood (verse 15)."¹ We believe, on the contrary, that this is a grave misunderstanding of our Lord's words. He neither says, nor necessarily implies, that his kingdom *has come*. John's preaching and Christ's preaching alike declared the kingdom to be at hand, and not fully come. Compare Matt. iii, 2 and iv, 17. But from the beginning of this gospel men had been over anxious to have the kingdom itself appear, and in this sense it was suffering violence, both by an inward impatience and zeal, such as John himself had just now exhibited, and by an open and outward clamour, such as was exhibited by those who would fain have taken Jesus by force and made him king (John vi, 15). This same kind of violence is to be understood in the parallel passage in Luke xvi, 16. The preaching of "the Gospel of the kingdom" was the occasion of a violence of attitude regarding it. Every man would fain enter violently into it.

The word *βιάζεσθαι*, accordingly, denotes not altogether a hostile violence, nor yet, on the other hand, a commendable zeal; but it may combine in a measure both of these conceptions. Stier finely says: "In a case where exegesis perseveringly disputes which of the two views of a passage capable of two senses is correct, it is generally found that both are one in a third deeper meaning, and that the disputants in both cases have both right and wrong in their argument."² The word in question may combine both the good and the bad senses of violence: not, however, in the manner in which Stier explains, as above, but as depicting the violent zeal of those who would hurry the kingdom of God into a premature manifestation. Such a zeal might be laudable in its general aim, but very mistaken in its spirit and plan, and therefore deserving of rebuke.

The context of Gal. v, 4, must be studied in order to apprehend the force and scope of the words: "Ye are fallen away from grace." The apostle is contrasting justification by faith in Christ with justification by an observance of the law, and he argues that these two are opposites, so that one

Gal. v, 4, to be explained by immediate context.

¹ English Commentary on Matthew, in loco.

² Words of the Lord Jesus, on Matt. xi, 12.

necessarily excludes the other. He who receives circumcision as a means of justification (verse 2) virtually excludes Christ, whose gospel calls for no such work. If one seeks justification in a law of works, he binds himself to keep the whole law (verse 3); for then not circumcision only, but the whole law, must be minutely observed. Then, with a marked emphasis and force of words, he adds: "Ye were severed from Christ, whoever of you are being (assuming to be) justified in law, ye fell away from grace." Ye cut yourselves off from the system of grace (τῆς χάριτος). The word *grace*, then, is here to be understood not as a gracious attainment of personal experience, but as the gospel system of salvation. From this system they apostatized who sought justification in law.

It will be obvious from the above that the connexion of thought in any given passage may depend on a variety of considerations. It may be a *historical* connexion, in that facts or events recorded are connected in a chronological sequence. It may be *historico-dogmatic*, in that a doctrinal discourse is connected with some historic fact or circumstance. It may be a *logical* connexion, in that the thoughts or arguments are presented in logical order; or it may be *psychological*, because dependent on some association of ideas. This latter often occasions a sudden breaking off from a line of thought, and may serve to explain some of the parenthetical passages and instances of *anacoluthon* so frequent in the writings of Paul.

The connexion may be historical, historico-dogmatic, logical, or psychological.

Too much stress cannot well be laid upon the importance of closely studying the context, scope, and plan. Many a passage of Scripture will not be understood at all without the help afforded by the context; for many a sentence derives all its point and force from the connexion in which it stands. So, again, a whole section may depend, for its proper exposition, upon our understanding the scope and plan of the writer's argument. How futile would be a proof text drawn from the Book of Job unless, along with the citation, it were observed whether it were an utterance of Job himself, or of one of his three friends, or of Elihu, or of the Almighty! Even Job's celebrated utterance in chapter xix, 25-27, should be viewed in reference to the scope of the whole book, as well as to his intense anguish and emotion at that particular stage of the controversy.¹

Importance of studying the context, scope, and plan.

¹ Some religious teachers are fond of employing scriptural texts simply as mottoes, with little or no regard to their true connexion. Thus they too often adapt them to their use by imparting to them a factitious sense foreign to their proper scope and meaning. The seeming gain in all such cases is more than counterbalanced by the loss and danger that attend the practice. It encourages the habit of interpreting

"In considering the connexion of parts in a section," says Davidson, "and the amount of meaning they express, acuteness and critical tact are much needed. We may be able to tell the significations of single terms, and yet be

utterly inadequate to unfold a continuous argument. A capacity for verbal analysis does not impart the talent of expounding an entire paragraph. Ability to discover the proper causes, the natural sequence, the pertinency of expressions to the subject discussed, and the delicate distinctions of thought which characterize particular kinds of composition, is distinct from the habit of carefully tracing out the various senses of separate terms. It is a higher faculty; not the child of diligence, but rather of original, intellectual ability. Attention may sharpen and improve, but cannot create it. All men are not endowed with equal acuteness, nor fitted to detect the latent links of associated ideas by their outward symbols. They cannot alike discern the idiosyncrasies of various writers as exhibited in their composition. But the verbal philologist is not necessarily incapacitated by converse with separate signs of ideas from unfolding the mutual bearings of an entire paragraph. Imbued with a philosophic spirit, he may successfully trace the connexion subsisting between the various parts of a book, while he notes the commencement of new topics, the propriety of their position, the interweaving of argumentation, interruptions and digressions, and all the characteristic peculiarities exhibited in a particular composition. In this he may be mightily assisted by a just perception of those particles which have been designated *ἔνθα πτερόεντα* [winged words], not less than by sympathy with the spirit of the author whom he seeks to understand. By placing himself as much as possible in the circumstances of the writer, and contemplating from the same elevation the important phenomena to which his rapt mind was directed, he will be in a favourable position for understanding the parts and proportions of a connected discourse."¹

Scripture in an arbitrary and fanciful way, and thus furnishes the teachers of error with their most effective weapon. The practice cannot be defended on any plea of necessity. The plain words of Scripture, legitimately interpreted according to their proper scope and context, contain a fulness and comprehensiveness of meaning sufficient for the wants of all men in all circumstances. That piety alone is robust and healthful which is fed, not by the fancies and speculations of the preacher who practically puts his own genius above the word of God, but by the pure doctrines and precepts of the Bible, unfolded in their true connexion and meaning. Barrows, *Introduction to the Study of the Bible*, p. 455.

¹ Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 240.

CHAPTER VII.

COMPARISON OF PARALLEL PASSAGES.

THERE are portions of Scripture in the exposition of which we are not to look for help in the context or scope. The Book of Proverbs, for example, is composed of numerous separate aphorisms, many of which have no necessary connection with each other. The book itself is divisible into several collections of proverbs; and separate sections, like that concerning the evil woman in chapter vii, and the words of wisdom in chapters viii and ix, have a unity and completeness in themselves, through which a connected train of thought is discernible. But many of the proverbs are manifestly without connexion with what precedes or follows. Thus the twentieth and twenty-first chapters of Proverbs may be studied ever so closely, and no essential connexion of thought appears to hold any two of the verses together. The same will be found true of other portions of this book, which from its very nature is a collection of apothegms, each one of which may stand by itself as a concise expression of aphoristic wisdom. Several parts of the Book of Ecclesiastes consist of proverbs, soliloquies, and exhortations, which appear to have no vital relation to each other. Such, especially, are to be found in chapters v-x. Accordingly, while the scope and general subject-matter of the entire book are easily discerned, many eminent critics have despaired of finding in it any definite plan or logical arrangement. The Gospels, also, contain some passages which it is impossible to explain as having any essential connexion with either that which precedes or follows.

On such isolated texts, as also on those not so isolated, a comparison of parallel passages of Scripture often throws much light. For words, phrases, and historical or doctrinal statements, which in one place are difficult to understand, are often set forth in clear light by the additional statements with which they stand connected elsewhere. Thus, as shown above (pp. 113-116), the comparatively isolated passage in Luke xvi, 16, is much more clear and comprehensive when studied in the light of its context in Matt. xi, 12. Without the help of parallel passages, some words and statements of the Scripture would scarcely be intelligible. As we ascertain the *usus loquendi* of words from a wide collation of passages

Some parts of
Scripture with-
out logical con-
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Value of paral-
lel passages.

in which they occur, so the sense of an entire passage may be elucidated by a comparison with its parallel in another place. "The employment of parallel passages," says Immer, "must go hand in hand with attention to the connexion. The mere explanation according to the connexion often fails to secure the certainty that is desired, at least in cases where the linguistic usage under consideration and the analogous thought cannot at the same time be otherwise established."¹

"In comparing parallels," says Davidson, "it is proper to observe a certain order. In the first place we should seek for parallels in the writings of the same author, as the same peculiarities of conception and modes of expression are liable to return in different works proceeding from one person. There is a certain configuration of mind which manifests itself in the productions of one man. Each writer is distinguished by a style more or less his own; by characteristics which would serve to identify him with the emanations of his intellect, even were his name withheld. Hence the reasonableness of expecting parallel passages in the writings of one author to throw most light upon each other."²

But we should also remember that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are a world by themselves. Although written at sundry times, and devoted to many different themes, taken altogether they constitute a self-interpreting book. The old rule, therefore, that "Scripture must be interpreted by Scripture," is a most important principle of sacred hermeneutics. But we must avoid the danger of overstepping in this matter. Some have gone too far in trying to make Daniel explain the Revelation of John, and it is equally possible to distort a passage in Kings or in Chronicles by attempting to make it parallel with some statement of Paul. In general we may expect to find the most valuable parallels in books of the same class. Historical passages will be likely to be paralleled with historical, prophetic with prophetic, poetic with poetic, and argumentative and hortatory with those of like character. Hosea and Amos will be likely to have more in common than Genesis and Proverbs; Matthew and Luke will be expected to be more alike than Matthew and one of the Epistles of Paul, and Paul's Epistles naturally exhibit many parallels both of thought and language.

Nor should we overlook the fact that almost all we know of the history of the Jewish people is embodied in the Bible. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books and the works of Josephus are the principal outside sources. These different books may, then, be

¹ Hermeneutics of the New Testament, p. 159.

² Hermeneutics, p. 251.

fairly expected to interpret themselves. Their spirit and purpose, their modes of thought and expression, their doctrinal teachings, and, to some extent, their general subject-matter, would be naturally expected to have a self-conformity. When, upon examination, we find that this is the case, we shall the more fully appreciate the importance of comparing all parallel portions and reading them in each other's light.

Parallel passages have been commonly divided into two classes, *verbal* and *real*, according as that which constitutes the parallel consists in words or in like subject-matter. Parallels verbal and real. Where the same word occurs in similar connexion, or in reference to the same general subject, the parallel is called verbal. The use of such parallel passages has been shown above in determining the meaning of words.¹ Real parallels are those similar passages in which the likeness or identity consists, not in words or phrases, but in facts, subjects, sentiments, or doctrines. Parallels of this kind are sometimes subdivided into historic and didactic, according as the subject-matter consists of historical events or matters of doctrine. But all these divisions are, perhaps, needless refinements. The careful expositor will consult all parallel passages, whether they be verbal, historical, or doctrinal; but in actual interpretation he will find little occasion to discriminate formally between these different classes.

The great thing to determine, in every case, is whether the passages adduced are really parallel. A verbal parallel Parallels must have a real correspondence. may be as real as one that embodies many corresponding sentiments, for a single word is often decisive of a doctrine or a fact. On the other hand, there may be a likeness of sentiment without any real parallelism. Proverbs xxii, 2, and xxix, 18, are usually taken as parallels, but a close inspection will show that though there is a marked similarity of sentiment, there is no essential identity or real parallelism. The first passage is: "Rich and poor meet together; maker of all of them is Jehovah." We need not assume that this *meeting together* is in the grave (Cognant) or in the *conflicts* (~~war~~) of life in a hostile sense. The second passage, properly rendered, is: "The poor and the man of oppressions meet together; an enlightener of the eyes of both of them is Jehovah." Here the *man of oppressions* is not necessarily a rich man; nor is *enlightener of the eyes* an equivalent of *maker* in xxii, 2. Hence, all that can be properly said of these two passages is, that they are similar in sentiment, but not strictly parallel or identical in sense.

¹See above, pages 84, 85.

A careful comparison of the parables of the talents (Matt. xxv, 14-30) and of the pounds (Luke xix, 11-27) will show that they have much in common, together with not a few things that are different. They were spoken at different times, in different places, and to different hearers. The parable of the talents deals only with the servants of the lord who went into a far country; that of the pounds deals also with his citizens and enemies who would not have him reign over them. Yet the great lesson of the necessity of diligent activity for the Lord in his absence is the same in both parables.

A comparison of parallel passages is necessary in order to determine the sense of the word *hate* in Luke xiv, 26: "If any one comes unto me, and hates not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, and even his own life besides, he cannot be my disciple." This statement appears at first to contravene the fifth commandment of the decalogue, and also to involve other unreasonable demands. It seems to stand opposed to the Gospel doctrine of love. But, turning to Matt. x, 37, we find the statement in a milder form, and woven in a context which serves to disclose its full force and bearing. There the statement is: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." The immediate context of this verse (verses 34-39), a characteristic passage of our Lord's more ardent utterances, sets its meaning in a clear light. "Do not think," he says, verse 34, "that I came to send peace

on the earth; I came not to send peace but a sword." He sees a world lying in wickedness, and exhibiting all forms of opposition to his messages of truth. With such a world he can make no compromise, and have no peace without, first, a bitter conflict. Such conflict he, therefore, purposely invites. He will conquer a peace, or else have none at all. "The telic style of expression is not only rhetorical, indicating that the result is unavoidable, but what Jesus expresses is a purpose—not the final design of his coming, but an intermediate purpose—in seeing clearly presented to his view the reciprocally hostile excitement as a necessary transition, which he therefore, in keeping with his destiny as Messiah, must be sent first of all to bring forth."¹ Before his final purpose is accomplished he sees what bitter strifes must come; but the grand result will be well worth all the intermediate woes. Therefore he will call father, mother, child, although it cause many household divisions; and so he adds, as explaining how he will send

Matt. x, 34-39.

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¹ Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Commentary, in loco.

a sword rather than peace: "For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household." When this state of things shall come to pass, how many will be called upon to decide whether they will cleave to Christ, or to an unchristian father? Micah's words (vii, 6) will then be true. Son will oppose father, daughter will rise up against mother, and if one remains true to the Lord Christ, he will have to forsake his own household and kin. He cannot be a true disciple and love his parents or children more than Christ. Hence he must needs set them aside, forsake them, love them less, and even oppose them, assuming toward them the hostile attitude of an enemy for Christ's sake. The import of *hate*, in Luke xiv, 26, is accordingly made clear.

This peculiar meaning of the word is further confirmed by its use in Matt. vi, 24: "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else Matt. vi, 24. he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." Two masters, so opposite in nature as God and Mammon, cannot be loved and served at one and the same time. The love of the one necessarily excludes the love of the other, and neither will be served with a divided heart. In the case of such essential opposites, a lack of love for one amounts to a disloyal enmity—the root of all hatred. Another parallel, illustrative of this impressive teaching, is to be found in Deut. xiii, 6-11, where it is enjoined that, if brother, son, daughter, wife, or friend entice one to idolatry, he shall not only not consent, but he shall not have pity on the seducer, and shall take measures to have him publicly punished as an enemy of God and his people. Hence we derive the lesson that one who opposes our love and loyalty to God or Christ is the worst possible enemy. Compare also John xii, 25; Rom. ix, 13; Mal. i, 2, 3; Deut. xxi, 15.

The true interpretation of Jesus' words to Peter, in Matt. xvi, 18, will be fully apprehended only by a comparison and careful study of all the parallel texts. Jesus says to Peter, "Thou art Peter (*πέτρος*), and upon this *petra* (or *rock*, *ἐπὶ* Peter a living stone. Matt. xvi, 16-18. *ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ*), will I build my Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against her." How is it possible from this passage alone to decide whether the rock (*πέτρα*) refers to Christ (as Augustine and Wordsworth), or to Peter's confession (Luther and many Protestant divines), or to Peter himself? It is noticeable that in the parallel passages of Mark (viii, 27-30) and Luke (ix, 18-21) these words of Christ to Peter do not occur. The

immediate context presents us with Simon Peter, as the spokesman and representative of the disciples, answering Jesus' question with the bold and confident confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Jesus was evidently moved by the fervid words of Peter, and said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood revealed it not to thee; but my Father who is in the heavens." Whatever knowledge and convictions of Jesus' messiahship and divinity the disciples had attained before, this noble confession of Peter possessed the newness and glory of a special revelation. It was not the offspring of "flesh and blood," that is, not of natural human birth or origin, but the spontaneous outburst of a divine inspiration from heaven. Peter was for the moment caught up by the Spirit of God, and, in the glowing fervour of such inspiration, spoke the very word of the Father. He was accordingly pronounced the blessed (*μακάριος*) or happy one.

Turning now to the narrative of Simon's introduction to the Saviour (John i, 41-43), we compare the first mention of the name Peter. He was led into the presence of Jesus by his own brother Andrew, and Jesus, gazing on him, said, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonah; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter" (*πέτρος*). Thus, at the beginning, he tells him what he *is* and what he *shall be*. A doubtful character at that time was Simon, the son of Jonah; irritable, impetuous, unstable, irresolute; but Jesus saw a coming hour when he would become the bold, strong, abiding, memorable stone (Peter), the typical and representative confessor of the Christ. Reverting again to the passage in Matthew, it is easy to see that, through his inspired confession of the Christ, the Son of the living God, Simon has attained the ideal foreseen and foretold by his Lord. He has now become *Peter* indeed; now "thou art Peter," not "shalt be called Peter." Accordingly, we cannot avoid the conviction that the manifest play on the words *petros* and *petra* (in Matt. xvi, 18,) has a designed and important significance, and also an allusion to the first bestowal of the name on Simon (John i, 43); as if the Lord had said: Remember, Simon, the significant name I gave thee at our first meeting. Then I said, *Thou shalt be called Peter*; now I say unto thee, *Thou art Peter*.

But there is doubtless a designed significance in the change from *Petros* and *petros* to *petra*, in Matt. xvi, 18. It is altogether probable that there was a corresponding change in the Aramaic words used by our Lord on this occasion. He may, perhaps, have employed merely the simple and emphatic forms of the Aramaic word *Cephas* (ܦܬܪܐ and ܦܬܪܐ). What, then, is meant by

the *πέτρα*, *petra*, on which Christ builds his Church? In answering this question we inquire what other scriptures say about the building of the Church, and in Eph. ii, 20-22 we find it written that Christian believers constitute "the household of God, having been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, grows unto a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit." Having made the natural and easy transition from the figure of a household to that of the structure in which the household dwells, the apostle speaks of the latter as "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets." The *prophets* here intended are doubtless the New Testament prophets referred to in chapters iii, 5 and iv, 11.

The foundation of the apostles and prophets has been explained (1) as a genitive of *apposition*—the foundation which is constituted of apostles and prophets; that is, the apostles and prophets are themselves the foundation (so Chrysostom, Olshausen, De Wette, and many others); (2) as a genitive of the *originating cause*—the foundation laid by the apostles (Calvin, Koppe, Harless, Meyer, Eadie, Ellicott); (3) as a genitive of *possession*—the apostles and prophets' foundation, that is, the foundation upon which they as well as all other believers are builded (Beza, Bucer, Alford). We believe that in the breadth and fulness of the apostle's conception, there is room for all these thoughts, and a wider comparison of Scripture corroborates this view. In Gal. ii, 9, James, Cephas, and John are spoken of as *pillars* (στυλοί), foundation-pillars, or columnar supports of the Church. In the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem, which is "the bride, the wife of the Lamb" (Rev. xxi, 9), it is said that "the wall of the city has twelve foundations, and upon them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (Rev. xxi, 14). Here it is evident that the apostles are conceived as foundation-stones, forming the substructure of the Church; and with this conception "the foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii, 20) may be taken as genitive of apposition. But in 1 Cor. iii, 10, the apostle speaks of himself as a wise architect, laying a foundation (θεμέλιον ἔθηκα, a foundation I laid). Immediately after (verse 11) he says: "Other foundation can no one lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." This foundation Paul himself laid when he founded the Church of Corinth, and first made known there the Lord Jesus Christ. Having once laid this foundation, no man could lay another, although he

might build thereupon. Paul himself could not have laid another had some one else been first to lay this foundation in Corinth (compare Rom. xv, 20). How he laid this foundation he tells in chap. ii, 1-5, especially when he says (verse 2) "I determined not to know any thing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified." So then, in this sense, Ephesians ii, 20 may be taken as genitive of the originating cause—the foundation which the apostles laid. At the same time we need not overlook or ignore the fact presented in 1 Cor. iii, 11, that Jesus is himself the foundation, that is, Jesus Christ—including his person, work, and doctrine—is the great fact on which the Church is built, and without which there could be no redemption. Hence the Church itself, according to 1 Tim. iii, 15, is the "pillar and basis (*ἐδραίωμα*) of the truth." Accordingly we hold that the expression "foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii, 20) has a fulness of meaning which may include all these thoughts. The apostles were themselves incorporated in this foundation, and made pillars or foundation stones: they, too, were instrumental in laying this foundation and building upon it; and having laid it in Christ, and working solely through Christ, without whom they could do nothing, Jesus Christ himself, as preached by them, was also conceived as the underlying basis and foundation of all (1 Cor. iii, 11).

Another Scripture, in 1 Peter ii, 4, 5, should also be collated ¹ Peter ii, 4, 5, here, for it was written by the apostle to whom the compared. words of Matt. xvi, 18, were addressed, and seems to have been with him a thought that lingered like a precious memory in the soul: "To whom (i. e., the gracious Lord just mentioned) approaching, a living stone, by men indeed disallowed, but before God chosen, precious, do ye also yourselves, as living stones, be built up a spiritual house." Here the Lord is himself presented as the elect and precious corner-stone (comp. verse 6), and at the same time Christian believers are also represented as living stones, built into the same spiritual temple.

Coming back now to the text in Matt. xvi, 18, which Schaff pronounces "one of the profoundest and most far-reaching prophetic, but, at the same time, one of the most controverted, sayings of the Saviour,"¹ we are furnished, by the above collation of cognate Scriptures, with the means of apprehending its true import and significance. Filled with a divine inspiration, Peter confessed his Lord Christ, to the glory of God the Father (compare 1 John iv, 15, and Rom. x, 9), and in that blessed attainment and confession he be-

¹ Lange's Commentary on Matthew, translated and annotated by Philip Schaff, p. 293. New York, 1864. Compare also Meyer, Alford, and Nast, in loco.

came the representative or ideal Christian confessor. In view of this, Jesus says to him: Now thou art Peter; thou art become a living stone, the type and representative of the multitude of living stones upon which I will build my Church. The change from the masculine *πέτρος* to the feminine *πέτρα* fittingly indicates that it is not so much on Peter, the man, the single and separate individual, as on Peter considered as the confessor, the type and representative of all other Christian confessors, who are to be "builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. ii, 22).

In the light of all these Scriptures we may see the impropriety and irrelevancy of what has been the prevailing Protestant interpretation, namely, making the *πέτρα*, rock, to be Peter's confession. "Every building," says Nast, "must have foundation stones. What is the foundation of the Christian Church *on the part of man*? Is it not—what Peter exhibited—a faith wrought in the heart by the Holy Ghost, and a confession with the mouth that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God? But this believing with the heart and confessing with the mouth is something personal; it cannot be separated from the living personality that believes and confesses. The Church consists of living men, and its foundation cannot be a mere abstract truth or doctrine apart from the living personality in which it is embodied. This is in accordance with the whole New Testament language, in which not doctrines or confessions, but men, are uniformly called pillars or foundations of the spiritual building."¹

It is well known how large a portion of the three synoptic Gospels consists of parallel narratives of the words and works of

¹ Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in loco. To the Roman Catholic interpretation, which explains these words as investing Peter and his successors with a permanent primacy at Rome, Schaff opposes the following insuperable objections: (1) It obliterates the distinction between *petros* and *petra*; (2) it is inconsistent with the true nature of the architectural figure: the foundation of a building is one and abiding, and not constantly renewed and changed; (3) it confounds priority of time with permanent superiority of rank; (4) it confounds the apostolate, which, strictly speaking, is not transferable, but confined to the original personal disciples of Christ and inspired organs of the Holy Spirit, with the post-apostolic episcopate; (5) it involves an injustice to the other apostles, who, as a body, are expressly called the foundation or foundation-stones of the Church; (6) it contradicts the whole spirit of Peter's epistles, which is strongly antihierarchical, and disclaims any superiority over his 'fellow-presbyters;'; (7) finally, it rests on gratuitous assumptions which can never be proven either exegetically or historically, viz., the transferability of Peter's primacy, and its actual transfer upon the bishop, not of Jerusalem, nor of Antioch (where Peter certainly was), but of Rome exclusively." See Lange's Matthew, in loco, page 297.

Jesus. St. Paul's account of the appearances of Jesus after the resurrection (xv, 4-7), and of the institution of the Lord's Supper (xi, 23-26), are well worthy of comparison with the several Gospel narratives.¹ The Epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Galatians, being each so largely devoted to the doctrine of righteousness through faith, should be studied together, for they have many parallels which help to illustrate each other. Not a few parallel passages of the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles throw light upon each other. The second and third chapters of 2 Peter should be studied and expounded in connexion with the Epistle of Jude. The genealogies of Genesis, Chronicles, and Matthew and Luke, should be compared, as also large sections of the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. We have in the Acts of the Apostles three separate accounts of Paul's conversion (chaps. ix, xxii, and xxvi), and all these illustrate and supplement each other. The many passages of the Old Testament which are quoted or referred to in the New, are also parallels; but they are so specific in their nature as to call for special treatment in a future chapter.

¹ More than common discretion must be exercised by the interpreter of the New Testament with regard to the parallel passages in the Gospels, particularly in the synoptical Gospels. With respect to the latter chiefly, they often relate the same thing, sometimes they communicate the same conversation or saying of Jesus, but not in the same words. We have here, then, different accounts of the same occurrence or thing. But now the interpreter has no right to conclude from one evangelist to another without any limitation, and e. g. to explain and supplement the words of the Saviour, as recorded by one narrator, out of the account of another. For, in any difference in the accounts, the question is, *what* Jesus actually said. We must commence there, by making a distinction between what was actually said and what is communicated concerning it; and with this last the interpreter has to deal. For instance, according to Matt. vi, 11, Jesus taught them to pray in the "Lord's Prayer:" Give us "this day" our daily bread; according to Luke xi, 3: Give us "day by day," etc. Now we have no right to say: therefore, this day — day by day. In the same prayer Matthew has it: "as we forgive," etc. (thus, standard); Luke: "for we also forgive," etc. (thus, reason for hearing the prayer). Now we may not say that the one is equal to the other. In like manner, also, we may not explain 1 Cor. xiv and Acts ii, 4-13 out of each other, and so confound them with each other. In the latter passage there is indeed mention of other (strange) languages (*ἑτέραι γλώσσαι*), in the former, on the contrary, not a word is said of "other" languages, but of tongues (*γλώσσαι*); and in Acts ii the context of the narrative compels us quite as much to think of strange languages, as the context in 1 Cor. xiv decidedly forbids it.—Doedes, *Manual of Hermeneutics*, pp. 100, 101.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORICAL STANDPOINT.

It is of the first importance, in interpreting a written document, to ascertain who the author was, and to determine the time, the place, and the circumstances of his writing. Importance of the historical standpoint. The interpreter should, therefore, endeavour to take himself from the present, and to transport himself into the historical position of his author, look through his eyes, note his surroundings, feel with his heart, and catch his emotion. Herein we note the import of the term *grammatico-historical* interpretation. We are not only to grasp the grammatical import of words and sentences, but also to feel the force and bearing of the historical circumstances which may in any way have affected the writer. Hence, too, it will be seen how intimately connected may be the object or design of a writing and the occasion which prompted its composition. The individuality of the writer, his local surroundings, his wants and desires, his relation to those for whom he wrote, his nationality and theirs, the character of the times when he wrote—all these matters are of the first importance to a thorough interpretation of the several books of Scripture.

A knowledge of geography, history, chronology, and antiquities, has already been mentioned as an essential qualification of the biblical interpreter.¹ Especially should he have Extensive historical knowledge necessary. a clear conception of the order of events connected with the whole course of sacred history, such as the contemporaneous history, so far as it may be known, of the great nations and tribes of patriarchal times; the great world-powers of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, with which the Israelites at various times came in contact; the Macedonian Empire, with its later Ptolemaic and Seleucidaic branches, from which the Jewish people suffered many woes, and the subsequent conquest and dominion of the Romans. The exegete should be able to take his standpoint anywhere along this line of history wherever he may find the age of his author, and thence vividly grasp the outlying circumstances. He should seek a familiarity with the customs, life, spirit, ideas, and pursuits of these different times and different tribes and

¹ See above, pp. 26, 27.

nations, so as to distinguish readily what belonged to one and what to another. By such knowledge he will be able not only to transport himself into any given age, but also to avoid confounding the ideas of one age or race with those of another.

It is not an easy task for one to disengage himself from the living present, and thus transport himself into a past age. To transfer oneself vividly into the remote past not easy. As we advance in general knowledge, and attain a higher civilization, we unconsciously grow out of old habits and ideas. We lose the spirit of the olden times, and become filled with the broader generalization and more scientific procedures of modern thought. The immensity of the universe, the vast accumulations of human study and research, the influence of great civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and the power of traditional sentiment and opinions, govern and shape our modes of thought to an extent we hardly know. To tear oneself away from these, and go back in spirit to the age of Moses, or David, or Isaiah, or Ezra, or of Matthew and Paul, and assume the historic standpoint of any of those writers, so as to see and feel as they did—this surely is no easy task. Yet, if we truly catch the spirit and feel the living force of the ancient oracles of God, we need to apprehend them somewhat as they first thrilled the hearts of those for whom they were immediately given.

Not a few devout readers of the Bible are so impressed with exalted ideas of the glory and sanctity of the ancient worthies, that they are liable to take the record of their lives in an unnatural light. Undue exaltation of biblical saints to be avoided. To some it is difficult to believe that Moses and Paul were not acquainted with the events of modern times. The wisdom of Solomon, they imagine, must have comprehended all that man can know. Isaiah and Daniel must have discerned all future events as clearly as if they had already occurred. The writers of the New Testament must have known what a history and an influence their lifework would possess in after ages. To such minds the names of Abraham, Jacob, Joshua, Jephthah, and Samson, are so associated with holy thoughts and supernatural revelations that they half forget that they were men of like passions with ourselves. Such an undue exaltation of the sanctity of the biblical saints will be likely to interfere with a true historical exposition. The divine call and inspiration of prophets and apostles did not nullify or set aside their natural human powers, and the biblical interpreter should not allow his vision to be so dazzled by the glory of their divine mission as to make him blind to facts of their history. Abraham's cunning and deceit, conspicuous also in Isaac and Jacob, Moses'

hasty passions, and the barbarous brutality of most of the judges and kings of Israel, are not to be explained away. They are facts which the interpreter must fully recognize; and the more fully and vividly all such facts are realized and set in their true light and bearing, the more accurately shall we apprehend the real import of the Scriptures.

In the exposition of the Psalms, one of the first things to inquire after is the personal standpoint of the author. "The historical occasions of the Psalms," says Hibbard, "have Historical occasions of the Psalms. ever been regarded, by judicious commentators, as important aids to their interpretation, and the full exhibition of their beauty and power. In the explanation of a work on exact science, or of a metaphysical essay, no importance is attached to the external circumstances and place of the author at the time of writing. In such a case the work has no relation to passing events, but to the abstract and essential relations of things. Very different is the language of poetry, and indeed of almost all such books as the sacred Scriptures are, which were at first addressed to a particular people, or to particular individuals, for their moral benefit, and much of them occupied with the personal experiences of their authors. Here occasion, contact with outward things, the influence of external circumstances and of passing events, play a conspicuous part in giving mould and fashion to the thoughts and feelings of the writer, scope and design to his subject, and meaning and pertinency to his words. It may be said of the Hebrew poets, as of those of all other nations, that the interpretation of their poetry is less dependent on verbal criticism than on sympathy with the feelings of the author, knowledge of his circumstances, and attention to the scope and drift of his utterances. You must place yourself in his condition, adopt his sentiments, and be floated onward with the current of his feelings, soothed by his consolations, or agitated by the storm of his emotions."¹

Of many of the Psalms it is impossible now to determine the historical standpoint; but not a few of them are so clear in their allusions as to leave no reasonable doubt as to the occasion on which they were composed. There is, for example, no good reason for doubting the genuineness of the inscription to the third psalm, which refers the composition to David when he fled from the face of his son Absalom. "From verse 5 we gather," says Perowne, "that the psalm is a morning hymn. With returning day there comes back on the monarch's heart the recollection of

¹ The Psalms, Chronologically Arranged, with Historical Introductions, General Introduction, page 12. New York, 1856.

the enemies who threaten him—a nation up in arms against him, his own son heading the rebellion, his wisest and most trusted counsellor in the ranks of his foes (2 Sam. xv–xvii). Never, not even when hounded by Saul, had he found his position one of greater danger. The odds were overwhelmingly against him. This is a fact which he does not attempt to hide from himself: ‘How *many* are mine enemies;’ ‘*many* rise up against me;’ ‘*many* say to my soul;’ ‘*ten thousands* of the people have set themselves against me’ (verses 1, 2, 6). Meanwhile, where are his friends, his army, his counsellors? Not a word of allusion to any of them in the psalm. Yet he is not crushed; he is not desponding. Enemies may be thick as the leaves of the forest, and earthly friends may be few, or uncertain, or far off. But there is one Friend who cannot fail him, and to him David turns with a confidence and affection which lift him above all his fears. Never had he been more sensible of the reality and preciousness of the divine protection. If he was surrounded by his enemies, Jehovah was his shield. If Shimei and his crew turned his glory into shame, Jehovah was his glory. If they sought to revile and degrade him, Jehovah was the lifter-up of his head. Nor did the mere fact of distance from Jerusalem separate between him and his God. He had sent back the ark and the priests, for he would not endanger their safety, and he did not trust in them as a charm, and he knew that Jehovah could still hear him from ‘his holy mountain’ (verse 4), could still lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and put gladness in his heart (Psa. iv, 6, 7). Sustained by Jehovah, he had laid him down and slept in safety; trusting in the same mighty protection he would lie down again to rest. Enemies might taunt him, (verse 2), and friends might fail him, but the victory was Jehovah’s, and he could break the teeth of the ungodly” (iii, 7, 8).’

The historical standpoint of a writer is so often intimately connected with his situation at the date of writing, that Consider the place as well as the time of the composition. both the time and the place of the composition should be considered together. The locality of the incidents recorded should also be closely studied and pictured before the mind. It adds much to one’s knowledge and appreciation of biblical history to visit the lands trodden by patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Seeing Palestine is, indeed, a fifth gospel. A personal visit to Beer-sheba, Hebron, Jerusalem, Joppa, Nazareth, and the Sea of Galilee, affords a realistic sense of sacred narratives connected with these places such as cannot otherwise be had. The

¹The Book of Psalms, New Translation, with Introductions and Notes. Introduction to Psalm iii. Andover, 1876.

decatalogue and the laws of Moses become more awful and impressive when read upon Mount Sinai, and the Lord's agony in the garden thrills the soul with deeper emotion when meditated in the Kedron valley, beneath the old trees at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

What a vividness and reality appear in the Epistles of Paul when we study them in connexion with the account of his ^{Journeys and Epistles of Paul.} apostolic journeys and labours, and the physical and political features of the countries through which he passed! Setting out from Antioch on his second missionary tour, accompanied by Silas, he passed through Syria and Cilicia, visiting, doubtless, his early home at Tarsus (Acts xv, 40, 41). Thence he passed over the vast mountain-barrier on the north of Cilicia, and, after visiting Derbe and Lystra, where he attached Timothy to him as a companion in travel, he went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, where, notwithstanding his physical infirmity, he was received as an angel of God (Gal. iv, 13). Passing westward, and having been forbidden to preach in the western parts of Asia Minor (Acts xvi, 6), he came with his companions to Troas. "The district of Troas," observes Howson, "extending from Mt. Ida to the plain, watered by the Simois and the Scamander, was the scene of the Trojan War; and it was due to the poetry of Homer that the ancient name of Priam's kingdom should be retained. This shore had been visited on many memorable occasions by the great men of this world. Xerxes passed this way when he undertook to conquer Greece. Julius Cæsar was here after the battle of Pharsalia. But, above all, we associate this spot with a European conqueror of Asia, and an Asiatic conqueror of Europe, with Alexander of Macedon and Paul of Tarsus. For here it was that the enthusiasm of Alexander was kindled at the tomb of Achilles by the memory of his heroic ancestors; here he girded on his armour, and from this goal he started to overthrow the august dynasties of the East. And now the great apostle rests in his triumphal progress upon the same poetic shore; here he is armed by heavenly visitants with the weapons of a warfare that is not carnal, and hence he is sent forth to subdue all the powers of the West, and bring the civilization of the world into captivity to the obedience of Christ."¹

After the vision and the Macedonian call received at this place, he sailed from Troas and came to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, the scene of many memorable events (Acts xvi, 12-40), and thence on through Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, and Berea, to

¹ Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i, page 280. Fourth American Edition. New York, 1855.

Athens. There Paul waited, alone (comp. 1 Thess. iii, 1), for his companions, but failed not meanwhile to preach the Gospel to the inquisitive Athenians, "standing in the midst of the Areopagus" (Acts xvii, 22). After this he passed on to Corinth, and founded there the Church to which he subsequently addressed two of his most important epistles. From Corinth, soon after his arrival, he sent his first epistle to the Thessalonians. From this standpoint how lifelike and real are all the personal allusions and reminiscences of this his first epistle! But that letter, in its vivid allusions to the near coming of the Lord, awakened great excitement among the Thessalonians, and only a few months afterward we find him writing his second epistle to them to allay this trouble of their minds, and to assure them that that day is not so near but that several important events must first come to pass (2 Thessa. ii, 1-8). A grouping of all these facts and suggestions adds vastly to one's interest in the study of Paul's epistles.

Without pursuing further the course of the apostles life and labours, enough has been said to show what light and interest a knowledge of the time and place of writing gives to the Epistles of Paul. The situation and condition of the churches and persons addressed in his epistles should also be carefully sought out. His subsequent epistles, especially those to the Corinthians, and those of his imprisonment, would be shorn of half their interest and value but for the knowledge we elsewhere obtain of the persons, incidents, and places to which references are made. What a tender charm hangs about the Epistle to the Philippians from our knowledge of the apostle's first experiences in that Roman colony, his subsequent visits there, and the thought that he is writing from his imprisonment in Rome, and making frequent mention of his bonds (Phil. i, 7, 13, 14), and of their former kindnesses toward him (iv, 15-18).¹

Thorough inquiries into the narratives of Scripture have evinced the minute accuracy of the sacred writers, and silenced such inquiries as silence infidel many cavils of infidelity. The treatise of James Smith on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul² furnishes an unanswerable argument for the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles. The author's practical experience as a sailor, his residence at Malta, his familiar intercourse with the seamen of the Levant, and his study of the ships of the ancients, qualified him

¹ Stanley's History of the Jewish Church, Farrar's and Geikie's works on the Life of Christ, and Farrar's, Conybeare and Howson's, and Lewin's Life and Epistles of St. Paul, are especially rich in illustrations of the subject of this chapter.

² Third Edition. London, 1866.

pre-eminently to expound the last two chapters of the Acts. His volume is a monument of painstaking research, and throws more light upon the narrative of Paul's voyage from Cæsarea to Rome than all that had been written previously on that subject.¹

The great importance of ascertaining the historical standpoint of an author is notably illustrated by the controversy over the date of the Apocalypse of John. If that prophetic book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, a number of its particular allusions must most naturally be understood as referring to that city and its fall. If, however, it was written at the end of the reign of Domitian (about A. D. 96), as many have believed, another system of interpretation is necessary to explain the historical allusions.

Taking, first, the external evidence touching the date of the Apocalypse, it seems to us that no impartial mind can fail to see that it preponderates in favor of the later date. But when we scrutinize the character and extent of this evidence, it seems equally clear that no very great stress can safely be laid upon it. For it all turns upon the single testimony of Irenæus, who wrote, according to the best authorities, about one hundred years after the death of John, and who says that in boyhood he had seen and conversed with Polycarp, and heard him speak of his familiar intercourse with John.² This fact would, of course, make his testimony of peculiar value, but, at the same time, it should be borne in mind that at an early age he removed to

The historical standpoint of the Apocalypse.

External testimony hangs on Irenæus.

¹ The following passage from Lewin is a noteworthy illustration of the value of personal research in refuting captious objections to the historical accuracy of the Bible. "It is objected to the account of the viper fastening upon Paul's hand," says Lewin, "that there is no wood in Malta, except at Bosquetta, and that there are no vipers in Malta. How, then, it is said, could the apostle have collected the sticks, and how could a viper have fastened upon his hand? But when I visited the Bay of St. Paul, in 1851, by sea, I observed trees growing in the vicinity, and there were also fig-trees growing among the rocks at the water's edge where the vessel was wrecked. But there is a better explanation still. When I was at Malta in 1853, I went with two companions to the Bay of St. Paul by land, and this was at the same season of the year as when the wreck occurred. We now noticed on the shore, just opposite the scene of the wreck, eight or nine stacks of small faggots, and in the nearest stack I counted twenty-five bundles. They consisted of a kind of thorny heather, and had evidently been cut for firewood. As we strolled about, my companions, whom I had quitted to make an observation, put up a viper, or a reptile having the appearance of one, which escaped into the bundle of sticks. It may not have been poisonous, but was like an adder, and was quite different from the common snake; one of my fellow-travellers was quite familiar with the difference between snakes and adders, and could not well be mistaken."—*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii, page 208.

² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, book v, chap. xx.

the remote West, and became bishop of Lyons, in France, far from the associations of his early life. It would, therefore, have been no strange thing if he had somewhat confounded names and dates. His testimony is as follows: "We therefore do not run the risk of pronouncing positively concerning the name of the Antichrist [hidden in the number 666, Rev. xiii, 18], for if it were necessary to have his name distinctly announced at the present time, it would doubtless have been announced by him who saw the Apocalypse; for it is not a great while ago that it [or he] was seen (*οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη*), but almost in our own generation, toward the end of Domitian's reign."¹ Here it should be noted that the subject of the verb *ἑωράθη*, *was seen*, is ambiguous, and may be either *it*, referring to the Apocalypse, or *he*, referring to John himself. But allowing it to refer to the Apocalypse, we have then this testimony to the later date.

But what external testimony have we besides? Only Eusebius, who lived and wrote a hundred years after Irenæus, and who expressly quotes Irenæus as his authority.² He also quotes Clement of Alexandria as saying that "after the tyrant was dead" John returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus.³ But it nowhere appears that Clement indicated who the tyrant was, or that he believed him to have been Domitian. It is Eusebius who puts that meaning in his words, and it is matter of notoriety that Eusebius himself, after quoting various opinions, leaves the question of the authorship of the Apocalypse in doubt.⁴ Origen's testimony is also adduced, but he merely says that John was condemned by "the king of the Romans," not intimating at all who that king was, but calling attention to the fact that John himself did not name his persecutor. All other testimonies on the subject are later than these, and consequently of little or no value. If Eusebius was dependent on Irenæus for his information, it is not likely that later writers drew from any other source. But that the voice of antiquity was not altogether uniform on this subject may be inferred from the fact that an ancient fragment of a Latin document, probably as old as Irenæus' writings, mentions Paul as following the order of his predecessor John in writing to seven churches. The value of this ancient fragment is its evidence of a current notion that John's Apocalypse was written before the decease of Paul. Epiphanius dates John's banishment in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and the superscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse

¹ *Adversus Hæreses*, v, 30.

² See *Eccles. History*, book iii, 18 and v, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, book iii, 23.

⁴ See especially Alford's *Prolegomena to the Revelation*.

places it in the reign of Nero.¹ No one would lay great stress upon any of these later statements, but putting them all together, and letting the naked facts stand apart, shorn of all the artful colourings of partisan writers, we find the external evidence of John's writing the Apocalypse at the close of Domitian's reign resting on the sole testimony of Irenæus, who wrote a hundred years after that date, and whose words admit of two different meanings.

One clear and explicit testimony, when not opposed by other evidence, would be allowed by all fair critics to control the argument; but not so when many other considerations tend to weaken it. It would seem much easier to account for the confusion of tradition on the date of John's banishment than to explain away the definite references of the Apocalypse itself to the temple, the court, and the city as still standing when the book was written. All tradition substantially agrees, that John's last years of labour were spent among the churches of Western Asia, and it is very possible that he was banished to the isle of Patmos during the reign of Domitian. That banishment may have occurred long after John had gone to the same island for another reason, and later writers, misapprehending the apostle's words, might have easily confounded the two events.

John's own testimony is that he "was in the island which is called Patmos on account of the word of God (*διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*) and the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. i, 9). John's own testimony. Alford says, though he does not adopt this meaning, that "in St. Paul's usage, *διὰ* would here signify *for the sake of*; that is, for the purpose of receiving; so that the apostle would have gone to Patmos [not as an exile, but] by special revelation in order to receive this Apocalypse. Again, keeping to this meaning of *διὰ*, these words may mean that he visited Patmos in pursuance of, for the purposes of, his ordinary apostolic employment, which might well be designated by these substantives."² This proper and all-suffi-

¹ See Stuart, Commentary on the Apocalypse, vol. i, pp. 265-269.

² Greek Testament, in loco. See also De Wette, in loco. Alford's "three objections" appear to us without force; for (1) the mention of *tribulation* and *patience* in this verse by no means requires us to understand that he was then suffering from banishment. (2) The parallels (chap. vi, 9; xx, 4) which he cites to determine the use of *διὰ* are offset by its use in ii, 3; iv, 11; xii, 11; xiii, 14; xviii, 10, 15, in all which places, as also in vi, 9 and xx, 4, it is to be understood as setting forth the *ground* or *reason* of what is stated. This meaning holds alike, whether we believe that John went to Patmos *freely* or as an exile, *on account* of the word of God. Comp. Winer, N. T. Grammar, § 49, on *διὰ*. (3) The traditional banishment of John to Patmos may have occurred, as we have shown above, long after he had first gone there *on account* of the testimony of Jesus.

cient explanation of his words allows us to suppose that John received the Revelation in Patmos, whither he had gone, either by some special divine call, or in pursuance of his apostolic labours. The tradition, therefore, of his exile under Domitian may be true, and at the same time not affect the question of the date of the Apocalypse.¹

Turning now to inquire what internal evidence may be found touching the historical standpoint of the writer, observe:
Internal evidence of date. Six points. (1) That no critic of any note has ever claimed that the later date is required by any internal evidence. (2) On the contrary, if John the apostle is the author, the comparatively rough Hebraic style of the language unquestionably argues for it an earlier date than his Gospel or Epistles. For, special pleading aside, it must on all rational grounds be conceded, that a Hebrew, in the supposed condition of John, would, after years of intercourse and labour in the churches of Asia, acquire by degrees a purer Greek style. (3) The address "to the seven churches which are in Asia" (i, 4, 11), implies that, at this time, there were only seven churches in that Asia where Paul was once forbidden by the Spirit to speak the word (Acts xvi, 6, 7). Macdonald says, "An earthquake, in the ninth year of Nero's reign, overwhelmed both Laodicea and Colossæ (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v, 41), and the church at the latter place does not appear to have been restored. As the two places were in close proximity, what remained of the church at Colossæ probably became identified with the one at Laodicea. The churches at Tralles and Magnesia could not have been established until a considerable time after the Apocalypse was written. Those who contend for the later date, when there must have been a greater number of churches than seven in the region designated by the apostle, fail to give any sufficient reason for his mentioning no more. That they mystically or symbolically represent others is surely not such a reason."² (4) The prominence in which persecution from the Jews is set forth in the Epistles to the seven churches also argues an early date. After the fall of Jerusalem, Christian persecution and troubles came almost altogether from pagan sources, and Jewish opposition and Judaizing heretics became of little note.

¹ Any one who will compare the rapidity of Paul's movements on his missionary journeys, and note how he addressed epistles to some of his churches (e. g., Thessalonians) a few months after his first visitation, will have no difficulty in understanding how John could have visited all the seven churches of Asia, and also have gone thence to Patmos and received the Revelation, within a year after departing from Jerusalem. But John, like Paul, probably wrote to churches he had not visited.

² *The Life and Writings of John*, p. 155.

(5) A most weighty argument for the early date appears in the mention of the temple, court, and city in chapter xi, 1-3. These references and the further designation, in verse 8, of that city "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified," obviously imply that the Jewish temple, court, and city were yet standing. To plead that these familiar appellatives are not real, but only mystical allusions, is to assume the very point in question. The most simple reference should stand unless convincing reasons to the contrary be shown. When the writer proceeds to characterize the city by a proper symbolical name, he calls it Sodom and Egypt, and is careful to tell us that it is so called *spiritually* (πνευματικῶς), but, as if to prevent any possibility of misunderstanding his reference, he adds that it is the place where the Lord was crucified.

(6) Finally, what should especially impress every reader is the emphatic statement, placed in the very title of the book, and repeated in one form and another again and again, that this is a revelation of "things which must shortly (ἐν τάχει) come to pass," and the time of which is near at hand (ἐγγύς, Rev. i, 1, 3; xxii, 6, 7, 10, 12, 20). If the seer, writing a few years before the terrible catastrophe, had the destruction of Jerusalem and its attendant woes before him, all these expressions have a force and definiteness which every interpreter must recognize.¹ But if the things contem-

¹ The trend of modern criticism is unmistakably toward the adoption of the early date of the Apocalypse, and yet the best scholars differ. Elliott, Hengstenberg, Lange, Alford, and Whedon contend strongly that the testimony of Irenæus and the ancient tradition ought to control the question; while, on the other hand, Lücke, Neander, De Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Auberlen, Hilgenfeld, Düsterdieck, Stuart, Macdonald, Davidson, J. B. Lightfoot, Glasgow, Farrar, Westcott, Cowles, and Schaff maintain that the book, according to its own internal evidence, must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. The last-named scholar, in the new edition of his Church History (vol. i, pp. 834-837), revokes his acceptance of the Domitian date which he affirmed thirty years ago, and now maintains that internal evidence for an earlier date outweighs the external tradition. Writers on both sides of this question have probably been too much influenced by some theory of the seven kings in chap. xvii, 10 (see below, p. 481), and have placed the composition much later than valid evidence warrants. Glasgow (The Apoc. Trans. and Expounded, pp. 9-38) adduces proof not easy to be set aside that the Revelation was written before any of the Epistles, probably somewhere between A. D. 50 and 54. Is it not supposable that one reason why Paul was forbidden to preach the word in Western Asia (Acts xvi, 6) was that John was either already there, or about to enter? The prevalent opinion that the First Epistle of John was written after the fall of Jerusalem rests on no certain evidence. To assume, from the writer's use of the term "little children," that he was very far advanced in years, is futile. John was probably no older than Paul, but some time before the fall of Jerusalem the latter was wont to speak of himself as "Paul the aged." Philem. 9.

plated were in the distant future, these simple words of time must be subjected to the most violent and unnatural treatment in order to make the statements of the writer compatible with the exposition.

A consideration of these evidences, external and internal, of the date of the Apocalypse, shows what delicacy and discrimination are requisite in an interpreter in order to determine the historical standpoint of such a prophetic book. Great delicacy and discrimination essential. As far as possible, all systems of prophetic interpretation should be held in abeyance until that question is determined; but it may become necessary, in view of the conflicting evidences of the date and the difficulties of the book itself, to withhold all judgment as to the historical standpoint of the writer until we have tried the different methods of interpretation, and have thus had opportunity to judge which exposition affords the best solution of the difficulties.

This, then, is to be held as a canon of interpretation, that all due regard must be had to the person and circumstances of the author, the time and place of his writing, and the occasion and reasons which led him to write. Nor must we omit similar inquiry into the character, conditions, and history of those for whom the book was written, and of those also of whom the book makes mention.

PART SECOND.

SPECIAL HERMENEUTICS.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

WHILE it is true that the Bible is to be interpreted like other books, and therefore requires attention to the laws of General Hermeneutics, it is also a notable fact that in many respects it differs from all other books. It contains many revelations in the form of types, symbols, parables, allegories, visions, and dreams. The poetry of the Hebrews is a special study in itself, and no one is competent to appreciate or expound it who has not become familiar both with its spirit and its formal elements. And what a wealth of figurative language in the Bible! "I am persuaded," wrote Sir William Jones, "that this volume, independently of its divine origin, contains more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they may have been written."¹

The Bible, moreover, is a textbook of religion, and its chief value is seen in the fact that it is divinely adapted to be profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness (2 Tim. iii, 16). It is therefore of the highest importance to know to what extent these sacred instructions may be gathered from the written word, and to guard against false methods in the elaboration of scriptural doctrine. Some exegeses manifest a morbid desire to find "mountains of sense in every line of Holy Writ," and are constantly finding double meanings, recondite allusions, and marvellous revelations in the plainest passages. Others go to an opposite extreme, and not only eliminate the doctrines of the supernatural, but even refuse to recognize some of the most obvious lessons touching the unseen and eternal which are set forth on many a page. No faithful and permanently satis-

¹ Written on a blank leaf in his Bible.

factory exposition of the book of religious instruction is possible without a sound conception of the spiritual nature of man, and of faith in God as the means of religious life and growth.

It is also to be observed that the Holy Scriptures are the accretion of a literature that covers some sixteen centuries, and represents various authors and times of composition.

Variety of subject matter and style. These books embody biography, history, law, ritual, psalmody, drama, proverbs, prophecy, apocalypses, and epistles. Some were written by kings, others by shepherds, and prophets, and fishermen. One writer was a taxgatherer, another a tentmaker, another a physician. They lived and wrote at various periods, some of them centuries apart from others, and their places of residence were also far separate, as Arabia, Palestine, Babylon, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. The antiquities and varying civilizations of different nations are imaged in these books, and when the name of an author is not known, it is usually not difficult to ascertain approximately, from his statements or allusions, the time and circumstances of his writing. The obvious result is that the Bible comprises a great diversity of literature, and the larger portion of it calls for special hermeneutics in its interpretation.

It is an important part of the province of Special Hermeneutics to set forth the distinction between the essential thought of a writer and the form in which it is clothed. Distinction between substance and form. No little confusion has been introduced into biblical exposition by reason of a failure to make this discrimination. The faithful and true interpreter must imbibe the spirit of the author whom he would expound. If he would understand and explain Isaiah, he must not only transport himself into the age in which that prophet lived, but must also become possessed of some measure of his emotion when he bewailed the abominations of his time. And when, for example, the son of Amoz portrays the sinful nation as diseased in head and heart, and declares that from the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness, but rather wounds, and bruises, and raw sores (Isa. i, 6), we are not to insist on the full significance of each particular word. Such doleful utterances, even of inspired prophets, are likely to contain elements of oriental hyperbole, and may, at times, be coloured by the speaker's own despondency. A notable instance of this kind is the language of Elijah in 1 Kings xix, 10 (comp. verse 18), and it is probable that other prophets, although not fleeing for their lives, have sometimes expressed their heart-sorrow in a similar strain. When Isaiah in the name of Jehovah denounces the burnt offerings of Israel as an abomination (Isa. i, 11-14), we are not to rush to the conclusion that his language is

equivalent to a condemnation of animal sacrifices in general, nor does it warrant the opinion that the ritual of the sanctuary was not of divine appointment. The passage in Jer. vii, 21-26 has troubled some critics because of its apparent conflict with the recorded history of the exodus; but is not its real import best apprehended when we recognize it, not as a prosaic statement of historical fact, to be literally understood, but as an impassioned outburst of prophetic inspiration, designed to emphasize the utter worthlessness of sacrifice when made a substitute for obedience? Special Hermeneutics aims to find the proper analysis and import of such language of emotion. It must take cognizance both of the spirit and the forms of human speech, and distinguish correctly between them. In like manner must it treat of all which is special or peculiar in the Holy Scriptures, and which, accordingly, differentiates these writings from other compositions of men.¹

Biblical Hermeneutics is a department of General Hermeneutics, and, as we have seen, calls in the main for the application of the general principles required in the interpretation of all literature. But as so large a portion of the Bible is composed of poetry and prophecy, and contains so many examples of parable, allegory, type, and symbol, it is proper in treating the science of biblical interpretation to devote more space to Special than to General Hermeneutics. Parables, allegories, types, and symbols, have their peculiar laws, and grammatico-historical interpretation must give attention to rhetorical form and prophetic symbolism, as well as to the laws of grammar and the facts of history.

The principles of Special Hermeneutics must be gathered from a faithful study of the Bible itself. We must observe the methods which the sacred writers followed. Naked propositions or formulated rules will be of little value unless supported and illustrated by self-verifying examples. It is worthy of note that the Scriptures furnish numerous instances of the interpretation of dreams, visions, types, symbols, and parables. In such examples we are to find our principles and laws of exposition. The Holy Scripture is no Delphic oracle, to bewilder the heart by utterances of double meaning. Taken as a whole, and allowed to speak for itself, the Bible will be found to be its own best interpreter.

The Bible its own best interpreter.

¹ The very peculiarities of the Bible have undoubtedly contributed largely to their enduring power over the human heart. "This volume," says "Phelps, has never numbered among its believers a fourth part of the human race, yet it has swayed a greater amount of mind than any other volume the world has known. It has the singular faculty of attracting to itself the thinkers of the world, either as friends or foes, always and every-where."—Men and Books, p. 239, New York, 1882.

CHAPTER II.

HEBREW POETRY.

MUCH of the Old Testament is composed in a style and form of language far above that of simple prose. The historical books abound in spirited addresses, odes, lyrics, psalms, and fragments of song. The books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, are highly poetical, and the prophetic books (נביאים אחרונים, *later prophets* of Hebrew Canon) are mainly of the same order. Nearly one half of the Old Testament is written in this poetic style. But the poetry of the Hebrews has peculiarities as marked and distinct from that of other nations as the language itself is different from other families of languages. Its metre is not that of syllables, but of sentences and sentiments. Properly speaking, Hebrew poetry knows nothing of metrical feet and versification analogous to the poetical form of the Indo-European tongues. The learned and ingenious attempts of some scholars to construct a system of Hebrew metres are now generally regarded as failures. There are discernible an elevated style, a harmony and parallelism of sentences, a sonorous flow of graphic words, an artificial arrangement of clauses, repetitions, transpositions, and rhetorical antitheses, which constitute the life of poetry. But the form is nowhere that of syllabic metre.¹ Some scholars have supposed that, since the Hebrew became a dead language, the ancient pronunciation is so utterly lost that it is therefore impossible now to discover or restore its ancient metres. But this, at best, is a doubtful hypothesis, and has all probabilities against it.

¹ On the subject of Hebrew poetry, see Lowth, *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, in Latin, with notes of Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and others (Oxford, 1828), and English Translation, edited by Stowe (Andover, 1829), and the Preliminary Dissertation to his *Isaiah*; Bellerman, *Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer* (Berlin, 1813); Saalschutz, *Form der hebräischen Poesie nebst einer Abhandlung über die Musik der Hebräer* (Königsb., 1823), and the same author's *Form und Geist der hebräischen Poesie* (1853); Ewald, *die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes*, vol. i, Translated by Nicholson in *Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature* for Jan. and April, 1848; Herder, *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, English Translation, in two vols., by James Marsh (Burlington, Vt., 1833); Isaac Taylor, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (Phila., 1873); De Wette, Introduction to his *Commentar über die Psalmen*, pp. 32-63.

The distinguishing feature of Hebrew poetry is now generally acknowledged to be the parallelism of members. This would be a very natural form for such short and vivid sentences as characterize Hebrew syntax. Let the soul be filled with deep emotion; let burning passions move the heart, and sparkle in the eye, and speak loudly in the voice, and the simple sentences of Hebrew prose would spontaneously take poetic form. In illustration of this we may instance the exciting controversy of Jacob and Laban in Gen. xxxi. The whole chapter is like a passage from an ancient epic; but when we read the speeches of Laban and Jacob we seem to feel the wild throbbings of their human passions. The speeches are not cast in the artificial harmony of parallelism which appears in the poetical books; but we shall best observe their force by presenting them in the following form. After seven days' hot pursuit, Laban overtakes Jacob in Mount Gilead, and assails him thus:

Parallelism the
distinguishing
feature.

What hast thou done?
And thou hast stolen my heart,
And hast carried off my daughters
As captives of the sword.
Why didst thou hide thyself to flee?
And thou hast stolen me,
And thou didst not inform me,
And I would have sent thee away with joy,
And with songs, with timbrel and with harp.
And thou didst not permit me to kiss my sons and my daughters!
Now hast thou played the fool—to do!
It is to the God of my hand
To do with you an evil.
But the God of your father
Yesternight said to me, saying:
Guard thyself from speaking with Jacob from good to evil.
And now, going thou hast gone;
For longing thou hast longed for the house of thy father.
Why hast thou stolen my gods? Verses 26–30.

After the goods have been searched, and no gods found, "Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban," and uttered his pent-up emotion in the following style:

What my trespass,
What my sin,
That thou hast been burning after me?
For thou hast been feeling all my vessels;
What hast thou found of all the vessels of thy house?

Place here —
 Before my brethren and thy brethren,
 And let them decide between us two.
 This twenty year I with thee;
 Thy ewes and thy goats have not been hereft,
 And the rams of thy flock have I not eaten.
 The torn I brought not to thee;
 I atoned for it.
 Of my hand didst thou demand it,
 Stolen by day,
 Or stolen by night.
 I have been —
 In the day heat devoured me,
 And cold in the night,
 And my sleep fled from my eyes.
 This to me twenty year in thy house.
 I served thee fourteen year for two of thy daughters,
 And six years for thy flock;
 And thou hast changed my wages ten parts.
 Unless the God of my father,
 The God of Abraham and the fear of Isaac, were for me,—
 That now empty thou hadst sent me away.
 The affliction and the labour of my hands
 God has seen,
 And he was judging yesternight. Verses 36-42.

This may not be poetry, in the strict sense; but it is certainly not the language of common prose. The rapidity of movement, the emotion, the broken lines, and the abrupt transitions, serve to show how a language of such peculiar structure as the Hebrew might early and naturally develop a poetic form, whose distinguishing feature would be a harmony of successive sentences, or some artificial concord or contrast of different sentiments, rather than syllabic versification. Untrammelled by metric limitations, the Hebrew poet enjoyed a peculiar freedom, and could utter the moving sentiments of passion in a great variety of forms.

We cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that some structural form is essential to all poetry. The elements of poetry are invention, inspiration, and expressive form. But all possible genius for invention, and all the inspiration of most fervent passion, would go for nothing without some suitable mould in which to set them forth. When the creations of genius and inspiration have taken a monumental form in language, that form becomes an essential part of the whole. Hence the impossibility of translating the poetry of Homer, or Virgil, or David, into Eng-

lish prose, or the prose of any other language, and at the same time preserving the power and spirit of the original.

Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's *Faust* is a masterpiece in this, that it is a remarkably successful attempt to transfer from one language to another not merely the thoughts, the sentiment, and the exact meaning of the author, but also the form and rhythm. Mr. Taylor argues very

Bayard Taylor
on form in
poetry.

forcibly, and we think truly, that "the value of form in a poetical work is the first question to be considered. Poetry," he observes, "is not simply a fashion of expression; it is the form of expression absolutely required by a certain class of ideas. Poetry, indeed, may be distinguished from prose by the single circumstance that it is the utterance of whatever in man cannot be perfectly uttered in any other than a rhythmical form. It is useless to say that the naked meaning is independent of the form. On the contrary, the form contributes essentially to the fulness of the meaning. In poetry which endures through its own inherent vitality, there is no forced union of these two elements. They are as intimately blended, and with the same mysterious beauty, as the sexes in the ancient *Hermaphroditus*. To attempt to represent poetry in prose is very much like attempting to translate music into speech."¹

How impossible to translate perfectly into any other form the following passage from Milton:

Now storming fury rose,
And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now
Was never; arms on armour clashing brayed
Horrible discord, and the maddening wheels
Of brazen chariots raged; dire was the noise
Of conflict; overhead the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,
And flying vaulted either host with fire.
So under fiery cope together rushed
Both battles main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage. All Heaven
Resounded, and had earth been then, all earth
Had to her centre shook. What wonder? when
Millions of fierce encountering angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions.²

The very form of this passage, as it stands before the reader's eye, contributes not a little to the emotions produced by it in the

¹ Preface to Translation of Goethe's *Faust*.

² *Paradise Lost*, Book vi, lines 207-223.

soul of a man of taste. Change the order of the words, or attempt to state their naked meaning in prose, and the very ideas will seem to vanish. The grandeur and beauty of the passage are due as much to the rhythm, the emphatic collocation of words, the expressiveness of the form in which the whole is placed before us, as to the sublime conceptions they embody. But if so much is due to the form of poetic writing, much must be lost from any noble poem when transferred to another language shorn of these elements of power. The least we can do is to make prominent in our translations the measured forms of the original. So far as it may be done without too great violence to the idioms of our own tongue, we should preserve the same order of words, emphatic forms of statement, and abrupt transitions. In these respects Hebrew poetry is probably more capable of exact translation than that of any other language. For there is no rhyme, no metric scale, to be translated. Two things it is essential to preserve—the spirit and the form, and both of these are of such a nature as to make it possible to reproduce them to a great extent in almost any other language.¹

¹ No man, perhaps, has shown a greater power to present in English the real spirit of Hebrew poetry than Tayler Lewis. The following version of Job iv, 12–21, while not exactly following the Hebrew collocation of the words, and giving to some words a meaning scarcely sustained by Hebrew usage, does, nevertheless, bring out the spirit and force of the original in a most impressive way:

To me, at times, there steals a warning word;
 Mine ear its whisper seems to catch.
 In troubled thoughts from spectres of the night,
 When falls on men the vision-seeing trance,—
 And fear has come, and trembling dread,
 And made my every bone to thrill with awe,—
 'Tis then before me stirs a breathing form;
 O'er all my flesh it makes the hair rise up.
 It stands; no face distinct can I discern;
 An outline is before mine eyes;
 Deep silence! then a voice I hear:
 Is mortal man more just than God?
 Is boasting man more pure than he who made him?
 In his own servants, lo, he trusteth not,
 Even on his angels doth he charge defect.
 Much more to them who dwell in homes of clay,
 With their foundation laid in dust,
 And crumbled like the moth
 From morn till night they're stricken down;
 Without regard they perish utterly.
 Their cord of life, is it not torn away?
 They die—still lacking wisdom.

See the notes on this rhythmical version, in which Lewis defends the accuracy of his translation, in Lange's Commentary on Job, pp. 59, 60. See also Lewis' articles on The Emotional Element in Hebrew Translation, in the Methodist Quarterly Review, for Jan., 1862, Jan. and July, 1863, and Jan., 1864.

While the spirit and emotionality of Hebrew poetry are due to a combination of various elements, the parallelism of sentences is a most marked feature of its outward form. Structural form of Hebrew parallelism. This it becomes us now to exhibit more fully, for a scientific interpretation of the poetical portions of the Old Testament requires that the parallelism be not ignored. Joseph Addison Alexander, indeed, animadverted upon Bishop Lowth's "supposed discovery of rhythm or measure in the Hebrew prophets," and condemns his theory as unsound and in bad taste.¹ But his strictures seem to proceed on the assumption that the theory of parallelism involves the idea of metrical versification analogous to the prosody of other languages. Aside from such an assumption they have no relevancy or force. For it is indisputable that the large portions of the Hebrew scriptures, commonly regarded as poetical, are as capable of arrangement in well-defined parallelisms as the variety of Greek metres are capable of being reduced to system and rules.

The short and vivid sentences which are a peculiar characteristic of Hebrew speech would lead, by a very natural process, to the formation of parallelisms in poetry. The process of forming parallelisms natural in Hebrew. The desire to present a subject most impressibly would lead to repetition, and the tautology would show itself in slightly varying forms of one and the same thought. Thus the following, from Prov. i, 24-27:

Because I have called, and ye refuse;
I have stretched out my hand, and no one attending;
And ye refuse all my counsel,
And my correction ye have not desired;
Also I in your calamity will laugh;
I will mock at the coming of your terror;
At the coming—as a roaring tempest—of your terror;
And your calamity as a sweeping whirlwind shall come on;
At the coming upon you of distress and anguish.

Other thoughts would be more forcibly expressed by setting them in contrast with something of an opposite nature. Hence such parallelisms as the following:

They have kneeled down and fallen;
But we have arisen and straightened ourselves up. Psa. xx, 9.
The memory of the righteous (is) for a blessing,
But the name of the wicked shall be rotten.
The wise of heart will take commands,
But a prating fool shall be thrown down. Prov. x, 7, 8.

¹ See the Introduction to his Commentary on The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah, pp. 48, 49. New York, 1846.

Such simple distichs would readily develop into more complex examples of parallelism, and we find among the Hebrew poems a great variety of forms in which the sacred writers sought to set forth their burning thoughts. The more common and regular forms of Hebrew parallelism are classified by Lowth under three general heads, which he denominates *Synonymous*, *Antithetic*, and *Synthetic*. These, again, may be subdivided, according as the lines form simple couplets or triplets, or have measured correspondence in sentiment and length, or are unequal, and broken by sudden bursts of passion, or by some impressive refrain.

1. SYNONYMOUS PARALLELISM.

Here we place passages in which the different lines or members present the same thought in a slightly altered manner of expression. To this class belong the couplets of Prov. i, 24-27 cited above, where it will be seen there is a constant repetition of thought under a variety of words. Three kinds of synonymous parallels may be specified:

a) **Identical**, when the different members are composed of the same, or nearly the same, words:

Thou wert snared in the sayings of thy mouth;
 Thou wert taken in the sayings of thy mouth. Prov. vi, 2.
 They lifted up, the floods, O Jehovah;
 They lifted up, the floods, their voice;
 They lift up, the floods, their dashing. Psa. xciii, 3.
 It shall devour the parts of his skin,
 It shall devour his parts, the first-born of death. Job xviii, 13.
 For in a night is spoiled Ar, Moab, cut off.
 For in a night is spoiled Kir, Moab, cut off. Isa. xv, 1

b) **Similar**, when the sentiment is substantially the same, but language and figures are different:

For he on seas has founded it,
 And on floods will he establish it. Psa. xxiv, 2.
 Brays the wild ass over the tender grass?
 Or lows the ox over his provender? Job vi, 5.

c) **Inverted**, when there is an inversion or transposition of words or sentences so as to change the order of thought:

The heavens are telling the glory of God,
 And the work of his hands declares the expanse. Psa. xix, 2.
 They did not keep the covenant of God,
 And in his law they refused to walk. Psa. lxxviii, 10.

For unto me is he lovingly joined, and I will deliver him;
 I will exalt him, for he has known my name. *Psa. xci, 14.*
 Strengthen ye the weak hands,
 And the feeble knees confirm. *Isa. xxxv, 8.*

2. ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM.

Under this head come all passages in which there is a contrast or opposition of thought presented in the different sentences. This kind of parallelism abounds in the Book of Proverbs especially, for it is peculiarly adapted to express maxims of proverbial wisdom. There are two forms of antithetic parallelism:

a) **Simple**, when the contrast is presented in a single distich of simple sentences:

Righteousness will exalt a nation,
 But the disgrace of peoples is sin. *Prov. xiv, 34.*
 The tongue of wise men makes knowledge good,
 But the mouth of fools pours out folly. *Prov. xv, 2.*
 For a moment in his anger:
 Lifetimes in his favour.
 In the evening abideth weeping;
 And at morning, a shout of joy. *Psa. xxx, 5. (6.)*

b) **Compound**, when there are two or more sentences in each member of the antithesis:

The ox has known his owner,
 And the ass the crib of his lord;
 Israel has not known,—
 My people have not shown themselves discerning. *Isa. i, 8.*
 If ye be willing, and have heard,
 The good of the land shall ye eat;
 But if ye refuse, and have rebelled,
 A sword shall eat—
 For the mouth of Jehovah has spoken. *Isa. i, 19, 20.*
 In a little moment I forsook thee,
 But in great mercies I will gather thee.
 In the raging of wrath I hid my face a moment from thee;
 But with everlasting kindness have I had mercy on thee.
Isa. liv, 7, 8.

3. SYNTHETIC PARALLELISM.

Synthetic or Constructive Parallelism consists, according to Lowth's definition, "only in the similar form of construction, in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality

between different propositions in respect to the shape and turn of the whole sentence and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative."¹ Two kinds of synthetic parallels may be noticed:

a) **Correspondent**, when there is a designed and formal correspondency between related sentences, as in the following example from *Psa. xxvii, 1*, where the first line corresponds with the third, and the second with the fourth:

Jehovah, my light and my salvation,
Of whom shall I be afraid?
Jehovah, fortress of my life,
Of whom shall I stand in terror?

This same style of correspondence is noticeable in the following compound antithetic parallelism:

They shall be ashamed and blush together,
Who are rejoicing in my harm;
They shall be clothed with shame and disgrace,
Who magnify themselves over me.
They shall shout and rejoice,
Who delight in my righteousness,
And they shall say continually—be magnified, Jehovah,
Who delight in the peace of his servant. *Psa. xxxv, 26, 27.*

b) **Cumulative**, when there is a climax of sentiment running through the successive parallels, or when there is a constant variation of words and thought by means of the simple accumulation of images or ideas:

Happy the man who has not walked in the counsel of wicked ones,
And in the way of sinners has not stood,
And in the seat of scorners has not sat down;
But in the law of Jehovah is his delight;
And in his law will he meditate day and night. *Psa. i, 1, 2.*
Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found,
Call upon him while he is near by;
Let the wicked forsake his way,
And the man of iniquity his thoughts;
And let him return to Jehovah, and he will have mercy on him,
And to our God, for he will be abundant to pardon. *Isa. lv, 6, 7.*

For the fig-tree shall not blossom,
And no produce in the vines;
Deceived has the work of the olive,
And fields have not wrought food;

¹ Lowth's *Isaiah*, Preliminary Dissertation, p. 21. London, 1779.

Cut off from the fold was the flock,
 And no cattle in the stalls;
 But I—in Jehovah will I exult;
 I will rejoice in the God of my salvation. Hab. iii, 17.

But aside from these more regular forms of parallelism, there are numerous peculiarities in Hebrew poetry which are not to be classified under any rules or theories of prosody. The rapt flights of the ancient bards ignored such trammels, and, by abrupt turns of thought, broken and unequal lines, and sudden ejaculations of prayer or emotion, they produced a great variety of expressive forms of sentiment. Take, for illustration, the two following extracts from Jacob's dying psalm—the blessings of Judah and Joseph—and note the variety of expression, the sharp transitions, the profound emotion, and the boldness and abundance of metaphor:

Judah, thou! Thy brothers shall praise thee;
 Thy hand in the neck of thy foes!
 They shall bow down to thee, the sons of thy father.

Whelp of a lion is Judah.

From the prey, O my son, thou hast gone up!
 He bent low;
 He lay down as a lion,
 And as a lioness;
 Who will rouse him up?

There shall not depart a sceptre from Judah,
 And a ruler from between his feet,
 Until he shall come—Shiloh—
 And to him shall be gathered peoples.
 Fastening to the vine his fowl,
 And to the choice vine the son of his ass,
 He has washed in the wine his garment,
 And in the blood of grapes his clothes.
 Dark the eyes from wine,
 And white the teeth from milk. Gen. xlix, 8-12.

Son of a fruit tree is Joseph,
 Son of a fruit tree over a fountain;
 Daughters climbing over a wall.
 And they imbibed him,
 And they shot,
 And they hated him,—
 The lords of arrows.
 Yet remained in strength his bow,
 And firm were the arms of his hands,
 From the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob;
 From the name of the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel;

From the God of thy father, and he will help thee;
 And the Almighty, and he will bless thee;
 Blessings of the heavens above,
 Blessings of the deep lying down below,
 Blessings of breasts and womb.
 The blessings of thy father have been mighty,
 Above the blessings of the enduring mountains,
 The desire of the everlasting hills.
 Let them be to the head of Joseph
 And to the crown of the devoted of his brothers. Gen. xlix, 22-26.

In the later period of the language we find a number of artificial
 Alphabetical poems, in which the several lines or verses begin with
 poems. the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their regular
 order. Thus, in Psalms cxi and cxii, the lines or half verses are
 arranged alphabetically. In Psalms xxv, xxxiv, cxlv, Prov. xxxi,
 10-31, and Lam. i and ii, each separate verse begins with a new
 letter in regular order. In Psa. xxxvii, with some slight exceptions,
 every alternate verse begins with a new letter. In Psa. cxix and
 Lam. iii, a series of verses, each beginning with the same letter, is
 grouped into strophes or stanzas, and the strophes follow one an-
 other in alphabetical order. Such artificiality evinces a later period
 in the life of the language, when the poetical spirit, becoming less
 creative and more mechanical, contrives a new feature of external
 form to arrest attention and assist the memory.

We find also in the Old Testament several noticeable instances
 of rhyme. The following, in Samson's answer to
 Hebrew rhymes. the men of Timnath (Judges xiv, 18), was probably
 designed

לֹאֵל חֲרָשָׁם בְּעֵנִי
 לֹא מֵצָאָם חִידִי

If ye had not plowed with my heifer,
 Ye had not found out my riddle.

The following are perhaps only accidental:

מַלְכֵי תַרְשִׁישׁ וְאִיִּים מְנַחָה יָשִׁיבוּ
 מַלְכֵי שֶׁבָּא וְסָבָא אֶשְׁכֵּר יִקְרִיבוּ

Kings of Tarshish and of isles a gift shall return,
 Kings of Sheba and Seba a present shall bring. Psa. lxxii, 10.

בְּסוֹדֵם הָיִינוּ
 לְעִמּוֹרָה דָּמִינוּ

As Sodom had we been,
 To Gomorrah had we been like. Isa. i, 9.

בְּנוֹי הָנֶף אֶשְׁלָחֵנִי
עַל־עַם עֲבָרָתִי אֶצְוֶה

In a nation profane will I send him,
And upon a people of my wrath will I command him. Isa. x, 6.¹

But aside from all artificial forms, the Hebrew language, in its words, idiomatic phrases, vivid concepts, and pictorial power, has a remarkable simplicity and beauty. To the emotional Hebrew every thing was full of life, and the manner of the most ordinary action attracted his attention. Sentences full of pathos, sublime exclamations, and profound suggestions often found expression in his common talk. How often the word *behold* (הִנֵּה) occurs in simple narrative! How the very process and order of action are pictured in the following passages: "Jacob lifted up his feet, and went to the land of the sons of the east" (Gen. xxix, 1). "He lifted up his voice, and wept. . . . Laban heard the hearing about Jacob, the son of his brother, and he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house" (verses 11, 13). "Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold! Esau was coming" (Gen. xxxiii, 1).

Vividness of
Hebrew words
and phrases.

There are, again, many passages where a notable ellipsis enhances the impression: "And now, lest he send forth his hand, and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever—and sent him forth Jehovah God from the garden of Eden" (Gen. iii, 22). "And now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—and if not, wipe me, I pray, from thy book which thou hast written." "Return, O Jehovah—how long!" (Psa. xc, 13). The attempt of our translators to supply the ellipsis in Psa. xix, 3, 4, perverts the real meaning: "*There is* no speech nor language *where* their voice is not heard." The simple Hebrew is much more impressive:

Ellipsis.

No saying, and no words;—
Not heard—their voice;
In all the earth went forth their line,
And in the end of the world their utterances.

That is, the heavens have no audible language or voice such as mortal man is wont to speak; nevertheless, they have been stretched as a measuring line over all the surface of the earth, and, though voiceless, they have sermons for thoughtful souls in every part of the habitable world.

¹ Comp. also Isa. i, 25, where three rhymes appear in one verse; and Isa. i, 29; xlv, 3; xlix, 10; liii, 6; Job vi, 9: Psa. xlv, 8; Prov. vi, 1.

It is the province of Special Hermeneutics to recognize rhetorical form, and to distinguish the essential thought from the peculiar mode of expression in which it may be set forth. And it must be obvious to every thoughtful mind that the impassioned poetry of the Hebrews is not of a nature to be subjected to a literal interpretation. Many of the finest passages of the Psalms and the Prophets have been wrought out in splendid style for the sake of rhetorical effect, and their magnificent parallelisms and strophes should be explained as we explain similar imaginative flights of other poets. Such highly wrought language may serve better than any other to deepen the impression of the divine thought which it conveys. It is not literal exposition but connate spiritual rapture that enables one to understand the force of such a passage as Deut. xxxii, 22:

For now a fire is kindled in my rage,
And it has burned to Sheol far below,
And it has eaten earth and her increase,
And made the bases of the mountains burn.

The emotional language of Zech. xi, 1, 2 loses nothing in power or impressiveness by addressing mountains and trees as if they were beings of conscious life and feeling:

Open, O Lebanon, thy doors, and fire shall eat into thy cedars!
Howl, O Cypress, for the cedar has fallen which mighty ones did spoil!
Howl, oaks of Bashan, for down has gone the inaccessible forest!

In the coming calamity which this oracle announced, it is not necessary to suppose that a single cedar on Mount Lebanon or an oak of Bashan was destroyed. The language is that of poetic imagery, adapted to produce a profound impression, and to convey the idea of a widespread ruin, but never designed to be literally understood. And so those sublime descriptions of Jehovah found in the Psalms and Prophets—his bowing down the heavens and descending, with a dark cloud under his feet; his riding upon the cherubim and making himself visible on the wings of the wind (2 Sam. xxii, 10, 11; comp. Ps. xviii, 9, 10; Ezek. i, 13, 14), his standing and measuring the earth, riding on horses and chariots of salvation, with horns issuing out of his hand, and the lightning-glitter of his spear astonishing the sun and moon in the heavens (Hab. iii, 4, 6, 8, 11)—these and all like passages are but poetical pictures of the power and majesty of God in his providential administration of the world. The particular figures of speech employed in such descriptions will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

THOSE portions of the Holy Scriptures which are written in figurative language call for special care in their interpretation. Tropes many and various. When a word is employed in another than its primary meaning, or applied to some object different from that to which it is appropriated in common usage, it is called a trope.¹ The necessities and purposes of human speech require the frequent use of words in such a tropical sense. We have already seen, under the head of the *usus loquendi* of words, how many terms come to have a variety of meanings. Some words lose their primary signification altogether, and are employed only in a secondary or acquired sense. Most words in every language have been used or are capable of being used in this way. And very many words have so long and so constantly maintained a figurative sense that their primary meaning has become obsolete and forgotten. How few remember that the word *law* denotes *that which is laid*; or that the common expressions *right* and *wrong*, which have almost exclusively a moral import, originally signified straight and crooked. Other words are so commonly used in a twofold sense that we immediately note when they are employed literally and when figuratively. When James, Cephas, and John are called *pillars* of the Church (Gal. ii, 9), we see at once that the word *pillars* is a metaphor. And when the Church itself is said to be "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii, 20), we know that a figure, the image of a house or temple, is meant to be depicted before the mind.

The origin of figures of speech has been generally attributed to the poverty of languages in their earliest stages. The scarcity of words required the use of one and the same word in a variety of meanings. "No language," says Blair, "is so copious as to have a separate word for every separate idea. Men naturally sought to abridge this labour of multiplying words *ad infinitum*; and, in order to lay less burden on their memories, made one word, which they had already appropriated to a certain idea or object, stand also for some other idea or object

¹ From the Greek *τροπή*, a turn or change of language; that is, a word turned from its primary usage to another meaning.

between which and the primary one they found or fancied some relation."¹

But it is not solely in the scarcity of words that we are to find the origin of figurative language. The natural operations of the human mind prompt men to trace analogies and make comparisons. Pleasing emotions are excited and the imagination is gratified by the use of metaphors and similes. Were we to suppose a language sufficiently copious in words to express all possible conceptions, the human mind would still require us to compare and contrast our concepts, and such a procedure would soon necessitate a variety of figures of speech. So much of our knowledge is acquired through the senses, that all our abstract ideas and our spiritual language have a material basis. It is remarkable to what an extent the language of common life is made up of metaphors, the origin of which has become largely if not altogether forgotten.

The principal sources of the figurative language of the Bible are the physical features of the Holy Land, the habits and customs of its ancient tribes, and the forms of Israelitish worship. All these sources should, accordingly, be closely studied in order to the interpretation of the figurative portions of the Scriptures. As we discern a divine providence in the use of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek as the languages of God's inspired revelation, and as we believe that the progeny of Abraham through Jacob were the divinely chosen people to receive and guard the oracles of God, so may we also believe that the Land of Promise was an essential element in the process of developing and perfecting the rhetorical form of the sacred records. "It is neither fiction nor extravagance," says Thomson, "to call this land a microcosm—a little world in itself, embracing everything which in the thought of the Creator would be needed in developing the language of the kingdom of heaven. Nor is it easy to see how the end sought could have been reached at all without just such a land, furnished and fitted up, as this was, by the overruling providence of God. All were needed—mountain and valley, hill and plain, lake and river, sea and sky, summer and winter, seedtime and harvest, trees, shrubs, and flowers, beasts and birds, men and women, tribes and nations, governments and religions false and true, and other things innumerable; none of which could be spared. Think, if you can, of a Bible with all these left out, or others essentially different substituted in their place—a Bible without patriarch or pilgrimage, with no bondage in Egypt, or deliverance therefrom, no Red Sea, no Sinai with its miracles, no wilderness of wandering with all the

¹ Rhetoric, Lecture xiv, On the Origin and Nature of Figurative Language.

included scenes and associated incidents; without a Jordan with a Canaan over against it, or a Dead Sea with Sodom beneath it; no Moriah with its temple, no Zion with palaces, nor Hinnom below, with the fire and the worm that never die. Whence could have come our divine songs and psalms, if the sacred poets had lived in a land without mountain or valley, where were no plains covered over with corn, no fields clothed with green, no hills planted with the olive, the fig, and the vine? All are needed, and all do good service, from the oaks of Bashan and the cedars of Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. The tiny mustard-seed has its moral, and lilies their lessons. Thorns and thistles utter admonitions, and revive sad memories. The sheep and the fold, the shepherd and his dog, the ass and his owner, the ox and his goad, the camel and his burden, the horse with neck clothed with thunder; lions that roar, wolves that raven, foxes that destroy, harts panting for water brooks, and roes feeding among lilies, doves in their windows, sparrows on the housetop, storks in the heavens, eagles hasting to their prey; things great and small; the busy bee improving each shining hour, and the careful ant laying up store in harvest—nothing too large to serve, too small to aid. These are merely random specimens out of a world of rich materials; but we must not forget that they are all found in this land where the dialect of God's spiritual kingdom was to be taught and spoken."¹

It is scarcely necessary, and, indeed, quite impracticable, to lay down specific rules for determining when language is used figuratively and when literally. It is an old and oft-repeated hermeneutical principle that words should be understood in their literal sense unless such literal interpretation involves a manifest contradiction or absurdity. It should be observed, however, that this principle, when reduced to practice, becomes simply an appeal to every man's rational judgment. And what to one seems very absurd and improbable may be to another altogether simple and self-consistent. Some expositors have claimed to see necessity for departing from the literal sense where others saw none, and it seems impossible to establish any fixed rule that will govern in all cases. Reference must be had to the general character and style of the particular book, to the plan and purpose of the author, and to the context and scope of the particular passage in question. Especially should strict regard be had to the usage

Specific rules
unnecessary and
impracticable.

¹ The Physical Basis of our Spiritual Language; by W. M. Thomson, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for January, 1872. Compare the same author's articles on The Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language in the same periodical for Jan., 1873; Jan., 1874; Jan., 1875; July, 1876; and Jan., 1877.

of the sacred writers, as determined by a thorough collation and comparison of all parallel passages. The same general principles, by which we ascertain the grammatico-historical sense, apply also to the interpretation of figurative language; and it should never be forgotten that the figurative portions of the Bible are as certain and truthful as the most prosaic chapters. Metaphors, allegories, parables, and symbols are divinely chosen forms of setting forth the oracles of God, and we must not suppose their meaning to be so vague and uncertain as to be past finding out. In the main, we believe the figurative parts of the Scriptures are not so difficult to understand as many have imagined. By a careful and judicious discrimination the interpreter should aim to determine the character and purport of each particular trope, and explain it in harmony with the common laws of language, and the author's context, scope, and plan.

Figures of speech have been distributed into two great classes, figures of words and figures of thought. The distinction is an easy one in that a figure of words is one in which the image or resemblance is confined to a single word, whereas a figure of thought may require for its expression a great many words and sentences. Metaphor and metonymy are figures of words, in which the comparison is reduced to a single expression, as when, characterizing Herod, Jesus said, "Go and say to that fox" (Luke xiii, 32). In Psalm xviii, 2, we find seven figures of words crowded into a single verse: "Jehovah, my rock (סֶלָע), and my fortress, and my deliverer; my God, my rock (צִיָּן)—I will seek refuge in him;—my shield and horn of my salvation, my height." Figures of thought, on the other hand, are seen in similes, allegories, and parables, where no single word will suffice to convey the idea intended, but an entire passage or section must be taken together. But this classification of figures will be of little value in the study of the figurative language of the Scriptures.

All figures of speech are founded upon some resemblance or relation which different objects bear to one another, and it often happens, in rapid and brilliant style, that a cause is put for its effect, or an effect for its cause; or the name of a subject is used when only some adjunct or associated circumstance is intended. This figure of speech is called Metonymy, from the Greek *μετά*, *cause and effect*. denoting *change*, and *ὄνομα*, a *name*. Such change and substitution of one name for another give language a force and impressiveness not otherwise attainable. Thus, Job is represented as saying, "My *arrow* is incurable" (Job xxxiv, 6); where by *arrow* is evidently meant a wound caused by an arrow, and allusion is

made to chapter vi, 4, where the bitter afflictions of Job are represented as caused by the arrows of the Almighty. So again in Luke xvi, 29 and xxiv, 27, *Moses and the prophets* are used for the writings of which they were the authors. The name of a patriarch is sometimes used when his posterity is intended (Gen. ix, 27, Amos vii, 9). In Gen. xlv, 21; Num. iii, 16; Deut. xvii, 6, the word *mouth* is used for *saying* or *commandment* which issues from one's mouth. "According to the *mouth* (order or command) of Pharaoh." "According to the *mouth* (word) of Jehovah." "At the *mouth* (word, testimony) of two witnesses or three witnesses shall the dying one (מֵת), the one appointed to die, or worthy of death,) be put to death." The words *lip* and *tongue* are used in a similar way in Prov. xii, 19, and frequently. "The *lip* of truth shall be established forever; but only for a moment [Heb. until I shall wink] the *tongue* of falsehood." Comp. Prov. xvii, 7; xxv, 15. In Ezekiel xxiii, 29, "They shall take away all thy labour, and leave thee naked," the word *labour* is used instead of earnings or results of labour. All such cases of metonymy—and examples might be multiplied indefinitely—are commonly classified under the head of Metonymy of cause and effect. To this same class belong also such passages as Exod. vii, 19, where, instead of vessels, the names of the materials of which they were made are used: "Stretch out thy hand over the waters of Egypt . . . and there shall be blood in all the land of Egypt, both in wood and in stone;" that is, in wooden vessels and stone reservoirs.

Another use of this figure occurs where some adjunct, associated idea, or circumstance is put for the main subject, and *vice versa*. Thus, in Lev. xix, 32, שֵׂיבָה, *gray hair, hoariness*, Metonymy of subject and adjunct. is used for a person of advanced age: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head." Comp. Gen. xlii, 38: "Ye will bring down my gray hairs in sorrow to the grave." When Moses commands the elders of Israel to take a lamb according to their families and "kill the passover" (Exod. xii, 21), he evidently uses the word *passover* for the paschal lamb. In Hosea i, 2, it is written: "The land has grievously committed whoredom." Here the word *land* is used by metonymy for the Israelitish people dwelling in the land. So also, in Matt. iii, 5, Jerusalem and Judea are put for the people that inhabited those places: "Then went out unto him Jerusalem and all Judea and all the region round about the Jordan." The metonymy of the subject for its adjunct is also seen in passages where the container is put for the thing contained, as, "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my enemies" (Psa. xxiii, 5). "Blessed shall be thy basket, and thy kneading trough"

(Deut. xxviii, 5). "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons, ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and of the table of demons" (1 Cor. x, 21). Here *table*, *basket*, *kneading-trough*, and *cup* are used for that which they contained, or for which they were used. The following examples illustrate how the abstract is used for the concrete: "He shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith" (Rom. iii, 30). Here the word *circumcision* designates the Jews, and *uncircumcision* the Gentiles. In Rom. xi, 7, the word *election* is used for the aggregate of those who composed the "remnant according to the election of grace" (verse 5), the elect portion of Israel. And Paul tells the Ephesians (v, 8) with great force of language: "Ye were once darkness, but now light in the Lord."

There is another use of this figure which may be called metonymy of the sign and the thing signified. Thus Isa. xxii, 22: *Metonymy of sign and thing signified.* "I will put the key of the house of David upon his shoulder, and he shall open, and no one shutting, and he shall shut, and no one opening." Here *key* is used as the sign of control over the house, of power to open or close the doors whenever one pleases; and the putting the *key upon the shoulder* denotes that the power, symbolized by the key, will be a heavy burden on him who exercises it. Compare Matt. xvi, 19. So again *diadem* and *crown* are used in Ezek. xxi, 26, for regal dignity and power, and *sceptre* in Gen. xlix, 10, and Zech. x, 11, for kingly dominion. In Isaiah's glowing picture of the Messianic era (ii, 4) he describes the utter cessation of national strife and warfare by the significant words, "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks." In Ezek. vii, 27, we have an example of the use of the thing signified for the sign: "The prince shall be clothed with desolation;" that is, arrayed in the garments or signs of desolation.

Another kind of trope, quite similar in character to metonymy, is that by which the whole is put for a part, or a part for the whole; a genus for a species, or a species for a genus; the singular for the plural, and the plural for the singular. This is called Synecdoche, from the Greek *συν*, *with*, and *ἐκδέχομαι*, *to receive from*, which conveys the general idea of receiving and associating one thing along with another. Thus "all the world" is used in Luke ii, 1, for the Roman Empire; and in Matt. xii, 40, three days and three nights are used for only part of that time. The soul is often named when the whole man or person is intended; as, "We were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls (Acts xxvii, 37). The singular of *day* is used by synecdoche for days or

period in such passages as Eccles. xii, 3: "In the day when the keepers of the house tremble." The singular of *stork*, *turtle*, *crane*, and *swallow* is used in Jer. viii, 7, as the representative of the whole class to which each belongs. Jephthah is said to have been "buried in the cities of Gilead" (Judg. xii, 7), where, of course, only one of those cities is intended. In Psa. xli, 9, the Lord is represented as "causing wars to cease unto the extremity of the land; bow he will shiver, and cut in pieces spear; war chariots he will burn in the fire." Here, by specifying *bow*, *spear*, and *chariots*, the Psalmist doubtless designed to represent Jehovah's triumph as an utter destruction of all implements of war. In Dent. xxxii, 41, the flashing gleam of the sword is put for its edge: "If I sharpen the lightning of my sword, and my hand lay hold on judgment."

It was characteristic of the Hebrew mind to form and express vivid conceptions of the external world. All objects of nature, inanimate things, and even abstract ideas were Personification. viewed as if instinct with life, and spoken of as masculine or feminine. And this tendency is noticeable in all languages, and occasions the figure of speech called Personification.¹ It is so common a feature of language that it often occurs in the most ordinary conversation; but it is more especially suited to the language of imagination and passion, and appears most frequently in the poetical parts of Scripture. The statement in Num. xvi, 32, that "the earth opened her mouth and swallowed" Korah and his associates, is an instance of personification, the like of which often occurs in prose narration. More striking is the language of Matt. vi, 34: "Be not therefore anxious for the morrow, for the morrow will be anxious for itself." Here the morrow itself is pictured before us as a living person, pressed by care and anxiety. But the more forcible instances of personification are found in such passages as Psa. cxiv, 3, 4: "The sea saw and fled; the Jordan was turned backward. The mountains leaped like rams; hills like the sons of the flock." Or, again, in Hab. iii, 10: "Mountains saw thee, they writhe; a flood of waters passed over; the deep gave his voice; on high his hands he lifted." Here mountains, hills, rivers, and sea, are introduced as things of life. They are assumed to be self-conscious, having powers of thought, feeling, and locomotion, and yet it is all the emotional language of imagination and poetic fervour, and has its origin in an intense, lively intuition of nature.

¹ The more technical name is *Prosopopæia*, from the Greek *πρόσωπον*, *face*, or *person*, and *ποιέω*, *to make*; and, accordingly, means to give personal form or character to an object. *Prosopopæia* is held by some to be a term of more extensive application than personification.

Apostrophe is a figure closely allied to personification. The name is derived from the Greek *ἀπό*, *from*, and *στρέφω*, *to turn*, and denotes especially the turning of a speaker away from his immediate hearers, and addressing an absent and imaginary person or thing. When the address is to an inanimate object, the figures of personification and apostrophe combine in one and the same passage. So, in connexion with the passage above cited from Psa. cxiv. After personifying the sea, the Jordan, and the mountains, the psalmist suddenly turns in direct address to them, and says: "What is the matter with thee, O thou sea, that thou fleest? Thou Jordan, that thou art turning backward? Ye mountains, that ye leap like rams; ye hills, like the sons of the flock?" The following apostrophe is peculiarly impressive by the force of its imagery. "O, Sword of Jehovah! How long wilt thou not be quiet? Gather thyself to thy sheath; be at rest and be dumb" (Jer. xlvii, 6). But apostrophe proper is an address to some absent person either living or dead; as when David laments for the dead Absalom (2 Sam. xviii, 33), and, as if the departed soul were present to hear, exclaims: "My son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! Would that I had died in thy stead, O Absalom, my son, my son!" The apostrophe to the fallen king of Babylon, in Isa. xiv, 9-20, is one of the boldest and sublimest examples of the kind in any language. Similar instances of bold and impassioned address abound in the Hebrew prophets, and, as we have seen, the oriental mind was notably given to express thoughts and feelings in this emotional style.

Interrogatory forms of expression are often the strongest possible way of enunciating important truths. As when it is written in Heb. i, 14, concerning the angels: "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth into service for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation?" Here the doctrine of the ministry of angels in such a noble service is by implication assumed as an undisputed belief. The interrogatories in Rom. viii, 33-35, afford a most impressive style of setting forth the triumph of believers in the blessed provisions of redemption: "Who shall bring charge against God's elect ones? Shall God who justifies? Who is he that is condemning? Is it Christ Jesus that died, but, rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also intercedes for us? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Even as it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day; we were accounted as sheep of slaughter. But in all these things we more than conquer through

him that loved us.”¹ Very frequent and conspicuous also are the interrogatory forms of speech in the Book of Job. “Knowest thou this of old, from the placing of Adam on the earth, that the triumph of the wicked is short, and the joy of the profane for a moment!” (xx, 4). “The secret of Eloah canst thou find? Or canst thou find out Shaddai to perfection?” (xi, 7). Jehovah’s answer out of the whirlwind (chaps. xxxviii–xli) is very largely in this form.

Hyperbole is a rhetorical figure which consists in exaggeration, or magnifying an object beyond reality. It has its natural origin in the tendency of youthful and imaginative minds to portray facts in the liveliest colours. An ardent imagination would very naturally describe the appearance of the many camps of the Midianites and Amalekites as in Judg. vii, 12: “Lying in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude; and as to their camels, no number, like the sand which is upon the shore of the sea for multitude.” So the emotion of David prompts him to speak of Saul and Jonathan as swifter than eagles and stronger than lions (2 Sam. i, 23). Other scriptural examples of this figure are the following: “All night I make my bed to swim; with my tears I dissolve my couch” (Psa. vi, 6). “Would that my head were waters and my eyes a fountain of tears; and I would weep day and night the slain of the daughter of my people” (Jer. ix, 1). “There are also many other things which Jesus did, which things, if written every one, I suppose that the world itself would not contain the books that should be written” (John xxi, 25). Such exaggerated expressions, when not overdone, or occurring too frequently, strike the attention and make an agreeable impression on the mind.

Another peculiar form of speech, deserving a passing notice here, is irony, by which a speaker or writer says the very opposite of what he intends. Elijah’s language to the Baal worshippers (1 Kings xviii, 27) is an example of most effective irony. Another example is Job xii, 1: “True it is that ye are the people, and with you wisdom will die!” In 1 Cor. iv, 8, Paul indulges in the following ironical vein: “Already ye are filled; already ye are become rich; without us ye have reigned; and I would indeed that ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.” On this passage Meyer remarks: “The discourse, already in

¹ The interrogative construction of this passage given above is maintained by many of the best interpreters and critics, ancient and modern (as Augustine, Ambrosiaster, Koppe, Reiche, Köllner, Olshausen, De Wette, Griesbach, Lachmann, Alford, Webster, and Jowett), and seems to us, on the whole, the most simple and satisfactory. But see other constructions advocated in Meyer and Lange.

verse 7, roused to a lively pitch, becomes now bitterly ironical, heaping stroke on stroke, even as the proud Corinthians, with their partisan conduct, needed an admonition (*vouéola*, ver. 14) to teach them humility." The designation of the thirty pieces of silver, in Zech. xi, 13, as "a glorious price," is an example of sarcasm. Words of derision and scorn, like those of the soldiers in Matt. xxvii, 30: "Hail, King of the Jews!" and those of the chief priests and scribes in Mark xv, 32: "Let the Christ, the King of Israel, now come down from the cross, that we may see and believe," are not proper examples of irony, but of malignant mockery.

CHAPTER IV.

SIMILE AND METAPHOR.

SIMILE.

WHEN a formal comparison is made between two different objects, simile defined so as to impress the mind with some resemblance or and illustrated. likeness, the figure is called a simile. A beautiful example is found in Isa. lv, 10, 11: "For as the rain and the snow come down from the heavens, and thither do not return, but water the land, and cause it to bear and to sprout, and it gives seed to the sower and bread to the eater: so shall my word be which goes forth out of my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but do that which I desired, and be successful in what I sent it." The apt and varied allusions of this passage set forth the beneficial efficacy of God's word in a most impressive style. "The images chosen," observes Delitzsch, "are rich with allusions. As snow and rain are the mediate cause of growth, and thus also of the enjoyment of what is harvested, so also by the word of God the ground and soil of the human heart is softened, refreshed, and made fertile and vegetative, and this word gives the prophet, who is like the sower, the seed which he scatters, and it brings with it bread that nourishes the soul; for every word that proceeds from the mouth of God is bread" (Deut. viii, 3).¹ Another illustration of the word of God appears in Jer. xxiii, 29: "Is not my word even as the fire, saith Jehovah, and as a hammer that breaks a rock in pieces?" Here are portrayed the fury and force of the divine word against false

¹ Biblical Commentary on Isaiah, in loco.

prophets. It is a word of judgment that burns and smites the sinful offender unto utter ruin, and the intensity of its power is enhanced by the double simile.

The tendency of the Hebrew writers to crowd several similes together is noticeable, and this may be in part accounted for by the nature of Hebrew parallelism. Thus in Isa. ^{Crowding of similes together.} i, 8: "The daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard; as a night-lodge in a field of cucumbers; as a city besieged." And again in verse 30: "Ye shall be as an oak withering in foliage, and as a garden to which there is no water." And in xxix, 8: "It shall be as when the hungry dreams, and lo, he is eating, and he awakes, and his soul is empty; and as when the thirsty dreams, and lo, he is drinking, and he awakes, and lo, he is faint, and his soul is eagerly longing: so shall be the multitude of all the nations that are warring against Mount Zion." But though the figures are thus multiplied, they have a natural affinity, and are not open to the charge of being mixed or confused.

Similes are of frequent occurrence in the Scriptures, and being designed to illustrate an author's meaning, they involve ^{Similes self-interpreting.} no difficulties of interpretation. When the Psalmist says: "I am like a pelican of the wilderness; I have become as an owl of desert places; I watch and am become as a solitary sparrow on a roof" (Psa. cii, 6), he conveys a vivid picture of his utter loneliness. An image of gracefulness and beauty is presented by the language of Cant. ii, 9: "My beloved is like a roe, or a young fawn." Compare verse 16, and chapter iv, 1-5. Ezekiel (xxxii, 2) compares Pharaoh to a young lion of the nations, and a dragon (crocodile) in the seas. It is said in Matt. xvii, 2, that when Jesus became transfigured "his face did shine as the sun, and his garments became white as the light." In Matt. xxviii, 3, it is said of the angel who rolled the stone from the sepulchre, that "his appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow." In Rom. xii, 4, the apostle illustrates the unity of the Church and the diversity of its individual ministers by the following comparison: "Even as in one body we have many members, and all the members have not the same work: so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another." Compare also 1 Cor. xii, 12. In all these and other instances the comparison is self-interpreting, and the main thought is intensified by the imagery.

A fine example of simile is that at the close of the sermon on the mount (Matt. vii, 24-27): "Every one therefore who hears these words of mine, and does them, shall be likened unto a wise man, who built his house upon the rock." Whether we here take the

ὁμοιωθήσεται, *shall be likened*, as a prediction of what will take place in the final judgment—I will then make him like; show as a matter of fact that he is like (Tholuck, Meyer), or as simply the predicate of formal comparison (the future tense merely contemplating future cases as they shall arise), the similitude is in either case the same. We have on the one hand the figure of a house based upon the immovable rock, which neither storm nor flood can shake; on the other of a house based upon the shifting sand, and unable to resist the violence of winds and floods. The similitude, thus formally developed, becomes, in fact, a parable, and the mention of *rains*, *floods*, and *winds* implies that the house is to be tested at *roof*, *foundation*, and *sides*—top, bottom, and middle. But we should not, like the mystics, seek to find some special and distinct form of temptation in these three words. The grand similitude sets forth impressively the certain future of those who hear and obey the words of Jesus, and also of those who hear and refuse to obey. Compare with this similitude the allegory in Ezek. xiii, 11–15.

Blair traces the pleasure we take in comparisons of this kind to three different sources. “First, from the pleasure which nature has annexed to that act of the mind by which we compare two objects together, trace resemblances among those that are different, and differences among those that resemble each other; a pleasure, the final cause of which is to prompt us to remark and observe, and thereby to make us advance in useful knowledge. This operation of the mind is naturally and universally agreeable, as appears from the delight which even children have in comparing things together, as soon as they are capable of attending to the objects that surround them. Secondly, the pleasure of comparison arises from the illustration which the simile employed gives to the principal object; from the clearer view of it which it presents, or the stronger impression of it which it stamps upon the mind. And, thirdly, it arises from the introduction of a new, and commonly a splendid object, associated to the principal one of which we treat; and from the agreeable picture which that object presents to the fancy; new scenes being thereby brought into view, which, without the assistance of this figure, we could not have enjoyed.”¹

There is, common to all languages, a class of illustrations, which might be appropriately called assumed comparisons. They are not, strictly speaking, either similes, or metaphors, or parables, or allegories, and yet they include some elements of them all. A fact or figure is introduced for

Pleasures afforded by simile.

Assumed comparisons or illustrations.

¹ Lectures on Rhetoric, lecture xvii.

the sake of illustration, and yet no formal words of comparison are used. But the reader or hearer perceives at once that a comparison is assumed. Sometimes such assumed comparisons follow a regular simile. In 2 Tim. ii, 3, we read: "Partake thou in hardship as a good soldier of Christ Jesus." But immediately after these words, and keeping the figure thus introduced in his mind, the apostle adds: "No one on service as a soldier entangles himself with the affairs of life; in order that he may please him who enlisted him as a soldier." Here is no figure of speech, but the plain statement of a fact fully recognized in military service. But following the simile of verse 3, it is evidently intended as a further illustration, and Timothy is left to make his own application of it. And then follow two other illustrations, which it is also assumed the reader will apply for himself. "And if also any one contend as an athlete, he is not crowned if he did not lawfully contend. The labouring husbandman must first partake of the fruits." These are plain, literal statements, but a comparison is tacitly assumed, and Timothy could not fail to make the proper application. The true minister's close devotion to his proper work, his cordial submission, and conformity to lawful authority and order, and his laborious activity, are the points especially emphasized by these respective illustrations. So, again, in verses 20 and 21 of the same chapter: "In a great house there are not only vessels golden and silver, but also wooden and earthen ones, and some Literal statement, but implied comparison. unto honour and some unto dishonour." Here is a simple statement of facts intended for an illustration, but not presented as a simile. It is suggested by the metaphor in the preceding verse, in which the Lord's own chosen, the pure who confess his name, are represented as the firm foundation laid by God, a beautifully inscribed substructure, which, however, is to be gradually builded upon until the edifice becomes complete.¹ Its real character and purport are as if the apostle had said: "And now, for illustration, consider how, in a great house," etc. What he says of this house is, in itself, no figure, but a literal statement of what was commonly found in any extensive building; but in verse 21 he makes his own application thus: "If, therefore, any one purify himself from these (persons like the troublesome errorists, as the babblers, Hymenæus, etc., verses 16, 17, considered as vessels unto dishonour), he shall be as a vessel unto honour, sanctified, useful to the Master, unto every good work prepared."

A similar example of extended illustration appears in Matt. vii, 15-20: "Beware of the false prophets who come to you in sheep's

¹ Compare what is said on Peter, the living stone, pp. 124-127.

clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves." Here is a bold, strong metaphor, obliging us to think of the false teacher as a wolf covered over and concealed from outward view by the skin of a sheep. But the next verse introduces another figure entirely: "From their fruits ye will know them;" and then to make the figure plainer, our Lord asks: "Do they gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?" The question demands a negative answer, and is itself an emphatic way of making such answer. Thereupon he proceeds, using the formula of comparison: "So every good tree produces good fruit, and the bad tree produces bad fruit;" and then, dropping formal comparison, he adds: "A good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor can a bad tree produce good fruit. Every tree that does not produce good fruit is cut down and cast into fire. Therefore (in view of these well-known facts, adduced as illustrations, I repeat the statement made a moment ago, verse 16), from their fruits ye will know them." It will be shown in a subsequent chapter how all true parables are essentially similes, but all similes are not parables. The examples of assumed comparison, given above, though distinguished from both simile and parable proper, contain essential elements of both.

METAPHOR.

Metaphor is an implied comparison, and is of much more frequent occurrence in all languages than simile. It differs from the latter in being a briefer and more pungent form of expression, and in turning words from their literal meaning to a new and striking use. The passage in Hos. xiii, 8: "I will devour them like a lion," is a simile or formal comparison; but Gen. xlix, 9: "A lion's whelp is Judah," is a metaphor. We may compare something to the savage strength and rapacity of a lion, or the swift flight of an eagle, or the brightness of the sun, or the beauty of a rose, and in each case we use the words in their literal sense. But when we say, Judah is a lion, Jonathan was an eagle, Jehovah is a sun, my beloved one is a rose, we perceive at once that the words lion, eagle, etc., are not used literally, but only some notable quality or characteristic of these creatures is intended. Hence metaphor, as the name denotes (Greek, *μεταφέρω*, to *carry over*, to *transfer*), is that figure of speech in which the sense of one word is transferred to another. This process of using words in new constructions is constantly going on, and, as we have seen in former chapters, the tropical sense of many words becomes at length the only one in use. Every language is, therefore, to a great extent, a dictionary of faded metaphors.

Metaphor defined and illustrated.

The sources from which scriptural metaphors are drawn are to be looked for chiefly in the natural scenery of the lands of the Bible, the customs and antiquities of the Orient, and the ritual worship of the Hebrews.¹ In Jer. ii, 13, we have two very expressive metaphors: "My people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, a fountain of living waters, to hew for themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." A fountain of living waters, especially in such a land as Palestine, is of inestimable worth; far more valuable than any artificial well or cistern, that can at best only catch and hold rain water, and is liable to become broken and lose its contents. What insane folly for a man to forsake a living fountain to hew for himself an uncertain cistern! The ingratitude and apostasy of Israel are strikingly characterized by the first figure, and their self-sufficiency by the second.

In Job ix, 6, a violent earthquake is represented as Jehovah "causing the land to move from her place, and making her columns tremble." The whole land affected by the earthquake shock is conceived as a building, heaved out of place, and all her pillars or columnar supports trembling and tottering to their fall. In chapter xxvi, 8, the holding of the rain in the heavens is pictured as God "binding up the waters in his dark cloud (צֶמֶד), and the cloud (גִּבְעָה, cloud-covering) is not rent under them." The clouds are conceived as a great sheet or bag, strong enough to hold the immense weight of waters. In Deut. xxxii, 40, Jehovah is represented as saying: "For I will lift up to heaven my hand, and say, living am I forever." Here the allusion is to the ancient custom of lifting up the hand to heaven in the act of making a solemn oath. In verse 42 we have these further images: "I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh." By these metaphors arrows are personified as living things, intoxicated with drinking the blood of Jehovah's slaughtered foes, and the sword, as a ravenous beast of prey, devouring their flesh. Many similar examples exhibit at one and the same time the Old Testament anthropomorphisms, together with personification and metaphor.

The following strong metaphors have their basis in well-known habits of animals: "Issachar is an ass of bone, lying down between the double fold" (Gen. xlix, 14). He loves rest, like a beast of burden, especially like the strong, bony ass, that seeks repose between the sheepfolds. "Naphtali is a hind set forth, the giver of sayings of beauty" (Gen.

¹ Compare above p. 158.

xlix, 21). The allusion here is specially to the elegance and beauty of the hind, bounding away gracefully in his freedom, and denotes in the tribe of Naphtali a taste for sayings of beauty, such as elegant songs and proverbs. As the neighbouring tribe of Zebulun produced ready writers (Judges v, 14), so, probably, Naphtali became noted for elegant speakers. "Benjamin is a wolf; he shall rend" (Gen. xlix, 27). This metaphor fittingly portrays the furious, warlike character of the Benjamites, from whom sprang an Ehud and a Saul. In Zech. vii, 11, mention is made of those who "refused to hearken, and gave a refractory shoulder," that is, acted like a refractory heifer or ox that shakes the shoulder and refuses to accept the yoke. Comp. Neh. ix, 29 and Hos. iv, 16. In Num. xxiv, 21, it is said of the Kenites, "Enduring is thy dwelling-place, and set in the rock thy nest." The secure dwellings of this tribe in the high fastnesses of the rocky hills are conceived as the nest of the eagle in the towering rock. Comp. Job xxxix, 27; Jer. xlix, 16; Obad. 4; Hab. ii, 9.

The following metaphors are based upon practices appertaining to the worship and ritual of the Hebrews. "I will wash my palms in innocence, I will go round about thy altar, O Jehovah" (Psa. xxvi, 6). Here the allusion is to the practice of the priests who were required to wash their hands before coming near the altar to minister (Exod. xxx, 20). The psalmist expresses his purpose to conform thoroughly to Jehovah's will; he would, so to speak, offer his burnt-offerings, even as the priest who goes about the altar on which his sacrifice is to be offered; and in doing so, he would be careful to conform to every requirement. In Psa. li, 7, "Purify me with hyssop, and I shall become clean," the allusion is to the ceremonial forms of purifying the leper (Lev. xiv, 6, 7) and his house (verse 51), and the person who had been defiled by contact with a dead body (Num. xix, 18, 19). So also the well-known usages of the passover, the sacrifice of the lamb, the careful removal of all leaven, and the use of unleavened bread, lie at the basis of the following metaphorical language: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened; for our passover also has been sacrificed, even Christ; wherefore, let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened loaves of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. v, 7, 8). Here the metaphors are continued until they make an allegory.

Sometimes a writer or speaker, after having used a striking metaphor goes on to elaborate its imagery, and, by so doing, constructs an allegory; sometimes he introduces a number and variety

of images together, or, at other times, laying all figure aside, he proceeds with plain and simple language. Thus, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus says: "Ye are the salt of the earth" (Matt. v, 13). It is not difficult to grasp at once the comparison here implied. "The earth, the living world of men, is like a piece of meat, which would putrefy but that the grace of the Gospel of God, like salt, arrests the decay and purifies and preserves it."¹ But the Lord proceeds, adhering closely to the imagery of salt and its power, and develops his figure into a brief allegory: "But if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" Here is a most significant query. "The apostles, and in their degree all Christians," says Whedon, "are the substance and body of that salt. They are the substance to which the saltness inheres. But if the living body to which this gracious saltness inheres doth lose this quality, wherewith shall the quality be restored? The *it* refers to the solid salt which has lost its saltness or savour. What, alas! shall ever resalt that savourless salt? The Christian is the solid salt, and the grace of God is his saltness; that grace is the very salt of the salt. This solid salt is intended to salt the world with; but, alas! who shall salt the salt?"² But immediately after this elaborated figure, another and different metaphor is introduced, and carried forward with still greater detail. "Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a mountain cannot be hid; nor do they light a lamp and put it under the modius, but on the stand, and it shines for all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine" (Matt. v, 14-16). Here a variety of images is presented to the mind; a light, a city on a mountain, a lamp, a lamp-stand, and a Roman modius or peck measure. But through all these varying images runs the main figure of a light designed to send its rays afar, and illumine all within its range. A metaphor thus extended always becomes, strictly speaking, an allegory. In Matt. vii, 7, we have three metaphors introduced in a single verse. "Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you." First, we have the image of a suppliant, making a request before a superior; next, of one who is in search for some goodly pearl or treasure (comp. Matt. xiii, 45, 46); and, finally, of one who is knocking at a door for admission. The three figures are so well related that they produce no confusion, but rather serve to strengthen one another. So Paul uses with good effect a twofold metaphor in Eph. iii, 17, where he prays "that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, being *rooted and grounded* in love." Here is the figure of a tree striking its roots

¹ Whedon, Commentary, in loco.

² Ibid.

into the soil, and of a building based upon a deep and strong foundation.¹ But these figures are accompanied both before and after with a style of language of the most simple and practical character, and not designed to elaborate or even adhere to the imagery suggested by the metaphors.

Sometimes the salient point of allusion in a metaphor may be a matter of doubt or uncertainty. The opening words of Deborah's song (Judg. v, 2) have long puzzled translators and exegetes. The English version, following substantially the Syriac and Arabic, renders the Hebrew בְּרַעַת פְּרָעִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, "for the avenging of Israel." The Septuagint (Alex. Codex) has, "for the leading of the leaders," but seems to have been governed by the resemblance of the word פְּרָעִים to the official name of Egyptian monarchs פַּרְעֹה, Pharaoh. Neither of these translations has any certain support in Hebrew usage. The noun פָּרַע occurs in the singular but twice (Num. vi, 5; Ezek. xlv, 20), and in both places means a *lock of hair*. The plural form of the word, פְּרָעִים, occurs only here and in Deut. xxxii, 42, and in both places would seem to mean, most legitimately, *locks of hair*, or *flowing locks*. And why should it be thought to mean any thing else? So far from being incongruous, it best suits the imagery of the immediate context in Deut. xxxii, 42. Jehovah there says: "I will make my arrows drunk with blood (Heb. בְּדָם, *from blood*), and my sword shall devour flesh—with the blood (or, from the blood) of slain and of captives, from the head of hairy locks of the enemy"—that is, from the blood of the hairy heads of the enemies. And so at the beginning of Deborah's song we may understand a bold metaphor,

¹ Meyer observes: "Paul, in the vivacity of his imagination, conceives to himself the congregation of his readers as a *plant* (comp. Matt. xiii, 3), perhaps a *tree* (Matt. vii, 17), and at the same time as a *building*." Critical Com. on Ephesians, in loco. "The perfect participles," says Braune, "denote a state in which Paul's readers are and continue to be, which is the presupposition in order that they may be able to know. . . . They mark that a profoundly penetrating life (ἡρπίζοντες) and a well grounded, permanent character (ρεθεμελιωμένοι) are necessary. The double figure strengthens the notion of the relation to love; this latter (ἐν ἀγάπῃ) is made prominent by being placed first. *In* marks *love* as the soil *in* which they are rooted, and as the foundation *on* which they are grounded. This implies moreover that it is not their own love which is referred to, but one which corresponds with the soil afforded to the tree, the foundation given to the house; and this would undoubtedly be, in accordance with the context, the love of Christ, were not all closer definition wanting, even the article. Accordingly, this substantive rendered general by the absence of the article corresponds with the verbal idea: in loving, i. e., in that love, which is first God's in Christ, and then that of men who became Christians, who are rooted in him and grounded on him through faith." Commentary on Ephesians (Lange's Bible-work), in loco.

"In the loosing of locks in Israel;" for the primary meaning of the verb *נָתַן* is everywhere that of *letting something loose*, and when used of locks of hair would naturally denote the loosing of the hair from all artificial coverings and restraint, and leaving it to wave wildly, as was done in the case of a Nazarite. The metaphor of the passage would thus be an allusion to the unrestrained growth of the locks of those who took upon themselves the vows of a Nazarite. And this view of the passage is corroborated by the next line of the parallelism, "In the free self-offering of the people." The people had, so to speak, by this act of consecration, made themselves free-will offerings. Nothing, therefore, could be more striking and impressive than these metaphorical allusions at the opening of this hymn:

In¹ the loosing of locks in Israel,
In the free self-offering of the people,
Praise Jehovah!

In Psa. xlv, 1, "My heart boils up with a goodly word," it is difficult to determine whether the allusion is to an overflowing fountain, or to a boiling pot. The primary idea, according to Gesenius, lies in the noise of water boiling or bubbling, and as the word *נִבְּרַח* occurs nowhere else, but its derivative, *נִבְּרַח*, denotes in Lev. ii, 7; vii, 9, a pot or vessel used both for boiling and frying, it is perhaps safer to say that the allusion in the metaphor of Psa. xlv, 1, is to a boiling pot. The heart of the Psalmist was hot with a holy fervour, and, like the boiling oil of the vessel in which the meat-offering was prepared, it seethed and bubbled in the rapture of exulting song.

The exact point of the allusion in the words, "buried with him through baptism into death" (Rom. vi, 4), and "buried with him in baptism" (Col. ii, 12), has been disputed. The advocates of immersion insist that there is an allusion to the mode in which the rite of water baptism was performed, and most interpreters have acknowledged that such an allusion is in the word. The immersion of the candidate was thought of as a burial in the water. But the context in both passages goes to show that the great thought of the apostle was that of the believer's *death unto sin*. Thus, in Romans, "Are ye ignorant that as many

¹ The preposition *בְּ*, in, points out the condition of the people in which they conquered and sang. The song is the people's consecration hymn, and praises God for the prosperous and successful issue with which he has crowned their vows. Cassel's Commentary on Judges (Lange's Biblework), in loco. Comp. Whedon's Old Testament Commentary, in loco.

of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death. . . . We have become united with the likeness of his death (ver. 5). . . . Our old man was crucified with him (ver. 6). . . . We died with Christ (ver. 8). . . . Even so consider ye yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (ver. 11). Now, while the word *buried with* (*συνθάπτω*) would naturally accord with the idea of an immersion into water, the main thought is the *deadness unto sin*, attained through a union with Christ in *the likeness of his death*. The imagery does not depend on the mode of Christ's execution or of his burial, much less on the manner in which baptism was administered, but on *the similitude of his death* (*τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*, ver. 5) considered as an accomplished fact. The baptism is *into death*, not into water; and whether the outward rite were performed by sprinkling, or pouring, or immersion, it would have been equally true in either case, that they were "buried with him through the baptism into the death." Or he might have said, "We were crucified with him through baptism into death;" and then as now it would have been the end accomplished, the death, not the mode of the baptism, which is made prominent. In the briefer form of expression in Col. ii, 12, it is written, simply, "having been buried with him in baptism." Here, however, the context shows that the leading thought is the same as in Rom. vi, 3-11. The burial *in baptism* (*ἐν τῷ βαπτισμῷ*, in the matter of baptism) figured "the putting off of the body of the flesh;" that is, the utter stripping off and casting aside the old carnal nature. The burial is not to be thought of as a mode of putting a corpse in a grave or sepulchre, but as indicating that the body of sin is truly dead. Having thus clearly defined the real point of the allusion it need not be denied or disputed that the figure also may include, incidentally, a reference to the practice of immersion. But, as Eadie observes, "Whatever may be otherwise said in favour of immersion, it is plain that here the burial is wholly ideal. Believers are buried in baptism, but even in immersion they do not go through a process having any resemblance to the burial and resurrection of Christ."¹ To maintain from such a metaphorical allusion, where the process and mode of burial are not in point at all, that a burial into, and a resurrection from, water, are essential to valid baptism, would seem like an extravagance of dogmatism.

¹ Commentary on the Greek Text of Colossians, in loco.

CHAPTER V.

FABLES, RIDDLES, AND ENIGMAS.

PASSING now from the more common figures of speech, we come to those peculiar tropical methods of conveying ideas and impressing truths, which hold a special prominence in the Holy Scriptures. These are known as fables, riddles, enigmas, allegories, parables, proverbs, types, and symbols. More prominent scriptural tropes. In order to appreciate and properly interpret these special forms of thought, a clear understanding of the more common rhetorical figures treated in the previous chapters is altogether necessary. For the parable will be found to correspond with the simile, the allegory with the metaphor, and other analogies will be traceable in other figures. A scientific analysis and treatment of these more prominent tropes of Scripture will require us to distinguish and discriminate between some things which in popular speech are frequently confounded. Even in the Scripture itself the proverb, the parable, and the allegory are not formally distinguished. In the Old Testament the word *הַפְּתָיָה* is applied alike to the proverbs of Solomon (Prov. i, 1; x, 1; xxv, 1), the oracles of Balaam (Num. xxiii, 7; xxiv, 8), the addresses of Job (Job xxvii, 1; xxix, 1), the taunting speech against the King of Babylon (in Isa. xiv, 4, ff.), and other prophecies (Micah ii, 4; Hab. ii, 6). In the New Testament the word *παραβολή*, *parable*, is applied not only to what are admitted on all hands to be parables proper, but also to proverb (Luke iv, 23), and symbol (Heb. ix, 9), and type (Heb. xi, 19). John does not use the word *παραβολή* at all, but calls the allegory of the good shepherd in chap. x, 6, a *παροιμία*, which word Peter uses in the sense of a proverb or byword (2 Peter ii, 22). The word allegory occurs but once (Gal. iv, 24), and then in verbal form (*ἀλληγορούμενα*) to denote the allegorizing process by which certain Old Testament facts might be made to typify Gospel truths.

Lowest of these special figures, in dignity and aim, is the fable. It consists essentially in this, that individuals of the brute creation, and of animate and inanimate nature, are introduced into the imagery as if possessed with reason and speech, and are represented as acting and talking contrary to the laws of their being. There is a conspicuous element of unreality about the

whole machinery of fables, and yet the moral intended to be set forth is usually so manifest that no difficulty is felt in understanding it.

The oldest fable of which we have any trace is that of Jotham, recorded in Judg. ix, 7-20. The trees are represented as going forth to choose and anoint a king. They invite the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine to come and reign over them, but these all decline, and urge that their own natural purpose and products require all their care. Then the trees invite the bramble, which does not refuse, but, in biting irony, insists that all the trees shall come and take refuge under its shadow! Let the olive-tree, and the fig-tree, and the vine come under the protecting shade of the briar! But if not, it is significantly added, "Let fire go forth from the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon." The miserable, worthless bramble, utterly unfit to shade even the smallest shrub, might, nevertheless, well serve to kindle a fire that would quickly devour the noblest of trees. So Jotham, in giving an immediate application of his fable, predicts that the weak and worthless Abimelech, whom the men of Shechem had been so fast to make king over them, would prove an accursed torch to burn their noblest leaders. All this imagery of trees walking and talking is at once seen to be purely fanciful. It has no foundation in fact, and yet it presents a vivid and impressive picture of the political follies of mankind in accepting the leadership of such worthless characters as Abimelech.

Another fable, quite similar to that of Jotham, is found in 2 Kings xiv, 9, where Jehoash, the King of Israel, answers the warlike challenge of Amaziah, King of Judah, by the following short and pungent apologue: "The thornbush which is in Lebanon sent to the cedar which is in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son for a wife; and there passed over a beast of the field which was in Lebanon, and trampled down the thornbush." This fable embodies a most contemptuous response to Amaziah, intimating that his pride of heart and self-conceit were moving him to attempt things far beyond his proper sphere. The beast trampling down the thornbush intimates that a passing incident, which could have no effect on a cedar of Lebanon, might easily destroy the briar. Jehoash does not proudly boast that he himself will come forth, and by his military forces crush Amaziah; but suggests that a passing judgment, an incidental circumstance, would be sufficient for that purpose, and it were therefore better for the presumptuous King of Judah to remain at home in his proper place.

The apologues of Jotham and Jehoash are the only proper fables that appear in the Bible. In the interpretation of these we should guard against pressing the imagery too far. We are not to suppose that every word and allusion has some special meaning. In the apologue of Jehoash we are not to say that the thornbush was Amaziah, and the cedar Jehoash, and the wild beast the warriors of the latter; and yet, by the contrast between the cedar and the thornbush, the king of Israel would, doubtless, impress his contempt for Amaziah upon the latter's mind, and thus seek to humiliate his pride. Neither are we to suppose that Amaziah had asked Jehoash to give his daughter in marriage to his son; nor that "Israel might properly be regarded as Jehoash's daughter, and Judah as Amaziah's son" (Thenius), as if Amaziah had formally demanded, as Josephus states, (*Ant.* ix, 9, 2), a union of the two kingdoms. Nor in the fable of Jotham are we, like some of the ancient interpreters, to understand by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, the three great judges that had preceded Abimelech, viz., Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, nor seek for hidden meanings and thrusts in such words as *anoint*, *reign over us*, and *shadow*. We should always keep in mind that it is one distinguishing feature of fables that they are not exact parallels of those things to which they are designed to be applied. They are based on imaginary actions of irrational creatures, or inanimate things, and can therefore never be true to actual life.

Fabulous imagery not to be pressed too far in the interpretation.

We should also note how completely the spirit and aim of the fable accords with irony, sarcasm, and ridicule. Hence its special adaptation to expose the follies and vices of men. "It is essentially of the earth," says Trench, "and never lifts itself above the earth. It never has a higher aim than to inculcate maxims of prudential morality, industry, caution, foresight; and these it will sometimes recommend even at the expense of the higher self-forgetting virtues. The fable just reaches that pitch of morality which the world will understand and approve."¹ But this able and excellent writer goes, as we think, too far when he says that the fable has no proper place in the Scripture, "and, in the nature of things, could have none, for the purpose of Scripture excludes it." The fables noticed above are a part of the Scripture which is received as God-inspired (2 Tim. iii, 16); and though it is not God that speaks through them, but men occupying an earthly standpoint, that fact does not make good the assertion that such fables have no true place in Scripture. For the teachings of Scripture move in the

¹ Notes on the Parables, p. 10.

realm of earthly life and human thought as well as in a higher and holier element, and sarcasm and caustic rebukes find a place on the sacred page. The record of Adam's naming the beasts and fowls that were brought to him in Eden (Gen. ii, 19) suggests that their qualities and habits impressed his mind with significant analogies. Many of the most useful proverbs are abbreviated fables (Prov. vi, 6; xxx, 15, 25-28). Though the fable moves in the earthly element of prudential morality, even that element may be pervaded and taken possession of by the divine wisdom.¹

The riddle differs from the fable in being designed to puzzle and perplex the hearer. It is purposely obscure in order to test the sharpness and penetration of those who attempt to solve it. The Hebrew word for riddle (חִידָה) is from a root which means to *twist*, or tie a knot, and is used of any dark and intricate saying, which requires peculiar skill and insight to unravel. The queen of Sheba made a journey to Solomon's court to test him with riddles (1 Kings x, 1). It is declared, at the beginning of the Book of the Proverbs, that it is the part of true wisdom "to understand a proverb and an enigma (חִידָה); words of the wise and their riddles" (Prov. i, 6). The psalmist says, "I will incline my ear to a proverb; I will open on a harp my riddle" (Psa. xlix, 4). "I will open my mouth in a proverb; I will pour forth riddles of old" (lxxviii, 2). Riddles, therefore, dark sayings, enigmas, which conceal thought, and, at the same time, incite the inquiring mind to search for their hidden meanings, have a place in the Scripture.

Samson's celebrated riddle is in the form of a Hebrew couplet (Judges xiv, 14):

Out of the eater came forth food,
And out of strength came forth sweetness.

The clue to this riddle is furnished in the incidents related in Samson's riddle- verses 8 and 9. Out of the carcass of a devouring beast came the food of which both Samson and his parents had eaten; and out of that which had been the embodiment of strength, came forth the sweet honey, which the bees had deposited therein. But Samson's companions, and even his parents, were not acquainted with these facts. Their ignorance, however,

¹ The profound significance of Jotham's fable is declared by Cassel to be inexhaustible. "Its truth is of perpetual recurrence. More than once was Israel in the position of the Shechemites; then, especially, when he whose kingdom is not of this world, refused to be a king. Then, too, Herod and Pilate became friends. The thornbush seemed to be king when it encircled the head of the Crucified. But Israel experienced what is here denounced: a fire went forth and consumed city and people, temple and fortress." Cassel's Commentary on Judges (Lange's Biblework), in loco.

is no ground for saying that therefore Samson's riddle was no proper riddle at all. "The ingenuity of the riddle," says Cassel, "consists precisely in this, that the ambiguity both of its language and contents can be turned in every direction, and thus conceals the answer. It is like a knot whose right end cannot be found. . . . Samson's problem distinguishes itself only by its peculiar ingenuity. It is short and simple, and its words are used in their natural signification. It is so clear as to be obscure. It is not properly liable to the objection that it refers to an historical act which no one could know. The act was one which was common in that country. Its turning point, with reference to the riddle was, not that it was an incident of Samson's personal history, but that its occurrence in general was not impossible."¹

A notable example of riddle in the New Testament is that of the mystic number of the beast propounded in Rev. xiii, 18. The number of the beast. "Here is wisdom. Let him that has understanding reckon the number of the beast, for it is a man's number; and his number is six hundred sixty-six." Another very ancient reading, but probably the error of a copyist, makes the number six hundred and fourteen. This riddle has perplexed critics and interpreters through all the ages since the Apocalypse was written.² The number of a man would most naturally mean the numerical value of the letters which compose some man's name, and the two names which have found most favour in the solution of this problem are the Greek *Λατρεως*, and the Hebrew *נרן קטר*. Either of these names makes up the required number, and one or the other will be adopted according to one's interpretation of the symbolical beast in question.

Some of the sayings of the wise in the Book of Proverbs seem to have been made purposely obscure. Who shall decide Dark proverbs. the real meaning of Prov. xxvi, 10? The English version renders: "The great God that formed all things both rewardeth the fool, and rewardeth transgressors." But the margin gives us an alternative reading: "A great man grieveth all, and he hireth the fool, he hireth also transgressors." Others translate: "As the archer that woundeth every one, so is he that hireth the fool, and he that hireth the passer-by." Others: "An arrow that woundeth every one is he who hireth a fool and he who hireth vagrants." Others: "A master forms all things himself, but he that hires a fool is as he that hires vagrants." And the Hebrew words of the

¹ Commentary on Judges, in loco.

² For the various conjectures see the leading Commentaries on the passage, especially Stuart, Elliott, and Düsterdieck.

original are susceptible of still other renderings. A proverb couched in words susceptible of so many different meanings may well be called a riddle or "dark saying." It was probably designed to puzzle, and the variety of meanings attaching to its words was a reason with the author for choosing just those words.

One of the "dark sayings of old" is the poetic fragment ascribed to Lamech (Gen. iv, 23, 24), which may be closely rendered thus:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Wives of Lamech, listen to my saying;
For a man have I slain for my wound,
And a child for my bruise.
For sevenfold avenged should Cain be,
And Lamech seventy and seven.

The obscurity attaching to this song arises probably from our ignorance of the circumstances which called it forth. Some have supposed that Lamech was smitten with remorse over the murder of a young man, and these words are his lamentation. Others suppose he had killed a man in self-defense, or in retaliation for wounds received. Others make the song a triumphant exultation over Tubal-cain's invention of brass and iron weapons, and, translating the verb as a future "I will slay," regard the utterance as a pompous threat. Verse 24 is then understood as a blasphemous boast that he could now avenge his own wrongs ten times more thoroughly than God would avenge the slaying of Cain.¹ Possibly the whole song was originally intended as a riddle, and was as perplexing to Lamech's wives as to modern expositors.

It would be well to make a formal distinction between the riddle and the enigma, and apply the former term to such intricate sayings as deal essentially with earthly things, and are especially designed to exercise human ingenuity and shrewdness. Such were Samson's riddle, and the puzzling questions put to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, the number of the beast, and proverbs like that noticed above (Prov. xxvi, 10). Enigmas, on the other hand, would be the more fitting name for those mystic utterances which serve both to conceal and enhance some deep and sacred thought. But the words have been so long used interchangeably of both classes of dark sayings that we can scarcely expect to change from such indiscriminate usage.

The word *enigma* (*αἰνύμα*) occurs but once (1 Cor. xiii, 12) in the New Testament, but in the Septuagint it is employed as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew עֲרִמָּה. In 1 Cor. xiii, 12, it is used to

¹ For a full synopsis of the various interpretations of this song, see M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, article Lamech.

indicate the dim and imperfect manner in which in this life we apprehend heavenly and eternal things: "For we see now through a mirror in *enigma*." Most expositors take the words *in enigma* adverbially, in the sense of *darkly, dimly, in an enigmatical way*. "But *ἀλυσμα*," says Meyer, "is a dark *saying*, and the idea of the *saying* should as little be lost here as in Num. xii, 8. Luther renders rightly: *in a dark word*; which, however, should be explained more precisely as *by means of an enigmatic word*, whereby is meant the word of the Gospel revelation, which capacitates for the *seeing* (βλέπειν) in question, however imperfect it be, and is its medium to us. It is *ἀλυσμα*, inasmuch as it affords to us no full clearness of light upon God's decrees, ways of salvation, etc., but keeps its contents sometimes in greater, sometimes in a less, degree (Rom. xi, 33; 1 Cor. ii, 9) concealed, bound up in images, similitudes, types, and the like forms of human limitation and human speech, and consequently is for us of a mysterious and enigmatic nature, standing in need of a future λύσις (solution), and vouchsafing πίστις (faith), indeed, but not εἶδος (appearance, 2 Cor. v, 7)."¹

There is an enigmatical element in our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus, John iii, 1-13. The profound lesson contained in the words of verse 3: "Except a man be born from above he cannot see the kingdom of God," perplexed and confounded the Jewish ruler. Deep in his heart the Lord, who "knew what was in man" (ii, 25), discerned his spiritual need. His thoughts were too much upon the outward, the visible, the fleshly. The miracles of Jesus had made a deep impression, and he would inquire of the great wonder-worker as of a divinely commissioned *teacher*. Jesus stops all his compliments, and surprises him with a mysterious word, which seems equivalent to saying: Do not now talk about my works, or of whence I came; turn your thoughts upon your inner self. What you need is not *new knowledge*, but *new life*; and that life can be had only by another *birth*. And when Nicodemus uttered his surprise and wonder, he was rebuked by the reflection, "Art thou the teacher of Israel, and knowest not these things?" (ver. 10). Had not the psalmist prayed, "Create in me a clean heart, O God?" (Psa. li, 10). Had not the law and the prophets spoken of a divine circumcision of the heart? (Deut. xxx, 6; Jer. iv, 4; Ezek. xi, 19). Why then should such a man as Nicodemus express surprise at these deep sayings of the Lord? Simply because his heart-life and spiritual discernment were unable then to apprehend "the things of the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. ii, 14). They were as a riddle to him.

¹ Meyer on Corinthians, in loco.

Enigmatical
element in Jesus'
words to Nicodemus.

The same style of enigmatical discourse appears in Jesus' sayings in the synagogue at Capernaum (John vi, 53-59); also in his first words to the woman of Samaria (John iv, 10-15), and in his response to the disciples when they returned and "wondered that he was talking with a woman," and asked him to eat of the food they had procured (John iv, 32-38). His reply, in this last case, was, "I have food to eat which ye do not know." They misunderstood him, as did Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman. "What wonder," says Augustine, "if that woman did not understand water? Behold, the disciples do not yet understand food."¹ They wondered whether any one had brought him something to eat during their absence, and then Jesus spoke more plainly: "My food is that (*lva*, indicating conscious aim and purpose) I shall do the will of him that sent me, and shall complete his work." His success with the Samaritan woman was to him better food than any bodily sustenance, for it elevated his soul into the holy conviction and assurance that he should successfully accomplish the whole of that work for which he came into the world. And then he proceeds, adhering still to the tone and style of intermingled enigma and allegory: "Do not ye say that there is yet a four-month, and the harvest comes? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes and look on the fields, that they are white unto harvest. Already² he that reaps is receiving reward and gathering fruit into (*elc*, as into a garner) life eternal, that he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together." The winning of that one Samaritan convert opens to Jesus' prophetic soul the great Gospel harvest of the near future, and he speaks of it as already at hand. Whether we regard the saying, "There is yet a four-month, and the harvest comes," as a proverb (Lightfoot, Tholuck, Lücke, De Wette, Stier), equivalent to, There is a space of four months between seedtime and harvest, or understand that the neighbouring grain fields were just sown, or just now green with the young tender grain (Meyer and many), and over them many Samaritans appeared coming to him (ver. 30), the great thought is still the same, and emphasizes the actual joy of Jesus in that hour of ingathering. Sower and reaper were together there and then, but the disciples could scarcely take in the full import of Jesus' glowing words. "The disciples saw no harvest field; they said and they thought assuredly, There must be at least four months yet! But the Lord sets before them a mystery

¹ In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus xv, 81.

² Most of the oldest and best manuscript authorities omit *kai* after *ἥδη*, and many of the best critics join *ἥδη* with what follows. So Schulz, Tischendorf, Godet, and Westcott and Hort.

and an enigma, and thereby would teach them to lift up aright the eyes of their faith. *Behold*, I say unto you, I have now been sowing the word, and already behold a sudden harvest upspringing and ready. Should not this be my meat and my joy? O ye, my reapers, rejoice together with me, the sower, and forget ye also to eat!"¹

The words of Jesus in Luke xxii, 36, are an enigma. As he was about to go out to Gethsemane he discerned that the hour of peril was at hand. He reminded his disciples of the time when he sent them forth without purse, wallet, or shoes (Luke ix, 1-6), and drew from them the acknowledgement that they had then lacked nothing. "But now," said he, "he that has a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet; and he that has not, let him sell his mantle, and buy a sword." He would impress them with the feeling that the time of fearful conflict and exposure was now imminent. They must expect to be assailed, and should be prepared for all righteous self-defense. They would see times when a sword would be worth more to them than a mantle. But our Lord, evidently, did not mean that they should, literally, arm themselves with the weapons of a carnal warfare, and use the sword to propagate his cause (Matt. xxvi, 52; John xviii, 36). He would significantly warn them of the coming bitter conflict and opposition they must meet. The world would be against them, and assail them in many a hostile form, and they should therefore prepare for self-defense and manly encounter. It is not the sword of the Spirit (Eph. vi, 17) of which the Lord here speaks, but the sword as the symbol of that warlike heroism, that bold and fearless confession, and that inflexible purpose to maintain the truth, which would soon be a duty and a necessity on the part of the disciples in order to defend their faith. But the disciples misunderstood these enigmatical words, and spoke of two swords which they had with them! Jesus paused not to explain, and broke off that conversation "in the tone of one who is conscious that others would not yet understand him, and who, therefore, holds further speech unprofitable."² His laconic answer, *it is enough*, was "a gentle turning aside of further discussion, with a touch of sorrowful irony. More than your two swords ye need not!"³

A similar enigma appears in John xxi, 18, where Jesus says to Simon Peter: "When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old another shall gird thee and carry thee

Enigma of the sword in Luke xxii, 36.

Enigmatical words to Peter, John xxi, 18.

¹ Stier, Words of Jesus, in loco.
(Lange's Biblework), in loco.

² Van Oosterzee's Commentary on Luke

³ Meyer, in loco.

whither thou wouldest not." The writer immediately adds that Jesus thereby signified (*σημαίνων*) "by what death he should glorify God." But it is scarcely probable that Peter then fully comprehended the saying. Comp. also John ii, 19.

The prophetic picture of the two eagles in Ezek. xvii, 2-10, is a mixture of enigma (*הִיכָה*) and fable (*פֶּלֶא*). It is fabulous so far as it represents the eagles as acting with

The two eagles of Ezek. xvii, 1-10.

human intelligence and will, but, aside from this, its imagery belongs rather to the sphere of prophetic symbols. Altogether, it is an enigma of high prophetic character, a "dark saying," in which the real meaning is concealed behind typical images. In its interpretation we need to take the whole chapter together, and we observe that it has three distinct parts: (1) The enigma (verses 1-10); (2) its interpretation (11-21); (3) a Messianic prophecy based upon the foregoing imagery (22-24). The great eagle represents the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar. The "great wings, with long pinions, full of feathers of many colours" (ver. 3), altogether furnish a striking figure of majesty, rapidity of movement, and splendour of regal power. Most expositors explain the great wings as denoting the wide dominion of this eagle; the long pinions as the extent and energy of his military power; the fulness of feathers to the multitude of subjects; and the many colours to the diversity of their nations, languages, and customs. But the tracing of such special allusions in the natural appendages of the eagle is of doubtful worth, and should not be made prominent. It is better to understand in a more general way the strength, rapidity, and glory of Nebuchadnezzar. Lebanon is mentioned because of its being the natural home of the cedar, but it here represents Jerusalem (ver. 12), which was the home and seat of the royal seed of Judah. The leafy crown and topmost shoots of the cedar are the king and princes of Judah whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv, 14, 15). Babylon is here called, enigmatically, "a land of Canaan," because its commerce and its diplomacy had made it "a city of merchants." Its self-seeking spirit of policy and trade made it a land of Canaan (Eng. Ver., "traffic").

And now the figure changes. The eagle "took of the seed of the land," of the same land where the cedar grew, "and put it in a field of seed" (ver. 5) where it had every chance to grow. Nay, he took it upon many waters as one would plant a willow; that is, with the care and foresight that one would exercise in setting a willow in a well-watered soil in which alone it can flourish. But this "seed of the land" was not the seed of a willow, but of a vine, and it "sprouted and became a spreading vine of low stature;"

and it was the plan of the eagle that this lowly vine should "turn its branches toward him, and its roots under him" (ver. 6). The "seed of the land" (ver. 5) was the royal seed of the kingdom of Judah (ver. 13), Zedekiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar made king in Jerusalem after the capture of Jehoiachin (2 Kings xxiv, 17).

The other great eagle was the king of Egypt, less mighty and glorious than the other. Toward this second eagle the vine turned her roots and sent forth her branches (ver. 7). The impotent but rebellious Zedekiah "sent his messengers to Egypt" for horses and people to help him against Nebuchadnezzar (ver. 15). But it was all in vain. He who broke his covenant and despised his oath (ver. 18) could not prosper; it required no great arm or many people to uproot and destroy such a feeble vine. The eagle of Egypt was powerless to help, and the Chaldean forces, like a destructive east wind (ver. 10), utterly withered it away. All this is brought out forcibly in the solemn words of the "oracle of the Lord Jehovah," verses 16-21.

Thus far the imagery has been a mixture of fable and symbol,¹ but with verse 22 the prophet enters a higher plane of prophecy. The eagles drop out of view entirely, and Jehovah himself takes from the leafy crown of the high cedar a tender shoot (comp. Isa. xi, 1; liii, 2) and plants it upon the lofty mountain of Israel, where it becomes a glorious cedar to shelter and shade "every bird of every wing." This is a noble prophecy of the Messiah, springing from the stock of Judah, and developing from the holy "mountain of the house of Jehovah" (Micah iv, 1, 2) a kingdom of marvellous growth and of gracious protection to all who may seek its shelter. We should note especially how the Messianic prophecy here leaves the realm of fable and takes on the style of allegory and parable. Comp. Matt. xiii, 31, 32.

¹ Schröder observes that the mixed figure here used by Ezekiel goes far beyond mere popular illustration, and must not "be explained away from the æsthetic standpoint, as merely another rhetorical garb for the thought. As in the parable the emblematic form preponderates over the thought, so also here. What the prophet is to say to Israel is said by the whole of that mighty array of figurative expression, for which the animal and vegetable worlds furnish the figures. But the eagle does what eagles otherwise never do; and what is planted as a willow grows as a vine; and the vine is represented as falling in love with the other eagle. The contradictory character of such a representation, and the fact that in the difficulties to be solved (ver. 9, sq.) the comparison comes to a stand, and the closing Messianic portion in which the whole culminates, convert the parable into a riddle. A trace of irony and the moral tendency, such as belong to the fable, are not wanting." Commentary on Ezekiel (in Lange's Biblework), in loco.

CHAPTER VI.

INTERPRETATION OF PARABLES.

Among the figurative forms of scriptural speech the parable has a notable pre-eminence. We find a number of examples of parabolic teaching in the Old Testament, and the esteem in which this mode of teaching was held by the ancient Jews is apparent from the following words of the son of Sirach:

He who gives his soul and exercises his mind in the law of the Most High
 Will seek out the wisdom of the ancients,
 And will be occupied with prophecies.
 He will observe the utterances of men of fame,
 And will enter with them into the twists (*στροφαις*) of parables.
 He will seek out the hidden things of proverbs,
 And busy himself with the enigmas of parables.¹

Parables are especially worthy of our study, inasmuch as they were the chosen methods by which our Lord set forth many revelations of his heavenly kingdom. They were also employed by the great rabbis who were contemporary with Jesus, and they frequently appear in the Talmud and other Jewish books. Among all the oriental peoples they appear to have been a favourite form of conveying moral instruction, and find a place in the literature of most nations.

The word *parable* is derived from the Greek verb *παραβάλλω*, to throw or place by the side of, and carries the idea of placing one thing by the side of another for the purpose of comparison. The word has been somewhat vaguely used, as we have seen above,² to represent the Hebrew *משל*, and to designate proverbs, types, and symbols (as in Luke iv, 23; Heb. ix, 9; xi, 19). But, strictly speaking, the parable belongs to a style of figurative speech which constitutes a class of its own. It is essentially a comparison, or simile, and yet all similes are not parables. The simile may appropriate a comparison from any kind or class of objects, whether real or imaginary. The parable is limited in its range, and confined to that which is real. Its imagery always embodies a narrative which is true to the facts and experiences of human life. It makes no use, like the fable, of talking birds and

¹ Ecclesiasticus xxxix, 1-3.

² See above on p. 177.

beasts, or of trees in council. Like the riddle and enigma, it may serve to conceal a truth from those who have not spiritual penetration to perceive it under its figurative form; but its narrative style, and the formal comparison always announced or assumed, differentiate it clearly from all classes of knotty sayings which are designed mainly to puzzle and confuse. The parable, when once understood, unfolds and illustrates the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. The enigma may embody profound truths, and make much use of metaphor, but it never, like the parable, forms a narrative, or assumes to make a formal comparison. The parable and the allegory come nearer together, so that, indeed, parables have been defined as "historical allegories;"¹ but they differ from each other in substantially the same way as simile differs from metaphor. The parable is essentially a formal comparison, and requires its interpreter to go beyond its own narrative to bring in its meaning; the allegory is an extended metaphor, and contains its interpretation within itself. The parable, therefore, stands apart by itself as a mode and style of figurative speech. It moves in an element of sober earnestness, never transgressing in its imagery the limits of probability, or of what might be actual fact. It may tacitly take up within itself essential elements of enigma, type, symbol, and allegory, but it differs from them all, and in its own chosen sphere of real, every-day life, is peculiarly adapted to body forth special teachings of Him who is "the *Verax*, no less than the *Verus*, and the *Veritas*."²

The general design of parables, as of all other kinds of figurative language, is to embellish and set forth ideas and moral truths in attractive and impressive forms. Many a General use of parables. moral lesson, if spoken in naked, literal style, is soon forgotten; but, clothed in parabolic dress, it arouses attention, and fastens itself in the memory. Many rebukes and pungent warnings may be couched

¹ Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, p. 311.

² Trench on the *Miracles*, p. 127. This eminent divine, whose work on the parables is one of the best of its kind, traces to considerable extent the differences between the parable, the fable, the myth, the proverb, and the allegory, and sums up as follows: "The parable differs from the fable, moving as it does in a spiritual world, and never transgressing the actual order of things natural; from the mythus, there being in the latter an unconscious blending of the deeper meaning with the outward symbol, the two remaining separate and separable in the parable; from the proverb, inasmuch as it is longer carried out, and not merely accidentally and occasionally, but necessarily figurative; from the allegory, comparing as it does one thing with another, at the same time preserving them apart as an inner and an outer, not transferring, as does the allegory, the proprieties, and qualities, and relations of one to the other."—Notes on the Parables, pp. 15, 16. New York, 1857.

in a parable, and thereby give less offence, and yet work better effects than open plainness of speech could do. Nathan's parable (in 2 Sam. xii, 1-4) prepared the heart of David to receive with profit the keen reproof he was about to administer. Some of our Lord's most pointed parables against the Jews—parables which they perceived were directed against themselves—embodied reproof, rebuke, and warning, and yet by their form and drapery, they served to shield him from open violence (Matt. xxi, 45; Mark xii, 12; Luke xx, 19). It is easy, also, to see that a parable may enshrine a profound truth or mystery which the hearers may not at first apprehend, but which, because of its striking or memorable form, abides more firmly in the mind, and so abiding, yields at length its deep and precious meaning.¹

The special reason and purpose of the parables of Jesus are stated in Matt. xiii, 10-17. Up to that point in his ministry Jesus appears not to have spoken in parables. "The words of grace (*λόγια τῆς χάριτος*) which proceeded from his mouth" (Luke iv, 22) in the synagogue, by the seashore, and on the mount, were direct, simple, and plain. He used simile and metaphor in the sermon on the mount, and elsewhere. In the synagogue at Nazareth he quoted a familiar proverb and called it a parable (Luke iv, 23). His words had power and authority, unlike those of the scribes, and the people were astonished at his teaching. But there came a time when he notably changed his style. His simple precepts were often met with derision and scorn, and among the multitudes there were always some who were anxious to pervert his sayings. When multitudes gathered by the sea of Galilee to hear him, "and he spoke to them many things in parables" (Matt. xiii, 3), his disciples quickly observed the change and asked him, "Why in parables dost thou speak to them?" Our Lord's answer is remarkable for its blended use of metaphor, proverb, and enigma, so combined and connected with a prophecy of Isaiah (vi, 9, 10), that it becomes in itself one of the profoundest of his discourses.

Because to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens, but to them it is not given. For whosoever has, to him shall be given and he shall superabound; but whosoever has not, even what he has

¹ Trench writes of our Lord's parables: "His words laid up in the memory were to many that heard them like the money of another country, unavailable, it might be, for present use, of which they knew not the value, but which yet was ready in their hand when they reached that land and were naturalized in it. When the Spirit came and brought all things to their remembrance, then he filled all the outlines of truth which they before possessed with its substance, quickened all its forms with the power and spirit of life."—*Notes on the Parables*, p. 28.

shall be taken away from him. Therefore I speak to them in parables; because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear, nor understand. And with them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, By hearing ye shall hear and in no wise understand; and seeing ye shall see and in no wise perceive; for thick became the heart of this people, and they heard heavily with their ears, and their eyes they closed, lest haply they should perceive with their eyes, and with their ears hear, and with the heart understand, and should turn again, and I should heal them. Matt. xiii, 11-15.

The great thought in this answer seems to be that the Lord had a twofold purpose in the use of parables, namely, both to reveal and to conceal great truths.¹ There was, first, that inner circle of followers who received his word with joy, and who, like those who shared in the secret counsels of other kingdoms, were gifted to know the mysteries of the Messianic reign,² long hidden, but now about to be made known (comp. Rom. xi, 25; xvi, 25; Col. i, 26). These should realize the truth of the proverb, "Whosoever has to him shall be given," etc. This proverb expresses in an enigmatical way a most weighty and wonderful law of experience in the things of God. He who is gifted with a desire to know God, and to appropriate rightly the provisions of his grace, shall increase in wisdom and knowledge more and more by the manifold revelations of divine truth. But the man of opposite character, who has heart, soul, and mind wherewith to love God, but is unwilling to use his powers in earnest search for the truth, shall lose even what he seems to have.³ His powers will become weak and worthless by inactivity, and like the slothful servant in the parable of the talents,⁴ he will lose that which should have been his glory.

¹ The *lra* in the parallel passages of Mark iv, 12 and Luke viii, 10 shows that our Lord teaches in these words the *final end* and *purpose* of his parables, not merely their results. The quotation from Isaiah evinces the same thing.

² "The kingdom of heaven," says Stier, "is itself a mystery for the natural earthly understanding, and, like earthly kingdoms, it has its *state secrets*, which cannot and ought not to be cast before every one. When, on a frank and friendly approach being made, no feeling of loyalty shows itself, but rather a threatening of rebellion, then it is wise and reasonable to draw a veil, which, however, is willingly removed whenever any faithful one wishes to join himself more nearly to the king."—Words of the Lord Jesus, in loco.

³ So Luke (viii, 18) expresses the thought: *Kai o dokel txeiv*. On which Stier remarks: "For every *txeiv* (one having) who does not keep (*kartxei*) is only a *dokwv txeiv* (one seeming to have) in a manifold sense. It is an imaginary having, the nothingness of which is to be made manifest by a so-called taking, which yet properly takes nothing from him. It is a having which has become lost through his unfaithfulness (2 John 8)."

⁴ Of whom the same proverb is used again, and more fully illustrated, Matt. xxv, 28, 29. Comp. also John xv, 2.

And so the use of parables, in our Lord's teaching, became a test of character. With those disposed to know and accept the truth the words of a parable served to arouse attention and to excite inquiry. If they did not at first apprehend the meaning, they would come, like the disciples to the Master (Matt. xiii, 36; Mark iv, 10), and inquire of him, assured that all who asked, searched, or knocked (Matt. vii, 7) at the door of Divine Wisdom should certainly obtain their desire. Even those who at first are dull of apprehension may be attracted and captivated by the outer form of the parable, and by honest inquiry come to master the laws of interpretation until they "know all parables" (Mark iv, 13). But the perverse and fleshly mind shows its real character by making no inquiry and evincing no desire to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of God. Such a mind treats those mysteries as a species of folly (1 Cor. i, 18).

The parables of the Bible are remarkable for their beauty, variety, conciseness, and fulness of meaning. There is a noticeable appropriateness in the parables of Jesus, and their adaptation to the time and place of their first utterance. The parable of the sower was spoken by the seaside (Matt. xiii, 1, 2), whence might have been seen, at no great distance off, a sower actually engaged in sowing his seed. The parable of the dragnet in the same chapter (verses 47-50) may have been occasioned by the sight of such a net close by. The parable of the nobleman going into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom (Luke xix, 12) was probably suggested by the case of Archelaus, who made a journey from Judea to Rome to plead his right to the kingdom of Herod his father.¹ As Jesus had just passed through Jericho and was approaching Jerusalem, perhaps the sight of the royal palace which Archelaus had recently rebuilt at Jericho² suggested the allusion. Even the literal narrative of some of the parables is in the highest degree beautiful and impressive. The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke x, 30-37) was probably based on fact. The road from Jerusalem to Jericho was notably infested by robbers, and yet, leading as it did from Perea to the holy city, it would be frequented by priests and Levites passing to and fro. The coldness and neglect of the ministers of the law, and the tender compassion of the Samaritan, are full of interest and rich in suggestions. The narrative of the Prodigal Son has been called "the pearl and crown of all the parables of Scripture," and "a gospel in a gospel."³ We never tire of its literal

¹ Josephus, Ant., xvii, 9, 1 ff. 11, 4.

² Ibid., xvii, 11, 18.

³ Comp. Trench on the Parables, p. 316.

statements, for they are as full of naturalness and beauty as they are of lessons of sin and redemption.

The parable is commonly assumed to have three parts, (1) the occasion and scope, (2) the similitude, in the form of a real narrative, and (3) the moral and religious lessons. Three essential elements of a parable. These three parts are called by Salmeron, Glassius, and others, the *root* or *basis* (*radix*), the *bark* or *covering* (*cortex*), and the *marrow* (*medulla*) or inner substance and core.¹ The last two are often called, respectively, the *protasis* and the *apodosis*. The main thing in the construction of a parable is its similitude, or literal narrative, for this always appears, and constitutes the parable as a figure of speech. The occasion and scope, as well as the internal sense, are not always expressed. In most cases, in fact, the apodosis, or inner sense, is left for the hearer to find out for himself, and sometimes the occasion and scope are difficult to determine. But our Lord himself has given us two examples of interpreting parables;² and frequently the scope and application of the parable are formally stated in the context, so that, with but few exceptions, the parables of Scripture are not difficult to explain.³

As every parable essentially involves the three elements named above, the hermeneutical principles which should guide us in understanding all parables are mainly three. Three principal Rules for interpreting parables. First, we should determine the historical occasion and aim of the parable; secondly, we should make an accurate analysis

¹ Salmeron, *De Parabolis Domini nostri*, tr. iii, p. 15. Glassius, *Philologia Sacra* (Lips. 1725) lib. ii, pars i, tr. ii, sect. 5. Horne (Introduction, ed. Ayre and Treg., vol. ii, p. 346) adopts the same division, and calls the three parts, respectively, the *root* or *scope*, the *sensible similitude*, and the *explanation* or *mystical sense*. Davidson (Hermeneutics, p. 311) says: "In the parable as in the allegory three things demand attention: (1) The thing to be illustrated; (2) the example illustrating; (3) the *tertium comparationis*, or the similitude existing between them."

² Namely, in the interpretation of the parables of the sower (Matt. xiii, 18-23) and of the tares of the field (Matt. xiii, 36-43). Trench observes, "that when our Lord himself interpreted the two first which he delivered, it is more than probable that he intended to furnish us with a key for the interpretation of all. These explanations, therefore, are most important, not merely for their own sakes, but as laying down the principles and canons of interpretation to be applied throughout."—Notes on the Parables, p. 36.

³ Trench (Parables, p. 32) beautifully observes: "The parables, fair in their outward form, are yet fairer within—apples of gold in network of silver: each one of them like a casket, itself of exquisite workmanship, but in which jewels yet richer than itself are laid up; or as fruit, which, however lovely to look upon, is yet more delectable still in its inner sweetness. To find the golden key for this casket, at the touch of which it shall reveal its treasures; to open this fruit, so that nothing of its hidden kernel shall be missed or lost, has naturally been regarded ever as a matter of high concern."

of the subject matter, and observe the nature and properties of the things employed as imagery in the similitude; and thirdly, we should interpret the several parts with strict reference to the general scope and design of the whole, so as to preserve a harmony of proportions, maintain the unity of all the parts, and make prominent the great central truth.¹ These principles can become of practical value only by actual use and illustration in the interpretation of a variety of parables.

As our Lord has left us a formal explanation of what were probably the first two parables he uttered, we do well, first of all, to Principles illustrated in the parable of the sower. note the principles of interpretation as they appear illustrated in his examples. In the parable of the sower we find it easy to conceive the position and surroundings of Jesus when he opened his parabolic discourse. He had gone out to the seaside and sat down there, but when the multitudes crowded around him, "he entered into a boat and sat; and all the multitude stood on the beach" (Matt. xiii, 2). How natural and appropriate for him then and there to think of the various dispositions and characters of those before him. How like so many kinds of soil were their hearts. How was his preaching "the word of the kingdom" (verse 19) like a sowing of seed, suggested perhaps by the sight of a sower, or of a sown field, on the neighbouring coast.² Nay, how was his coming into the world like a going forth to sow.

Passing now to notice the similitude itself, we observe that our Lord attached significance to the seed sown, the wayside and the birds, the rocky places, the thorns, and the good ground. Each of these parts has a relevancy to the whole. In that one field where the sower scattered his grain there were all these kinds of soil, and the nature and properties of seed and soil are in perfect keeping with the results of that sowing as stated in the parable. The soil is in every case a human heart. The birds represent the evil one,³ who is ever opposed to the work of the sower, and watches to snatch away that which is sown in the heart, "that they may not

¹ One may compare the entire parable with a circle, of which the middle point is the spiritual truth or doctrine, and of which the radii are the several circumstances of the narration; so long as one has not placed himself in the centre, neither the circle itself appears in its perfect shape, nor will the beautiful unity with which the radii converge to a single point be perceived, but this is all observed so soon as the eye looks forth from the centre. Even so in the parable, if we have recognized its middle point, its main doctrine, in full light, then will the proportion and right signification of all particular circumstances be clear unto us, and we shall lay stress upon them only so far as the main truth is thereby more vividly set forth.—Lisco, *Die Parabeln Jesu*, p. 22. Fairbairn's Translation (Edinburgh Bib. Cabinet), p. 29.

² See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 418. ³ Mark says Satan; Luke, the devil.

believe and be saved" (Luke viii, 12). He who hears the Word and understands not—on whom the heavenly truth makes no impression—may well be likened to a trodden pathway. "He has brought himself to it; he has exposed his heart as a common road to every evil influence of the world till it has become hard as a pavement—till he has laid waste the very soil in which the word of God should have taken root; and he has not submitted it to the ploughshare of the law, which would have broken it; which, if he had suffered it to do the work which God appointed it to do, would have gone before, preparing that soil to receive the seed of the Gospel."¹ With equal force and propriety the rocky places, the thorns, and the good ground represent so many varieties of hearers of the Word. The application of the parable, closing with the significant words, "he that has ears let him hear" (verse 8), might be safely left to the minds and consciences of the multitudes who heard it. Among those multitudes were doubtless many representatives of all the classes designated.

The parable of the tares of the field had the same historical occasion as that of the sower, and is an important supplement to it. In the interpretation of the foregoing parable the sower was not made prominent. The seed was declared to be "the word of the kingdom,"² and its character and worth are variously indicated, but no explanation was given of the sower. In this second parable the sower is prominently set forth as the Son of man, the sower of good seed; and the work of his great enemy, the devil, is presented with equal prominence. But we are not to suppose that this parable takes up and carries with it all the imagery and implications of the one preceding. Other considerations are introduced under other imagery. But in seeking the occasion and connexion of all the parables recorded in Matt. xiii, we should note how one grows out of the other as by a logical sequence. Three of them were spoken privately to the disciples, but the whole seven were appropriate for the seaside; for those of the mustard-seed, the treasure hid in a field, and the dragnet, no less than the sower and the tares of the field, may have been suggested to Jesus by the scenes around him, and those of the leaven and the merchantman seeking pearls were but counterparts, respectively, of the mustard-seed and the hid treasure. Stier's suggestion, also, is worthy of note, that the parable of the tares corresponds with the first kind of soil mentioned in the parable of the sower, and helps to answer the question, Whence and how that

Parable of the
Tares and its
interpretation.

¹ Trench, Notes on the Parables, p. 61.

² In Luke viii, 11, it is written: "The seed is the word of God."

soil had come to serve so well the purpose of the devil. The parable of the mustard-plant, whose growth was so great, stands in notable contrast with the second kind of soil in which there was no real growth at all. The parable of the leaven suggests the opposite of the heart overgrown with worldliness, namely, a heart permeated and purified by the inner workings of grace, while the fifth and sixth parables—those of the treasure and the pearl of great price—represent the various experiences of the good heart (represented by the good ground) in apprehending and appropriating the precious things of the Word of the kingdom. The seventh parable, that of the dragnet, appropriately concludes all with the doctrine of the separating judgment which shall take place "in the end of the age" (verse 49). Such an inner relation and connexion we do well to trace, and the suggestions thereby afforded may be, especially valuable for homiletical purposes. They serve for instruction, but they should not be insisted on as essential to a correct interpretation of the several parables.

In the interpretation of the second parable Jesus gives special significance to the sower, the field, the good seed, the tares, the enemy, the harvest, and the reapers; also the final burning of the tares and the garnering of the wheat. But we should observe that he does *not* attach a meaning to the men who slept, nor to the sleeping, nor to the springing up of the blades of wheat, and their yielding fruit, nor to the servants of the householder and the questions they asked. These are but incidental parts of the parable, and necessary to a happy filling up of its narrative. An attempt to show a special meaning in them all would tend to obscure and confuse the main lessons. So, if we would know how to interpret all parables, we should notice what our Lord omitted as well as what he emphasized in those expositions which are given us as models; and we should not be anxious to find a hidden meaning in every word and allusion.

At the same time we need not deny that these two parables contained some other lessons which Jesus did not bring out in his interpretation. There was no need for him to state the occasion of his parables, or what suggested the imagery to his mind, or the inner logical connexion which they sustained to one another. These things might be safely left to every scribe who should become a disciple to the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii, 52). In his explanation of the first parable, Jesus sufficiently indicated that particular words and allusions, like the *having no root* (τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν, Matt. xiii, 6), and *choked*

Things interpreted and things unnoticed in Jesus' exposition.

We may notice some things which Jesus had no need to note.

(ἀπέπνιξαν, ver. 7; comp. συνπνίγει in ver. 22) may suggest important thoughts; and so the incidental words of the second parable, "lest haply while gathering up the tares ye root up the wheat with them" (verse 29), though not afterward referred to in the explanation, may also furnish lessons worthy of our consideration. So, too, it may serve a useful purpose, in interpretation, to show the fitness and beauty of any particular image or allusion. We would not expect our Lord to call the attention of his hearers to such things, but his well-disciplined disciples should not fail to note the propriety and suggestiveness of comparing the word of God to good seed, and the children of the evil one to tares.¹ The trodden path, the rocky places, and the thorny ground, have peculiar fitness to represent the several states of heart denoted thereby. Even the incidental remark "while men slept" (Matt. xiii, 25) is a suggestive hint that the enemy wrought his malicious work in darkness and secrecy, when no one would be likely to be present and interrupt him; but it would break the unity of the parable to interpret these words, as some have done, of the sleep of sin (Calovius), or the dull slowness of man's spiritual development and human weakness generally (Lange), or the careless negligence of religious teachers (Chrysostom).

It is also to be admitted that some incidental words, not designed to be made prominent in the interpretation, may, nevertheless, deserve attention and comment. Not a little pleasure and much instruction may be derived from the incidental parts of some parables. The hundredfold, sixtyfold, and thirtyfold increase, mentioned in the parable of the sower, and in its interpretation, may be profitably compared with making the five talents increase to ten talents, and the two to four (in Matt. xxv, 16-22), and also with the increase in the parable of the pounds (Luke xix, 16-19). The peculiar expressions, "he that was sown by the wayside," "he that was sown upon the rocky places," are not, as Alford truly observes, "a confusion of similitudes—no primary and secondary interpretation of σπόρος [seed],—but the deep truth both of nature and of grace. The seed sown, springing up in the earth, *becomes the plant*, and bears the fruit, or fails of bearing it; it is, therefore, the representative, when sown, of the individuals of whom the discourse is."² Especially do we notice that the seed which, in the first parable, is said to be "the word of God" (Luke viii, 11), is defined in the second as "the

Suggestive words and allusions deserve Attention and Comment.

¹ Greek ζιζάνια, *darnel*, which is said to resemble wheat in its earlier stages of growth, but shows its real character more clearly at the harvest time.

² Greek Testament, in loco.

children of the kingdom" (Matt. xiii, 38). A different stage of progress is tacitly assumed, and we think of the word of God as having developed in the good heart in which it was cast until it has taken up that heart within itself and made it a new creation.¹

From the above examples we may derive the general principles which are to be observed in the interpretation of parables. No specific rules can be formed that will apply to every case, and show what parts of a parable are designed to be significant, and what parts are mere drapery and form. Sound sense and delicate discrimination are to be cultivated and matured by a protracted study of all the parables, and by careful collation and comparison. Our Lord's examples of interpretation show that most of the details of his parables have a meaning; and yet there are incidental words and allusions which are not to be pressed into significance. We should, therefore, study to avoid, on the one side, the extreme of ingenuity which searches for hidden meanings in every word, and, on the other, the disposition to pass over many details as mere rhetorical figures. In general it may be said that most of the details in a parable have a meaning, and those which have no special significance in the interpretation, serve, nevertheless, to enhance the force and beauty of the rest. Such parts, as Boyle observes, "are like the feathers which wing our arrows, which, though they pierce not like the head, but seem slight things, and of a different matter from the rest, are yet requisite to make the shaft to pierce, and do both convey it to and penetrate the mark."² We may also add, with Trench, that "it is tolerable evidence that we have found the right interpretation of a parable if it leave none of the main circumstances unexplained. A false interpretation will inevitably betray itself, since it will invariably paralyze and render nugatory some important member of an entire account. If we have the right key in our hand, not merely some of the words, but all, will have their corresponding parts, and, moreover, the key will turn without grating or overmuch forcing; and if we have the right interpretation it will scarcely need to be defended and made plausible with great appliance of learning, to be propped up by remote allusions to rabbinical or profane literature, or by illustrations drawn from the recesses of antiquity."³

Not specific rules, but sound sense and discriminating judgment must guide the interpreter.

The prophet Isaiah, in chap. v, 1-6, sings of his Beloved Friend,

¹ "Our life," says Lange, "becomes identified with the spiritual seed, and principles assume, so to speak, a bodily shape in individuals." Commentary on Matthew, in loco.

² Quoted by Trench, Notes on the Parables, p. 34.

³ Notes on the Parables, p. 30.

and his Friend's own song touching his vineyard, and in verse 7 declares that

The vineyard of Jehovah of hosts is the house of Israel,
And the man of Judah is the plant of his delight;
And he waited for justice, and behold bloodshed,
For righteousness, and behold a cry.

This short explanation gives the main purpose of the parable. No special meaning is put on the digging, the gathering out of the stones, the tower, and the winevat. Our Lord appropriates the imagery of this passage in his parable of the wicked husbandmen (Matt. xxi, 33-44). But to understand, ^{Isaiah's parable of the Vineyard.} in either parable, that the tower represents Jerusalem (Grotius), or the temple (Bengel), that the winevat is the altar (Chrysostom), or the prophetic institution (Irenæus), that the gathering out of the stones denotes the expulsion of the Canaanites from the Holy Land, together with the stone idols (Grotius), is to go upon doubtful ground, and introduce that which will confuse rather than elucidate. These several particulars are rather to be taken together as denoting the complete provision which Jehovah made for the security, culture, and prosperity of his people. "What is there to do more for my vineyard," he asks, "that I have not done in it?" He had spared no pains or outlay, and yet, when the time of grape harvest came, his vineyard brought forth wild grapes. What would seem to have been so full of hope and promise yielded only disappointment and chagrin. The grapes he expected were truth and righteousness; those which he found were bloodshed and oppression. He announces, accordingly, his purpose to destroy that vineyard, and make it an utter desolation, a threat fearfully fulfilled in the subsequent history of Israel and the Holy Land.

Such is the substance of the interpretation of Isaiah's parable, but the language in which it is clothed has many beautiful strokes and delicate allusions which are worthy of attention.¹ Our Lord's parable of the wicked husbandmen, which is based upon its imagery, may be profitably noticed in connexion with it. It is

¹ Such, for instance, is the "very fertile hill" in which this vineyard was planted; literally, *in a horn, a son of oil, or fatness*; metaphor for a horn-shaped hill of rich soil, and used in allusion to the land of promise (comp. Deut. viii, 7-9). There is also an ironical play on the Hebrew words for *justice* and *bloodshed*, *righteousness* and *cry* in the last two lines of verse 7: "He looked for *מִשְׁפָּט*, *minhpat*, and behold *מִשְׁפָּח*, *misfach*, for *צְדָקָה*, *tzdakah*, and behold *צַדְקָה*, *tzgnakah*." Contrast also the jubilant opening in which the prophet essays to sing his well-beloved's song with the change of person in verse 3 and the sad tone of disappointment which follows.

recorded by Matthew (xxi, 33-44), Mark (xii, 1-12), and Luke (xx, 9-18), and, though spoken in the ears of "the people" (Luke xx, 9), the chief priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees understood that it was directed against them (Matt. xxi, 45; Luke xx, 19).

Parable of the
Wicked Hus-
bandmen.

The context also informs us (in Matt. xxi, 43) that the vineyard represents "the kingdom of God." In Isaiah's parable the whole house of Israel is at fault, and is threatened with utter destruction. Here the fault is with the husbandmen to whom the vineyard was leased, and whose wickedness appears most flagrant; and here, accordingly, the threat is not to destroy the vineyard, but the husbandmen. The great questions, then, in the interpretation of our Lord's parable, are: (1) What is meant by the vineyard? (2) Who are the husbandmen, servants, and son? (3) What events are contemplated in the destruction of the husbandmen and the giving of the vineyard to others? These questions are not hard to answer: (1) The vineyard in Isaiah is the Israelitish people, considered not merely as the Old Testament Church, but also as the chosen nation established in the land of Canaan. Here it is the more spiritual idea of the kingdom of God considered as an inheritance of divine grace and truth to be so apprehended and utilized unto the honour and glory of God as that husbandmen, servants, and Son may be joint heirs and partakers of its benefits. (2) The husbandmen are the divinely commissioned leaders and teachers of the people, whose business and duty it was to guide and instruct those committed to their care in the true knowledge and love of God. They were the chief priests and scribes who heard this parable, and knew that it was spoken against them. The servants, as distinguished from the husbandmen, are to be understood of the prophets, who *were sent* as special messengers of God, and whose mission was usually to the leaders of the people.¹ But they had been mocked, despised, and maltreated in many ways (2 Chron. xxxvi, 16); Jeremiah was shut up in prison (Jer. xxxii, 3), and Zechariah was stoned (2 Chron. xxiv, 21; comp. Matt. xxiii, 34-37, and Acts vii, 52). The one son, the beloved, is, of course, the Son of man, who "came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not" (John i, 11). (3) The destruction of the wicked husbandmen was accomplished in the utter overthrow and miserable ruin of the Jewish leaders in the fall of Jerusalem. Then the avenging of "all the righteous blood" of the prophets came upon that generation (Matt. xxiii, 35, 36), and then, too, the

¹ Servants are the extraordinary ministers of God, husbandmen the ordinary. The former are almost always badly received by the latter, who take ill the interruption of their own quiet possession.—Bengel, Gnomon, in loco.

vineyard of the kingdom of God, repaired and restored as the New Testament Church, was transferred to the Gentiles.

There are many minor lessons and suggestive hints in the language of this parable, but they should not, in an exposition, be elevated into such prominence as to confuse these leading thoughts. Here, as in Isaiah, we should not seek special meanings in the hedge, winepress, and tower, nor should we make a great matter of what particular fruits the owner had reason to expect, nor attempt to identify each one of the servants sent with some particular prophet or messenger mentioned in Jewish history. Still less should we think of finding special meanings in forms of expression used by one of the evangelists and not by another. Some of these minor points may be rich in suggestions and abundantly worthy of comment, but in view of the overstraining which they have too frequently received at the hands of expositors we need the constant caution that at most they are incidental rather than important.

Minor points
not to be made
prominent.

Two other parables of our Lord illustrate the casting off of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles. They are the marriage of the King's Son (Matt. xxii, 2-14), and the great supper (Luke xiv, 16-24). The former is recorded only by Matthew, and follows immediately after that of the wicked husbandmen. The latter is recorded only by Luke. Some of the rationalistic critics have argued that these are but different versions of the same discourse, but a careful analysis will show that, while they have marked analogies, they have also numerous points of difference. And it is an aid to the interpretation of such analogous parables to study them together and mark their diverging lines of thought. The parable of the marriage of the King's Son, as compared with that of the wicked husbandmen, exhibits an advance in thought as notable as that observed in the parable of the tares as compared with that of the sower. Trench here observes "how the Lord is revealing himself in ever clearer light as the central person of the kingdom, giving here a far plainer hint than there of the nobility of his descent. There he was indeed the son, the only and beloved one, of the householder; but here his race is royal, and he appears himself at once as the King and the King's Son (Psa. lxxii, 1). This appearance of the householder as the King announces that the sphere in which this parable moves is the New Testament dispensation—is the kingdom which was announced before, but was only actually present with the coming of the King. The last was a parable of the Old Testament history; even Christ himself appears there rather as

Comparison of
analogous par-
ables.

Parable of Mar-
riage of King's
Son and Wicked
Husbandmen
compared.

the last and greatest of the line of its prophets and teachers than as the founder of a new kingdom. In that, a parable of the law, God appears demanding something from men; in this, a parable of grace, God appears more as giving something to them. There he is displeased that his demands are not complied with, here that his goodness is not accepted; there he requires, here he imparts. And thus, as we so often find, the two mutually complete one another; this taking up the matter where the other left it."¹ The great purpose in both parables was to make conspicuous the shameful character and conduct of those who were under great obligation to show all possible respect and loyalty. The conduct of the husbandmen was atrocious in the extreme; but it may be said that a claim of rent was demanded of them, and there was some supposable motive to treat the messengers of the owner of the vineyard with disrespect. Not so, however, with those bidden to the royal marriage feast. That guests, honoured by an invitation from the king to attend the marriage of his son, should have treated such invitation with wilful refusal and contempt, and even have gone to the extreme of abusing the royal servants who came to bid them to the marriage, and of putting some to death, seems hardly conceivable. But this very feature which seems so improbable in itself is a prominent part of the parable, and designed to set in the most odious light the conduct of those chief priests and Pharisees who were treating the Son of God with open contempt, and would fain have put him to death. Such ingratitude and disloyalty deserved no less a punishment than the sending forth of armies to destroy the murderers and to burn their city (verse 7).

When now we compare the parable of the marriage of the king's son with that of the great supper (Luke xiv, 16) we find they both agree (1) in having a festival as the basis of their imagery, (2) in that invitations were sent to persons already bidden, (3) in the disrespect shown by those bidden, and (4) the calling in of the poor and neglected from the streets and highways. But they differ in the following particulars: The parable of the great supper was spoken at an earlier period of our Lord's ministry, when the opposition of chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees was as yet not violent. It was uttered in the house of a Pharisee whither he had been invited to eat bread (verses 1, 12), and where there appeared in his presence a dropsical man, whose malady he healed. Thereupon he addressed a parable to those who were bidden, counselling them not to recline on the chief seat at table unless invited there (verses 7-11). He

Parables of Mar-
riage of King's
Son and Great
Supper com-
pared.

¹ Notes on the Parables, p. 180.

also uttered a proverbial injunction to the Pharisee who had invited him to make a feast for the poor and the maimed rather than kinsmen and rich friends (verses 12-14); and then he added the parable of the great supper. But the parable of the marriage of the king's son was uttered at a later period, and in the temple, when no Pharisee would have invited him to his table, and when the hatred of chief priests and scribes had become so bitter that it gave occasion for ominous and fearful words, such as that parable contained. We note further that, in the earlier parable, the occasion was a great supper (*δεῖπνον*), in the latter a wedding (*γάμος*). In the one, the person making the feast is simply "a certain man" (Luke xiv, 16), in the other he is a king. In the one the guests all make excuse, in the other they treat the royal invitation with contempt and violence. In the one those who were bidden are simply denounced with the statement that none of them shall taste of the supper; in the other the king's armies are sent forth to destroy the murderers of his servants and to burn their city. In the earlier parable there are two sendings forth to call in guests, first from the streets and lanes of the city, and next from the highways and hedges—intimating first the going unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. x, 6; xv, 24), and afterward to the Gentiles (Acts xiii, 46); in the latter only one outgoing call is indicated, and that one subsequent to the destruction of the murderers and their city. In that later prophetic moment Jesus contemplated the ingathering of the Gentiles. Then to the later parable is added the incident of the guest who appeared without the wedding garment (Matt. xxii, 11-14), which Strauss characteristically conjectures to be the fragment of another parable which Matthew by mistake attached to this, because of its referring to a feast.¹ But with a purer and profounder insight Trench sees in these few added words "a wonderful example of the love and wisdom which marked the teaching of our Lord. For how fitting was it in a discourse which set forth how sinners of every degree were invited to a fellowship in the blessings of the Gospel, that they should be reminded likewise, that for the lasting enjoyment of these, they must put off their former conversation—a most needful caution, lest any should abuse the grace of God, and forget that while as regarded the past they were freely called, they were yet now called unto holiness."²

The parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii, 6-9) had its special application in the cutting off of Israel, but it is not necessarily limited to that one event. It has lessons of universal application, illustrating the forbearance and longsuffering

The barren
Fig-tree.

¹ Life of Jesus, § 78.

² Notes on the Parables, pp. 179, 180.

of God, as also the certainty of destructive judgment upon every one who not only produces no good fruit, but "also cumber the ground" (*καὶ τὴν γῆν καταργεῖ*). Its historical occasion appears from the preceding context, (verses 1-5), but the logical connexion is not so apparent. It is to be traced, however, to the character of those informants who told him of Pilate's outrage on the Galileans. For the twice-repeated warning, "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish" (verses 3 and 5), implies that the persons addressed were sinners deserving fearful penalty. They were probably from Jerusalem, and representatives of the Pharisaic party who had little respect for the Galileans, and perhaps intended their tidings to be a sort of gibe against Jesus and his Galilean followers.

The means for understanding the occasion and import of Nathan's Old Testament parable (2 Sam. xii, 1-4) are abundantly furnished in parables. the context. The same is true of the parable of the wise woman of Tekoah (2 Sam. xiv, 4-7), and that of the wounded prophet in 1 Kings xx, 38-40. The narrative, in Eccles. ix, 14, 15, of the little city besieged by a great king, but delivered by the wisdom of a poor wise man, has been regarded by some as an actual history. Those who date the Book of Ecclesiastes under the Persian domination think that allusion is made to the delivery of Athens by Themistocles, when that city was besieged by Xerxes, the great king of Persia. Others have suggested the deliverance of Potidæa (Herod., viii, 128), or Tripolis (Diodor., xvi, 41). Hitzig even refers it to the little seaport Dora besieged by Antiochus the Great (Polybius, v, 66). But in none of these last three cases is it known that the deliverance was effected by a poor wise man; and as for Athens, it could hardly have been called a little city, with few men in it, nor could the brilliant leader of the Greeks be properly called "a poor wise man." It is far better to take the narrative as a parable, which may or may not have had its basis in some real incident of the kind, but which was designed to illustrate the great value of wisdom. The author makes his own application in verse 16: "Then said I, Better is wisdom than strength; yet the wisdom of the poor is despised, and his words—none of them are heard." That is, such is the general rule. A case of exceptional extremity, like the siege referred to, may for a moment exhibit the value of wisdom, and its superiority over strength and weapons of war; but the lesson is soon forgotten, and the masses of men give no heed to the words of the poor, whatever their wisdom and worth. The two verses that follow (17 and 18) are an additional comment upon the lesson taught in the parable, and put its real meaning beyond all reasonable doubt. But it is a misuse of the parable, and a

pressing of its import beyond legitimate bounds, to say, with Hengstenberg: "The poor man with his delivering wisdom is an image of Israel. . . . Israel would have proved a salt to the heathen world if ear had only been given to the voice of wisdom dwelling in his midst."¹ Still more unsound is the spiritualizing process by which the besieged city is made to represent "the life of the individual: the great king who lays siege to it is death and the judgment of the Lord."²

All the parables of our Lord are contained in the first three Gospels. Those of the door, the good shepherd, and the vine, recorded by John, are not parables proper, but allegories. In most instances we find in the immediate context a clue to the correct interpretation. Thus the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. xviii, 23-34) has its occasion stated in verses 21 and 22, and its application in verse 35. The parable of the rich man who planned to pull down his barns and build greater in order to treasure up all the increase of his fields (Luke xii, 16-20), is readily seen from the context to have been uttered as a warning against covetousness. The parable of the importunate friend at midnight (Luke xi, 5-8) is but a part of a discourse on prayer. The parables of the unjust judge and the importunate widow, and of the Pharisee and the publican at prayer (Luke xviii, 1-14), have their purpose stated by the evangelist who records them. The parable of the good Samaritan (Luke x, 30-37) was called forth by the question of the lawyer, who desired to justify himself, and asked, "Who is my neighbour?"

All Jesus' parables in the Synoptic Gospels.

The parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx, 1-16), although its occasion and application are given in the context, has been regarded as difficult of interpretation. It was occasioned by the mercenary spirit of Peter's question (in chap. xix, 27), "What then shall we have?" and its principal aim is evidently to rebuke and condemn that spirit. But the difficulties of interpreters have arisen chiefly from giving undue prominence to the minor points of the parable, as the penny a day, and the different hours at which the labourers were hired. Stier insists that the penny (*δηνάριον*), or day's wages (*μισθός*), is the principal question and main feature of the parable. Others make the several hours mentioned represent different periods of life at which men are called into the kingdom of God, as childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. Others have supposed that the Jews were denoted by those first hired, and the Gentiles by those who were

Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.

¹ Commentary on Ecclesiastes, in loco.

² Wangemann, as quoted by Delitzsch, in loco.

called last. Origen held that the different hours represented the different epochs of human history, as the time before the flood, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ, etc. But all this tends to divert the mind from the great thought in the purpose of the parable, namely, to condemn the mercenary spirit, and indicate that the rewards of heaven are matters of grace and not of debt. And we should make very emphatic the observation of Bengel, that the parable is not so much a prediction as a warning.¹ The fundamental fallacy of those exegetes who make the penny the most prominent point, is their tacit assumption that the narrative of the parable is designed to portray a murmuring and fault finding which will actually take place at the last day. Unless we assume this, according to Stier, "no reality would correspond with the principal point of the figurative narration."² Accordingly, the *ὑπάγε, go thy way* (verse 14), is understood, like the *πορεύεσθε, depart* (of Matt. xxv, 41), as an angry rejection and banishment from God; and the *ἄρον τὸ σόν, take thine own*, "can mean nothing else than what, at another stage, Abraham says to the rich man (Luke xvi, 25): What thou hast contracted for, with that thou art discharged; but now, away from my service and from all further intercourse with me!"³ So also Luther says that "the murmuring labourers go away with their penny and are damned." But the word *ὑπάγω* has been already twice used in this parable (verses 4 and 7) in the sense of going away into the vineyard to work, and it seems altogether too violent a change to put on it here the sense of going into damnation. Still less supposable is such a sense of the word when addressed to those who had filled an honourable contract, laboured faithfully in the vineyard, and "borne the burden of the day and the burning heat" (verse 12).

Let us now carefully apply the three principles of interpretation enunciated above to the exposition of this intricate parable. First, Occasion and scope. the historical occasion and scope. Jesus had said to the young man who had great possessions: "If thou wouldst be perfect, go (*ὑπάγε*), sell thy possessions and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. xix, 21). The young man went away sorrowful, for he had many goods (*κτῆματα πολλά*), and Jesus thereupon spoke of the difficulty of a rich man entering into the kingdom of heaven (verses 23-26). "Then answered Peter and said to him, Lo, we forsook all things and followed thee: what then shall we have?" *Τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν; what then shall be to us?*—that is, in the way of compensation and

¹ Non est praedictio sed admonitio. Gnomon, in loco.

² Words of the Lord Jesus, in loco.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See above, pp. 193, 194.

reward. What shall be our *θησαυρὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, *treasure in heaven*? This question, not reprehensible in itself, breathed a bad spirit of overweening confidence and self-esteem, by its evident comparison with the young man: We have done all that you demand of him; we forsook our all; what treasure shall be ours in heaven? Jesus did not at once rebuke what was bad in the question, but, first, graciously responded to what was good in it. These disciples, who did truly leave all and follow him, shall not go without blissful reward. "Verily, I say unto you that ye, who followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." This was, virtually, making to them a promise and pledge of what they should have in the future, but he adds: "And every one who forsook houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive manifold more,¹ and shall inherit life eternal." Here is a common inheritance and blessing promised to all who meet the conditions named. But in addition to this great reward, which is common alike to all, there will be distinctions and differences; and so it is immediately added: "But many first will be last and last first." And from this last statement the parable immediately proceeds: "For (γάρ) the kingdom of heaven is like," etc. This connexion Stier recognizes: "Because Peter has inquired after reward and compensation, Christ says, first of all, what is contained in verses 28, 29; but because he has asked with a culpable eagerness for reward, the parable concerning the first and the last follows with its earnest warning and rebuke."² But to say, in the face of such a connexion and context, that the reward contemplated in the penny has no reference to eternal life, but is to be understood solely of temporal good which may lead to damnation, is virtually to ignore and defy the context, and bring in a strange and foreign thought. The scope of the parable is no doubt to admonish Peter and the rest against the mercenary spirit and self-conceit apparent in his question, but it concludes, as Meyer observes, "and that very appropriately, with language which no doubt allows the apostles to contemplate the prospect of receiving rewards of a peculiarly distinguished character (xix, 28), but does not warrant the absolute certainty of it, nor does it recognize the existence of any thing like so-called valid claims."³

¹ Πολλαπλασίονα is the reading of two most ancient codices, B and L, a number of versions, as Syriac and Sahidic, and is adopted by Lachmann, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort. Comp. Luke xviii, 30.

² Words of the Lord Jesus, in loco.

³ Commentary on Matt. xx, 16.

Having ascertained the historical occasion and scope, the next step is to analyze the subject matter, and note what appears to have special prominence. It will hardly be disputed that the particular agreement of the householder with the labourers hired early in the morning is one point too prominent to be ignored in the exposition. Noticeable also is the fact that the second class (hired at the third hour) go to work without any special bargain, and rely on the word "whatsoever is right I will give you." So also with those called at the sixth and ninth hours. But those called at the eleventh hour received (according to the true text of verse 7) no special promise at all, and nothing is said to them about reward. They had been waiting and seem to have been anxious for a call to work, and were idle because no one had hired them, but as soon as an order came they went off to their labour, not stopping so much as to speak or hear about wages. In all this it does not appear that the different hours have any special significance; but we are rather to note the *spirit and disposition* of the different labourers, particularly the first and the last hired. In the account of the settlement at the close of the day, only these last and the first are mentioned with any degree of prominence. The last are the first rewarded, and with such marks of favour that the self-conceit and mercenary spirit of those who, in the early morning, had made a special bargain for a penny a day, are shown in words of fault finding, and elicit the rebuke of the householder and the declaration of his absolute right to do what he will with his own.

If now we interpret these several parts with strict reference to the occasion and scope of the parable, we must think primarily of the apostles as those for whom its admonition was first of all intended. What was wrong in the spirit of Peter's question called for timely rebuke and admonition. Jesus gives him and the others assurance that no man who becomes his disciple shall fail of glorious reward; and, somewhat after the style of the agreement with the labourers first hired, he bargains with the twelve, and agrees that every one of them shall have a throne. But, he adds (for such is the simplest application of the proverb, "Many first shall be last," etc.): Do not imagine, in vain self-conceit, that, because you were the first to leave all and follow me, you therefore must needs be honoured more than others who may hereafter enter my service. That is not the noblest spirit which asks, *What shall I have?* It is better to ask, *What shall I do?* He who follows Christ, and makes all manner of sacrifices for his sake, confident that it will be well, is nobler than he who

lingers to make a bargain. Nay, he who goes into the Lord's vineyard asking no questions, and not even waiting to talk about the wages, is nobler and better still. His spirit and labour, though it continue but as an hour, may have qualities so beautiful and rare as to lead Him, whose heavenly rewards are gifts of grace, and not payments of debts, to place him on a more conspicuous throne than that which any one of the apostles may attain. The murmuring, and the response which it draws from the householder, are not to be taken as a prophecy of what may be expected to take place at the final judgment, but rather as a suggestive hint and warning for Peter and the rest to examine the spirit in which they followed Jesus.

If this be the real import of the parable, how misleading are those expositions which would make the penny a day the most prominent point. How unnecessary and irrelevant to regard the words of the householder (in verses 13-16) as equivalent to the final sentence of damnation, or to attach special significance to the standing idle. How unimportant the different hours at which the labourers were hired, or the question whether the householder be God or Christ. The interpretation which aims to maintain the unity of the whole narrative, and make prominent the great central truth, will see in this parable a tender admonition and a suggestive warning against the wrong spirit evinced in Peter's words.¹

The parable of the unjust steward (Luke xvi, 1-13) has been regarded, as above all others, a *crux interpretum*. It appears to have no such historical or logical connexion with what precedes as will serve in any material way to help in its interpretation. It follows immediately after the three parables of the lost sheep, the lost drachma, and the prodigal son, which were addressed to the Pharisees and the scribes who murmured because Jesus received sinners and ate with them (chap. xv, 2). Having uttered those parables for their special benefit, he spoke one "also to the disciples" (*καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς*, xvi, 1). These disciples are probably to be understood of that wider circle which included others besides the twelve (compare Luke x, 1), and among them were doubtless many publicans like Matthew and Zacchæus, who needed the special lesson here enjoined. That lesson is now quite generally acknowledged to be a *wise and prudent use of this world's goods*. For the sagacity, shrewd foresight, and care to

¹ The words, "For many are called, but few chosen," which appear in some ancient codices (C, D, N), at the close of verse 16, are wanting in the oldest and best manuscripts (M, B, L, Z), and are rejected by the best textual critics (Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort). We have, therefore, taken no notice of them above.

shift for himself, which the steward evinced in his hasty action with his lord's debtors (*φρονίμως ἐποίησεν*, ver. 8), are emphatically the *tertium comparationis*, and are said to have been applauded (*ἐπήμεσεν*) even by his master.

The parable first of all demands that we apprehend correctly the literal import of its narrative, and avoid the reading or imagining in it any thing that is not really there.

Thus, for example, it is said the steward was accused of wasting the rich man's goods, and it is nowhere intimated that this accusation was a slander. We have, therefore, no right (as Köster) to assume that it was. Neither is there any warrant for saying (as Van Oosterzee and others) that the steward had been guilty of exacting excessive and exorbitant claims of his lord's debtors, remitting only what was equitable to his lord, and wasting the rest on himself; and that his haste to have them write down their bills to a lower amount was simply, on his part, an act of justice toward them and an effort to repair his former wrongs. If such had been the fact he would not have wasted his lord's goods (*τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ*), but those of the debtors. Nor is there any ground to assume that the steward made restitution from his own funds (Brauns), or, that his lord, after commending his prudence, retained him in his service (Baumgarten-Crusius). All this is putting into the narrative of our Lord what he did not see fit to put there.

We are to notice, further, that Jesus himself applies the parable to the disciples by his words of counsel and exhortation in verse 9, and makes additional comments on it in verses 10-13. These comments of the author of the parable are to be carefully studied as containing the best clue to his meaning. The main lesson is given in verse 9, where the disciples are urged to imitate the prudence and wisdom of the unjust steward in making to themselves friends out of unrighteous mammon (*ἐκ τοῦ, κ. τ. λ.,* from the resources and opportunities afforded by the wealth, or the worldly goods, in their control). The steward exhibited in his shrewd plan the quick sagacity of a child of the world, and knew well how to ingratiate himself with the men of his own kind and generation. In this respect it is said the children of this age are wiser than the children of the light;¹ therefore, our Lord would say,

¹ The latter part of verse 8 is, literally, "Because the sons of this age are wiser than the sons of the light in reference to their own generation." Not in *their generation*, as Authorized Version, but *εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν αὐτῶν*, for *their generation*, as regards, or in relation to, their own generation. "The whole body of the children of the world—a category of like-minded men—is described as a *generation*, a clan of connexions, and how appropriately, since they appear precisely as *vioi, sons*."—Meyer. "The ready accomplices in the steward's fraud showed themselves to be men of the same

emulate and imitate them in this particular. Similarly, on another occasion, he had enjoined upon his disciples, when they were sent forth into the hostile world, to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves (Matt. x, 16).

So far all is tolerably clear and certain, but when we inquire Who is the rich man (in verse 1), and who are the friends who receive into the eternal tabernacles (verse 9), we find great diversity of opinion among the best interpreters. Usually the rich man has been understood of God, as the possessor of all things, who uses us as his stewards of whatever goods are entrusted to our care. Olshausen, on the other hand, takes the rich man to be the devil, considered as the prince of this world. Meyer explains the rich man as Mammon, and urges that verses 9 and 13 especially require this view. It will be seen that the adoption of either one of these views will materially effect our exegesis of the whole parable. Here, then, especially, we need to make a most careful use of the second and third hermeneutical rules afore mentioned, and observe the nature and properties of the things employed as imagery, and interpret them with strict reference to the great central thought and to the general scope and design of the whole. Our choice would seem to lie between the common view and that of Meyer; for Olshausen's explanation, so far as it differs essentially from Meyer's, has nothing in the text to make it even plausible; and the other views (as of Schleiermacher, who makes the rich man represent the Romans, and Grossmann, who understands the Roman emperor) have still less in their favour. The common exposition, which takes the rich man to be God; may be accepted and maintained without serious difficulty. The details of the parable are then to be explained as incidental, designed merely to exhibit the shrewdness of the unjust steward, and no other analogies are to be pressed. The disciples are urged to be discreet and faithful to God in their use of the unrighteous mammon, and thereby secure the friendship of God, Christ, angels, and their fellow men,¹ who may

generation as he was—they were all of one race, children of the ungodly world.”—Trench. There is no sufficient reason to supply the thought, or refer the phrase, *their own generation*, to the *sons of light* (as De Wette, Olshausen, Trench, and many). If that were the thought another construction could easily have been adopted to express it clearly. As it stands, it means that the children of light do not, in general, in relation to themselves or others, evince the prudence and sagacity which the children of the world know so well how to use in their relations to their own race of worldlings.

¹ Some, however, who adopt this exposition in general, will not allow that God or the angels are to be understood by the *friends*, inasmuch as such reference would not accord strictly with the analogy of the parable.

all be thereby disposed to receive them, when the goods of this world fail, into the eternal habitations.

But the interpretation which makes the rich man to be Mammon, gives a special point and force to several noticeable remarks of Jesus, maintains a self-consistency within itself, and also enforces the same great central thought as truly as the other exposition. It contemplates the disciples as about to be put out of the stewardship of Mammon, and admonishes them to consider how the world loves its own, and knows how to calculate and plan wisely (*φρονίμως*) for personal and selfish ends. Such shrewdness as that displayed by the unjust steward calls forth the applause of even Mammon himself, who is defrauded by the act. But, Jesus says, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." Ye must, in the nature of things, be unfaithful to the one or the other. If ye are true and faithful to the unrighteous lord Mammon, ye cannot be sons of the light and friends of God. If, on the other hand, ye are unfaithful to Mammon, he and all his adherents will accuse you, and ye will be put out of his service. What will ye do? If ye would secure a place in the kingdom of God, if ye would make friends now, while the goods of unrighteous Mammon are at your control—friends to receive and welcome you to the eternal dwellings of light—ye must imitate the prudent foresight of the unjust steward, and be unfaithful to Mammon in order to be faithful servants of God.¹

The scope and purport of the parable, as evidenced by the comments of Jesus (in verses 9-13), is thus set forth by Geikie's comment. Geikie: "By becoming my disciples you have identified yourselves with the interest of another master than Mammon, the god of this world—whom you have hitherto served—and have before you another course and aim in life. You will be represented to your former master as no longer faithful to him, for my service is so utterly opposed to that of Mammon, that, if faithful to me, you cannot be faithful to him, and he will, in consequence, assuredly take your stewardship of this world's goods away from you—that is, sink you in poverty, as I have often said. I counsel you, therefore, so to use the goods of Mammon—the worldly means still at your command—that by a truly worthy distribution of them to

¹ Meyer remarks: "This circumstance, that Jesus sets before his disciples the prudence of a dishonest proceeding as an example, would not have been the occasion of such unspeakable misrepresentations and such unrighteous judgments if the principle, *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, (verse 13), had been kept in view, and it had been considered accordingly that even the disciples, in fact, by beneficent application of their property, must have acted unfaithfully toward Mammon in order to be faithful toward their contrasted master, toward God."—Commentary, in loco.

your needy brethren—and my disciples are mostly poor—you may make friends for yourselves, who, if they die before you, will welcome you to everlasting habitations in heaven, when you pass thither, at death. Fit yourselves, by labours of love and deeds of true charity, as my followers, to become fellow citizens of the heavenly mansions with those whose wants you have relieved while they were still in life. If you be faithful thus, in the use of your possessions on earth, you will be deemed worthy by God to be entrusted with infinitely greater riches hereafter. . . . Be assured that if you do not use your earthly riches faithfully for God, by dispensing them as I have told you, you will never enter my heavenly kingdom at all. You will have shown that you are servants of Mammon, and not the servants of God; for it is impossible for any man to serve two masters.”¹

There is a deep inner connexion between the parable of the unjust steward and that of the rich man and Lazarus, narrated in the same chapter (Luke xvi, 19–31). A wise faithfulness toward God in the use of the mammon of unrighteousness will make friends to receive us into eternal mansions. But he who allows himself, like the rich man, to become the pampered, luxury-loving man of the world—so true and faithful to the interests of Mammon that he himself becomes an impersonation and representative of the god of riches—will in the world to come lift up his eyes in torments, and learn there, too late, how he might have made the angels and Abraham and Lazarus friends to receive him to the banquets of the paradise of God.

It is interesting and profitable to study the relation of the parables to each other, where there is a manifest logical connexion. This we noticed in the seven parables recorded in Matt. xiii. It is more conspicuous in Luke xv, where the joy over the recovery of that which was lost is enhanced by the climax: (1) a lost sheep, and one of a hundred; (2) a lost drachma, and one out of ten; (3) a lost child, and one out of two. The parables of the ten virgins and the talents in Matt. xxv, enjoin, (1) the duty of *watching* for the coming of the Lord, and (2) the duty of *working* for him in his absence. But we have not space to trace the details. The principles and methods of interpreting parables, as illustrated in the foregoing pages, will be found sufficient guides to the interpretation of all the scriptural parables.

¹ Geikie, *Life of Christ*, chap. liii.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERPRETATION OF ALLEGORIES.

AN allegory is usually defined as an extended metaphor. It bears the same relation to the parable which the metaphor does to the simile. In a parable there is either some formal comparison introduced, as "The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed," or else the imagery is so presented as to be kept distinct from the thing signified, and to require an explanation outside of itself, as in the case of the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii, 3, ff.). The allegory contains its interpretation within itself, and the thing signified is identified with the image; as "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman" (John xv, 1); "Ye are the salt of the earth" (Matt. v, 13). The allegory is a figurative use and application of some supposable fact or history, whereas the parable is itself such a supposable fact or history. The parable uses words in their literal sense, and its narrative never transgresses the limits of what might have been actual fact. The allegory is continually using words in a metaphorical sense, and its narrative, however supposable in itself, is manifestly fictitious. Hence the meaning of the name, from the Greek *ἄλλος*, *other*, and *ἀγορεύω*, to *speak*, to *proclaim*; that is, to say another thing from that which is meant, or, so to speak, that another sense is expressed than that which the words convey. It is a discourse in which the main subject is represented by some other subject to which it has a resemblance.¹

Some have objected to calling an allegory a continued metaphor.²

Who shall say, they ask, where the one ends and the other begins? But the very definition should answer this question. When the metaphor is confined to a single word or sentence it is improper to call it an allegory; just as it is improper to call a proverb a parable, although many a proverb is a condensed parable, and is sometimes loosely called so in the Scriptures (Matt. xv, 14, 15). But when it is extended into a

¹ "The allegory," says Cremer, "is a mode of exposition which does not, like the parable, hide and clothe the sense in order to give a clear idea of it; on the contrary, it clothes the sense in order to hide it."—*Biblico-Theol. Lex. N. Test.*, p. 96.

² See Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, p. 206, and Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii, p. 338.

narrative, and its imagery is drawn out in many details and analogies, yet so as to accord with the one leading figure, it would be improper to call it a metaphor. It is also affirmed by Davidson that in a metaphor there is only one meaning, while the allegory has two meanings, a literal and a figurative.¹ It will be seen, however, on careful examination, that this statement is misleading. Except in the case of the mystic allegory of Gal. iv, 21-31, it will be found that the allegory, like the metaphor, has but one meaning. Take for example the following from Psalm lxxx, 8-15:

- 8 A vine from Egypt thou hast torn away;
Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it;
- 9 Thou didst clear away before it,
And it rooted its roots,
And it filled the land.
- 10 Covered were the mountains with its shade,
And its branches are cedars of God.
- 11 It sent out its boughs unto the sea,
And unto the river its tender shoots.
- 12 Wherefore hast thou broken down its walls,
And have plucked it all that pass over the road?
- 13 Swine from the forest are laying it waste,
And creatures of the field are feeding on it.
- 14 O God of hosts, return now,
Look from heaven, and behold,
And visit this vine;
- 15 And protect what thy right hand has planted,
And upon the son thou madest strong for thyself.

Surely no one would understand this allegory in a literal sense. No one supposes for a moment that God literally took a vine out of Egypt, or that it had an actual growth elsewhere as here described. The language throughout is metaphorical, but being thus continued under one leading figure of a vine, the whole passage becomes an allegory. The casting out of the heathen (verse 8) is a momentary departure from the figure, but it serves as a clue to the meaning of all the rest, and after verse 15 the writer leaves the figure entirely, but makes it clear that he identifies himself and Israel with the

¹ Hermeneutics, p. 306. This writer also says: "The metaphor always asserts or imagines that one object is another. Thus, 'Judah is a lion's whelp' (Gen. xlix, 9); 'I am the vine' (John xv, 1). On the contrary, allegory never affirms that one thing is another, which is in truth an absurdity." But the very passage he quotes from John xv, 1, as a metaphor, is also part of an allegory, which is continued through six verses, showing that allegory as well as metaphor may affirm that one thing is another. The literal meaning of the word *allegory*, as shown above, is the affirming one thing for another.

vine. The same imagery is given in the form of a parable in Isa. v, 1-6, and the distinction between the two is seen in this, that the meaning of the parable is given separately at the close (verse 7), but the meaning of the allegory is implied in the metaphorical use of its words.

Having carefully distinguished between the parable and the allegory, and shown that the allegory is essentially an extended metaphor, we need no separate and special rules for the interpretation of the allegorical portions of the Scriptures. The same general principles that apply to the interpretation of metaphors and parables will apply to allegories. The great error to be guarded against is the effort to find minute analogies and hidden meanings in all the details of the imagery. Hence, as in the case of parables, we should first determine the main thought intended by the figure, and then interpret the minor points with constant reference to it. The context, the occasion, the circumstances, the application, and often the accompanying explanation, are, in each case, such as to leave little doubt of the import of any of the allegories of the Bible.

The allegory of old age, in Eccles. xii, 3-7, under the figure of a house about to fall in ruins, has been variously interpreted. Some of the fathers (Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyril of Jerusalem) understood the whole passage as referring to the day of judgment as connected with the end of the world. Accordingly, "the day" of verse 3 would be "the great and terrible day of the Lord" (Joel ii, 31; comp. Matt. xxiv, 29). Other expositors (Umbreit, Elster, Ginsburg) regard the passage as describing the approach of death under the figure of a fearful tempest which strikes the inmates of a noble mansion with consternation and terror. Wright explains the imagery of verses 1-5 as derived from the closing days of a Palestine winter, which occur at the end of February, and are always dangerous and quite often fatal to the old and infirm. They betake them to their sick chambers, feel all sorts of terrors, and when the almond tree blossoms without, and the locusts crawl out of their holes, they see no spring-time for themselves, but an almost certain departure to their long home. According to all these explanations the passage must be understood metaphorically and not as an allegory. Wright's exegesis makes most of the allusions mere references to facts supposed to be common and well known during the seven days of evil.¹ But the great majority of expositors, ancient and modern, have understood the passage as an allegorical description of old age. And this

Same hermeneutical principles apply to Allegory as to Parable.

Allegory of old age in Eccles. xii, 3-7.

¹ The Book of Koheleth, pp. 270-275, London, 1883.

view, we may safely say, is favoured and even required by the immediate context and by the imagery itself. But we lose much of its point and force by understanding it of old age generally. It is not a truthful portraiture of the peaceful, serene, honoured, and "good old age" so much extolled in the Old Testament. It is not the picture presented to the mind in Prov. xvi, 31: "A crown of glory is the hoary head; in the way of righteousness will it be found;" nor that of Psa. xcii, 12-14, where it is declared that the righteous shall flourish like the palm, and grow great like the Lebanon cedars; "they shall still bear fruit in hoary age; fresh and green shall they be." Comp. also Isa. xl, 30, 31. It remains for us, then, with Tayler Lewis, to understand that "the picture here given is the old age of the sensualist. This appears, too, from the connexion. It is the 'evil time,' the 'day of darkness' that has come upon the youth who was warned in the language above, made so much more impressive by its tone of forecasting irony. It is the dreary old age of the young man who *would* go on in every way of his heart and after every sight of his eyes,' who did not 'keep remorse from his soul nor evils from his flesh,' and now all these things are come upon him, with no such alleviations as often accompany the decline of life.'"
It is the old age of the sensualist.

Passing now to the particular figures used, we should exercise the greatest caution and care, for some of the allusions seem to be quite enigmatical. Barely to name the different interpretations of the several parts of this allegory would require many pages.¹ But the most judicious and careful interpreters are agreed that the "keepers of the house" (verse 3) are the arms and hands, which serve for protection and defence, but in decrepit age become feeble and tremulous. The "strong men" are the legs, which, when they lose their muscular vigour, become bowed and crooked in supporting their wearisome load. "The grinders," or rather *grinding maids* (מְגִינֹת fem. plural in allusion to the fact that grinding with hand mills was usually performed by women), are the teeth, which in age become few and cease to perform their work. "Those that behold in the windows" are the eyes, which become dim with years. Beyond this point the interpretations become much more various and subtle. "The doors into the street" (verse 4) are generally explained of the mouth, the two lips of which are conceived of as double doors (Heb. דְּלָתַיִם), or a door consisting of two sides or leaves. But it would seem better to understand these double doors of the two ears, which become

¹ American edition of Lange's Commentary on Ecclesiastes, pp. 152, 153.

² See Poole's Synopsis, in loco.

shut up or closed to outer sounds. So Hengstenberg explains it, and is followed by Tayler Lewis, who observes: "The old sensualist, who had lived so much *abroad* and so little at home, is shut in at last. With no propriety could the mouth be called the *street door*, through which the master of the house goes abroad. . . . It is rather the door to the interior, the cellar door, that leads down to the stored or consumed provision, the stomach."¹ The "sound of the grinding" is by many referred to the noise of the teeth in masticating food; but this would be a return to what has been sufficiently noticed in verse 3. Better to understand this sound of the mill as equivalent to "the most familiar household sounds," as the sound of the mill really was. The thought then connects naturally with what precedes and follows; the ears are so shut up, the hearing has become so dull, that the most familiar sounds are but faintly heard,² "and," he adds, "it rises to the sound of the sparrow;" that is, as most recent critics explain, the "sound of the grinding" rises to that of a sparrow's shrill cry, and yet this old man's organs of hearing are so dull that he scarcely hears it. Others explain this last clause of the wakefulness of the old man: "he rises up at the voice of the sparrow." Thus rendered, we need not, as many, understand it of rising or waking up early in the morning (in which case the Hebrew word קם rather than קוּם should have been used), but of restlessness. Though dull of hearing, he will, nevertheless, at times start and rise up at the sound of a sparrow's shrill note. "The daughters of song" may be understood of the women singers (chap. ii, 8) who once ministered to his hilarity, but whose songs can now no longer charm him, and they are therefore humbled. But it is, perhaps, better to understand the voice itself, the various tones of which become low and feeble (comp. the use of קוּם in Isa. xxix, 4).

As we pass to verse 5 we note the peculiar nature of allegory to
 The allegory interweave its interpretation with its imagery. The
 blends its mean- figure of a house is for the time abandoned, and we
 ing with its im- read: "Also from a height they are afraid, and terrors
 agery. are in the way, and the almond disgusts, and the locust becomes
 heavy, and the caperberry fails to produce effect; for going is the

¹ Lange's Commentary on Ecclesiastes (Am. ed.), p. 155.

² There was hardly any part of the day or night when this work was not going on with its ceaseless noise. It was, indeed, a sign that the senses were failing in their office when this familiar, yet very peculiar, sound of the grinding had ceased to arrest the attention, or had become low and obscure—

When the hum of the mill is faintly heard,
 And the daughters of song are still.—Ibid., p. 156.

man to his everlasting house, and round about in the street pass the mourners." That is, looking down from that which is high, the tottering old man quickly becomes dizzy and is afraid; terrors seem to be continually in his path (comp. Prov. xxii, 13; xxvi, 13); the almond is no longer pleasant to his taste, but, on the contrary, disgusts;¹ and the locust, once with him perhaps a dainty article of food (Lev. xi, 22; Matt. iii, 4; Mark i, 6), becomes heavy and nauseating in his stomach, and the caperberry no longer serves its purpose of stimulating appetite.

In verse 6 we meet again with other figures which have a natural association with the lordly mansion. The end of life is represented as a removing (סר) or sundering of the silver cord and a breaking of the golden lampbowl. The idea is that of a golden lamp suspended by a silver cord in the palatial hall, and suddenly the bowl of the lamp is dashed to pieces by the breaking of the cord. The pitcher at the fountain and the wheel at the cistern are similar metaphors referring to the abundant machinery for drawing water which would be connected with the mansion of a sumptuous Dives. These at last give out, and the whole furniture and machinery of life fall into sudden ruin. The explaining of the silver cord as the spinal marrow, and the golden bowl as the brain, and the fountain and cistern as the right and left ventricles of the heart, seems too far fetched to be safe or satisfactory. Such minute and ramified explanations of particular figures are always likely to be overdone, and generally confuse rather than illustrate the main idea which the author had in mind. The words of verse 7 show that the metaphors of verse 6 refer to the utter breaking down of the functions and processes of life. The pampered old body falls a pitiable ruin, in view of which Koheleth repeats his cry of "vanity of vanities."

In the interpretation of an allegory so rich in suggestions as the above, the great hermeneutical principles to be carefully adhered to are, first, to grasp the one great idea of the whole passage, and, second, to avoid the

Hermeneutical principles to be observed.

¹ פקק, Hiphil of פקק, and meaning to cause disgust, or is despised. The old versions and most interpreters render *shall flourish*, deriving the form from פקק, and understand the silvery hair of the old man as resembling the almond-tree, which blossoms in winter, and its flowers, which at first are roseate in colour, become white like snowflakes before they fall off. But, aside from this doubtful derivation of the form פקק (Stuart affirms that "פקק for פקק has no parallel in Hebrew orthography"), the immediate connexion is against the introduction of such an image as the silvery hair of age in this place. The hoary head can only be thought of as a crown of glory—a beautiful sight; but to introduce it between the mention of the old man's fears and terrors on the one side, and the disturbing locust on the other, would make a most unhappy confusion of images.

temptation of seeking manifold meanings in the particular figures. By the minute search for some special significance in every allusion the mind becomes wearied and overcrowded with the particular illustrations, so as to be likely to miss entirely the great thought which should be kept mainly in view.

The work of the false prophets in Israel, and the ruin of both it and them, are set forth allegorically in Ezek. xiii, 10-15. The people are represented as building a wall, and the prophets as plastering it over with ^{בָּהָרָה}, a sort of *coating* or whitewash (comp. Matt. xxiii, 27; Acts xxiii, 3), designed to cover the worthless material of which the wall is built, and also to hide its unsafe construction. Ewald observes that this word (^{בָּהָרָה}) denotes elsewhere what is absurd intellectually, what is inconsistent with itself; here the mortar which does not hold together, clay without straw, or dry clay.¹ The meaning of these figures is very clear. The people built up vain hopes, and the false prophets covered them over with deceitful words and promises; they "saw vanity and divined a lie" (verses 7 and 9). The ruin of wall and plastering and plasterers is announced by Jehovah's oracle as fearfully effected by an overwhelming rain of judgment; the rain is accompanied by falling hailstones and a violent rushing tempest; all these together hurl wall and plastering to the ground, expose the false foundations, and utterly destroy the lying prophets in the general ruin. Here we have, in the form of an allegory, or extended metaphor, the same image, substantially, which our Lord puts in the form of a simile at the close of the sermon on the mount (Matt. vii, 26, 27).²

The much-disputed passage in 1 Cor. iii, 10-15, is an allegory. In the preceding context Paul represents himself and Apollos as the ministers through whom the Corinthians had believed. "I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" (ver. 6). He shows his appreciation of the honour and responsibility of such ministry by saying (ver. 9): "For we (apostles and ministers like Paul and Apollos)

¹ Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, vol. ii, p. 399. Göttingen, 1868.

² The prophecies of Ezekiel abound in allegory. Chapter xvi contains an allegorical history of Israel, representing, by way of narrative, prophecy, and promise, the past, present, and future relations of God and the chosen people, and maintaining throughout the general figure of the marriage relation. Under like imagery, in chapter xxiii, the prophet depicts the idolatries of Samaria and Jerusalem. Compare also the similitudes of the vine wood and the vine in chapters xv and xix, 10-14, and the allegory of the lioness and her whelps in xix, 1-9. The allegorical history of Assyria, in chapter xxxi, may also be profitably compared and contrasted with the enigmatical fable of chapter xvii.

are God's fellow workers," and then he adds: "God's tilled field (*γεώργιον*, in allusion to, and in harmony with, the *planting* and watering mentioned above), God's building, are ye." Then dropping the former figure, and taking up that of a building (*οικοδομή*), he proceeds:

According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise architect, I laid a foundation, and another is building thereon. But let each man take heed how he builds thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than the one laid, which is Jesus Christ. But if any one builds on the foundation: gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; each man's work shall be made manifest, for the day will make it known, because in fire it is revealed, and each man's work, of what sort it is, the fire itself will prove. If any one's work shall endure which he built thereon, he shall receive reward. If any one's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire.

The greatest trouble in explaining this passage has been to determine what is meant by the "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble," in verse 12. According to the Are the materials persons or doctrines. majority of commentators these materials denote *doctrines* supposed to be taught in the Church.¹ Many others, however, understand *the character of the persons* brought into the Church.² But the most discerning among those who understand *doctrines*, do not deny that the doctrines are such as interpenetrate and mould character and life; and those who understand *persons* are as ready to admit that the personal character of those referred to would be influenced and developed by the doctrines of their ministers. Probably in this, as in some other Scripture, where so many devout and critical minds have differed, Both views allowable. the real exposition is to be found in a blending of both views. The Church, considered as God's building, is a frequent figure with Paul (comp. Eph. ii, 20-22; Col. ii, 7; also 1 Peter ii, 5), and in every case it is the Christian believer who is conceived as builded into the structure. So here Paul says to the Corinthians, "Ye are God's building," and it comports fully with this figure to understand that the material of which this building is to be constructed consists of persons who accept Christ in faith. The Church is builded of persons, not of doctrines, but the persons are not brought to such use without doctrine. As in the case of Peter,

¹ So Clemens Alexandrinus, Ambrosiaster, Lyra, Cajetan, Erasmus, Luther, Beza, Calvin, Piscator, Grotius, Estius, Calovius, Lightfoot, Stolz, Rosenmüller, Flatt, Heidenreich, Neander, De Wette, Ewald, Meyer, Hodge, Alford, and Kling.

² So, substantially, Origen, Chrysostom, Photius, Theodoret, Theophylact, Augustine, Jerome, Billroth, Bengel, Pott, and Stanley.

the stone (Matt. xvi, 18), the true material of which the abiding Church is built, is not the doctrine of Christ, or the confession of Christ put forth by Peter, nor yet Peter considered as an individual man (Πέτρος), but both of these combined in *Peter confessing*—a believer inspired of God and confessing Christ as the Son of the living God—thus making one new man, the ideal and representative confessor (πέτρα),¹ so the material here contemplated consists of persons made and fashioned into various character through the instrumentality of different ministers. These ministers are admonished that they may work into God's building "wood, hay, stubble," worthless and perishable stuff, as well as "gold, silver, precious stones." The material may be largely made what it is by the doctrines taught, and other influences brought to bear on converts by the minister who is to build them into the house of God, but is it not clear that in such case the doctrines taught are the tools of the workman rather than the material of which he builds? Nevertheless, this process of building (ἐποικοδομεῖ) on the foundation already laid, like the work of Apollos in watering that which was planted by Paul (ver. 6), is to be thought of *chiefly in reference to the responsibility of the ministers* of the Gospel. The great caution is: "Let each man (whether Apollos or Cephas, or any other minister) take heed how he builds thereon" (ver. 10). Let him take heed to the doctrine he preaches, the morality he inculcates, the discipline he maintains, and, indeed, to every influence he exerts, which goes in any way to mould and fashion the life and character of those who are builded into the Church. The gold, silver, and precious stones, according to Alford, "refer to the *matter* of the minister's teaching, primarily, and by inference to those whom that teaching penetrates and builds up in Christ, who should be the living stones of the temple."² So also Meyer: "The various specimens of building materials, set side by side in vivid asyndeton, denote the various *matters of doctrine* propounded by teachers and brought into connexion with faith in Christ, in order to develop and complete the Christian training of the Church."³ These statements contain essential truth, but they are, as we conceive, misleading, in so far as they exalt matters of doctrine alone. We are rather to think of the whole administration and work of the minister in making converts and influencing their character and life. The materials are rather the Church members, but considered primarily as made, or allowed to remain what they are by the agency of the minister who builds the Church.

¹ See on this subject above, pp. 126, 127.

² Greek Testament, in loco.

³ Critical Commentary on Corinthians, in loco.

The great thoughts in the passage, then, would be as follows: On the foundation of Jesus Christ, ministers, as fellow ^{The passage} workers with God, are engaged in building up God's ^{paraphrased.} house. But let each man take heed how he builds. On that foundation may be erected an edifice of sound and enduring substance, as if it were built of gold, silver, and precious stones (as, for instance, costly marbles); the kind of Christians thus "built together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. ii, 20) will constitute a noble and enduring structure, and his work will stand the fiery test of the last day. But on that same foundation a careless and unfaithful workman may build with unsafe material; he may tolerate and even foster jealousy, and strife (ver. 3), and pride (iv, 18); he may keep fornicators in the Church without sorrow or compunction (v, 1, 2); he may allow brother to go to law against brother (vi, 1), and permit drunken persons to come to the Lord's Supper (xi, 21)—all these, as well as heretics in doctrine (xv, 12), may be taken up and used as materials for building God's house.¹ In writing to the Corinthians the apostle had all these classes of persons in mind, and saw how they were becoming incorporated into that Church of his own planting. But he adds: The day of the Lord's judgment will bring every thing to light, and put to the test every man's work. The fiery revelation will disclose what sort of work each one has been doing, and he that has builded wisely and soundly will obtain a glorious reward; but he that has brought, or sought to keep, the wood, hay, stubble, in the Church—he who has not rebuked jealousy, nor put down strife, nor excommunicated fornicators, nor faithfully administered the discipline of the Church—shall see his life-work all consumed, and he himself shall barely escape with his life, as one that is saved by being hastened through the fire of the burning building. His labour will all have been in vain, though he assumed to build on Christ, and did in fact minister in the holy place of his temple:

It is to be especially kept in mind that this allegory is intended to serve rather as a *warning* than to be understood as ^{The allegory a} a *prophecy*. As the parable of the labourers in the ^{warning rather} vineyard (Matt. xix, 27–xx, 16) is spoken against Pe- ^{than a proph-} ter's mercenary spirit, and thus serves as a warning and rebuke rather than as a prophecy of what will actually take place in the judgment, so here Paul warns those who are fellow labourers with God to take heed how they build, lest they involve both themselves and others in irreparable loss. We are not to understand the wood,

¹ In his parable of the tares and the wheat (Matt. xiii, 24–30, 37–43) Jesus himself taught that the good and the evil would be mixed together in the Church.

hay, stubble, as the profane and ungodly, who have no faith in Christ. Nor do these words denote false, anti-Christian doctrines. They denote rather the character and life-work of those who are rooted and grounded in Christ, but whose personal character and work are of little or no worth in the Church. All such persons, as well as the ministers who helped to make them such, will suffer irreparable loss in the day of the Lord Jesus, although they themselves may be saved. And this consideration obviates the objection made by some that if the *work* which shall be burned (ver. 15) are the *persons* brought into the Church, it is not to be supposed that the ministers who brought them in shall be saved. The final destiny of the persons affected by this work is, no doubt, necessarily involved in the fearful issue, but for their ruin the careless minister may not have been solely responsible. He may be saved, yet so as through fire, and they be lost. In chapter v, 5, Paul enjoins the severest discipline of the vile fornicator "in order that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord." But a failure to administer such discipline would not necessarily have involved the final ruin of those commissioned to administer it; they would "suffer loss," and their final salvation would be "as through fire." So, on the other hand, the work which the wise architect builds on the true foundation (ver. 14), and which endures, is not so much the final salvation and eternal life of those whom he brought into the Church and trained there as the general character and results of his labour in thus bringing them in and training them.

We thus seek the true solution of this allegory in carefully distinguishing between the *materials* put into the building and the *work* of the builders, and, at the same time, note the essential blending of the two. The wise builder will so teach, train, and discipline the church in which he labours as to secure excellent and permanent results. The unwise will work in bad material, and have no regard for the judgment which will test the work of all. In thus building, whether wisely or unwisely, the *persons* brought into the church and the ministerial *labour* by which they are taught and disciplined have a most intimate relation; and hence the essential truth in both the expositions of the allegory which have been so widely maintained.

Another of Paul's allegories occurs in 1 Cor. v, 6-8. Its imagery is based upon the well-known custom of the Jews of removing all leaven from their houses at the beginning of the passover week,¹ and allowing no leaven to be found there during

¹ The allusion may have been suggested by the time of the year when the epistle was written, apparently (chap. xvi, 8) a short time before Pentecost, and, therefore,

the seven days of the feast (Exod. xii, 15-20; xiii, 7). It also assumes the knowledge of the working of leaven, and its nature to communicate its properties of sourness to the whole kneaded mass. Jesus had used leaven as a symbol of pharisaic hypocrisy (Matt. xvi, 6, 12; Mark viii, 15; Luke xii, 1), and the power of a little leaven to leaven the whole lump had become a proverb (Gal. v, 9; comp. 1 Cor. xv, 33). All this Paul constructs into the following allegory:

Know ye not that a little leaven leavens the whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened. For our passover, also, has been sacrificed, even Christ; wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened loaves of sincerity and truth.

The particular import and application of this allegory are to be found in the context. The apostle has in mind the case of the incestuous person who was tolerated in the church at Corinth, and whose foul example would be likely to contaminate the whole Church. He enjoins his immediate expulsion, and expresses amazement that they showed no humiliation and grief in having such a stain upon their character as a church, but seemed rather to be puffed up with self-conceit and pride. "Not goodly," not seemly or beautiful (*οὐ καλόν*), he says, "is your glorying" (*καύχημα*, ground of glorying). Sadly out of place your exultation and boast of being a Christian church with such a reproach and abuse in your midst. Know ye not the common proverb of the working of leaven? The toleration of such impurity and scandal in the Christian society will soon corrupt the whole body. Purge out, then, the old leaven. Cast off and put utterly away the old corrupt life and habits of heathenism. You know the customs of the passover. "You know how, when the lamb is killed, every particle of leaven is removed from every household; every morsel of food eaten, every drop drunk in that feast, is taken in its natural state. This is the true figure of your condition. You are the chosen people, delivered from bondage; you are called to begin a new life, you have had the lamb slain for you in the person of Christ. Whatever, therefore, in you corresponds to the literal leaven, must be utterly cast out; the perpetual passover to which we are called must be celebrated, like theirs, uncontaminated by any corrupting influence."¹

with the scenes of the passover, either present or recent, in his thoughts.—Stanley on the Epistles to the Corinthians, in loco.

¹ Stanley on Corinthians, in loco.

In such an allegory care should be taken to give the right meaning to the more important allusions. The *old leaven* in verse 7 is not to be explained as referring directly to the incestuous person mentioned in the context. It has a wider import, and denotes, undoubtedly, all corrupt habits and immoral practices of the old heathen life, of which this case of incest was but one notorious specimen. The leaven in the Corinthian church was not so much the person of this particular offender, as the corrupting influence of his example, a residuum of the old unregenerate state. So "the leaven of the Pharisees" was not the persons, but the doctrine and example of the Pharisees. Furthermore, the words "even as ye are unleavened" are not to be taken literally (as Rosenmüller, Wieseler, and Conybeare), as if meaning "even as ye are now celebrating the feast of unleavened bread." Such a mixing of literal and allegorical significations together is not to be assumed unless necessary. If such had been the apostle's design he would scarcely have used the word *unleavened* (*ἄζυμοι*) of persons abstaining from leavened bread. Nor is it supposable that the whole Corinthian church, or any considerable portion of them, observed the Jewish passover. And even if Paul had been observing this feast at Ephesus at the time he wrote this epistle (chap. xvi, 8), it would have been some time past when the epistle reached Corinth, so that the allusion would have lost all its pertinency and effect. But Paul here uses *unleavened* figuratively of the Corinthians considered as a "new lump;" for so the words used immediately before and after imply.

The vivid allegory of the Christian armour and conflict, in Eph. vi, 11-17, furnishes its own interpretation, and is especially notable in the particular explanations of the different parts of the armour. It appropriates the figure used in Isa. lix, 17 (comp. also Rom. xiii, 12; 1 Thess. v, 8), and elaborates it in great detail. Its several parts make up *τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "the whole armour (panoply) of God," the entire outfit of weapons, offensive and defensive, which is supplied by God. The enumeration of the several parts shows that the apostle has in mind the panoply of a heavy-armed soldier, with which the dwellers in all provinces of the Roman Empire must have been sufficiently familiar. The conflict (*ἡ πάλη*, a life and death struggle) is not against blood and flesh (weak, fallible men, comp. Gal. i, 16), but against the organized spiritual forces of the kingdom of darkness, and hence the necessity of taking on the entire armour of God, which alone can meet the exigencies of such a wrestling. The six pieces of armour here named, which include girdle and sandals,

Allegory of the
Christian armour.

are sufficiently explained by the writer himself, and ought not, in interpretation, to be pressed into all possible details of comparison which corresponding portions of ancient armour might be made to suggest. Here, as in Isa. lix, 17, *righteousness* is represented as a breastplate, but in 1 Thess. v, 8, *faith and love* are thus depicted. Here the helmet is *salvation*—a present consciousness of salvation in Christ as an actual possession—but in 1 Thess. v, 8 it is the *hope of salvation*. Each allusion must be carefully studied in the light of its own context, and not be too widely referred. For the same figure may be used at different times for different purposes.¹

The complex allegory of the door of the sheep and of the good shepherd, in John x, 1-16, is in the main simple and self-Allegory of John x, 1-16. interpreting. But as it involves the twofold comparison of Christ as the door and the good shepherd, and has other allusions of diverse character, its interpretation requires particular care, lest the main figures become confused, and non-essential points be made too prominent. The passage should be divided into two parts, and it should be noted that the first five verses are a pure allegory, containing no explanation within itself. It is observed, in verse 6, that the allegory (*παροιμία*) was not understood by those to whom it was addressed. Thereupon Jesus proceeded (verses 7-16) not only to explain it, but also to expand it by the addition of other images. He makes it emphatic that he himself is "the door of the sheep," but adds further on that he is the good shepherd, ready to give his life for the sheep, and thus distinguished from the hireling who forsakes the flock and flees in the hour of danger.

The allegory stands in vital relation to the history of the blind man who was cast out of the synagogue by the Pharisees, but graciously received by Jesus. Occasion and scope of the allegory. The occasion and scope of the whole passage cannot be clearly apprehended without keeping this connexion constantly in mind. Jesus first

¹ Meyer appropriately observes: "The figurative mode of regarding a subject can by no means, with a mind so many-sided, rich, and versatile as that of St. Paul, be so stereotyped that the very same thing which he has here viewed under the figure of the protecting breastplate, must have presented itself another time under this very same figure. Thus, for example, there appears to him, as an offering well pleasing to God, at one time Christ (Eph. v, 2), at another the gifts of love received (Phil. iv, 18), at another time the bodies of Christians (Rom. xii, 1); under the figure of the seed-corn, at one time the body becoming buried (1 Cor. xv, 36), at another time the moral conduct (Gal. vi, 7); under the figure of the leaven, once moral corruption (1 Cor. v, 6), another time doctrinal corruption (Gal. v, 9); under the figure of clothing which is put on, once the new man (Eph. iv, 24), another time Christ (Gal. iii, 27), at another time the body (2 Cor. v, 3), and other similar instances."—Critical Commentary on Ephesians, in loco.

contrasts himself, as the door of the sheep, with those who acted rather the part of thieves and robbers of the flock. Then, when the Pharisees fail to understand him, he partly explains his meaning, and goes on to contrast himself, as the good shepherd, with those who had no genuine care for the sheep committed to their charge, but, at the coming of the wolf, would leave them and flee. At verse 17 he drops the figure, and speaks of his willingness to lay down his life, and of his power to take it again. Thus the whole passage should be studied in the light of that pharisaical opposition to Christ which showed itself to be selfish and self-seeking, and ready to do violence when met with opposition. These pharisaical Jews, who assumed to hold the doors of the synagogue, and had agreed to thrust out any that confessed Jesus as the Christ (chap. ix, 22), were no better than thieves and robbers of God's flock. Against these the allegory was aimed.

Keeping in view this occasion and scope of the allegory, we next inquire into the meaning of its principal allusions. Import of particular parts. "The fold of the sheep" is the Church of God's people, who are here represented as his sheep. Christ himself is the door, as he emphatically affirms (verses 7, 9), and every true shepherd, teacher, and guide of God's people should recognize him as the only way and means of entering into the fold. Shepherd and sheep alike should enter through this door. "He that enters in through the door is a shepherd¹ of the sheep" (ver. 2); not a thief, nor a robber, nor a stranger (ver. 5). He is well known to all who have any charge of the fold, and his voice is familiar to the sheep. A stranger's voice, on the contrary, is a cause of alarm and flight.² Such, indeed, were the action and words of those Jewish officials toward the man who had received his sight. He perceived in their words and manner that which was strange and alien to the truth of God (see chap. ix, 30-33).

So far all seems clear, but we should be less positive in finding other special meanings. The porter, or doorkeeper (*θυρωρός*, ver. 3), has been explained variously, as denoting God (Calvin, Bengel, Tholuck), or the Holy Spirit (Theodore, Stier, Alford, Lange), or even Christ (Cyril, Augustine), or Moses (Chrysostom), or John Baptist, (Godet). But it is better not to give the word any such

¹ Not *the shepherd*, as the English version renders *ποιμήν* here. This has led to a mixture of figures by supposing Christ to be referred to. In this first simple allegory Christ is only the *door*; further on, where the figure is explained, and then enlarged, he appears also as the good shepherd (verses 11, 14).

² For a description of the habits and customs of oriental shepherds, see especially, Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, vol. i, p. 301. New York, 1858.

remarkable prominence in the interpretation. The porter is rather an inferior servant of the shepherd. He opens the door to him when he comes, and is supposed to obey his orders. We should, therefore, treat this word as an incidental feature of the allegory, legitimate and essential to the figure, but not to be pressed into any special significance. The distinction made by some between "the sheep" and "his own sheep" in verse 3, by supposing that several flocks were accustomed to occupy one fold, and the sheep of each particular flock, which had a separate shepherd, are to be understood by "his own sheep," may be allowed, but ought not to be urged. It is as well to understand the calling his own sheep by name as simply a special allusion to the eastern custom of giving particular names to favourite sheep. But we may with propriety understand the *leading them out* (ἐξάγει αὐτά, ver. 3), and *putting forth all his own* (τὰ ἴδια πάντα ἐκβάλλη, ver. 4), as an intimation of the exodus of God's elect and faithful ones from the fold of the old Testament theocracy. This view is maintained by Lange and Godet, and is suggested and warranted by the words of Jesus in verses 14-16.

The language of Jesus in defining his allegory and expanding its imagery (verses 7-16) is in some points enigmatical. For he would not make things too plain to those who, like the Pharisees, assumed to see and know so much (comp. chap. ix, 39-41), and he uses the strong words, which seem to be purposely obscure: "All as many as came before me are thieves and robbers" (ver. 8). He would prompt special inquiry and concern as to what might be meant by *coming before him*, a procedure so wrong that he likens it to the stealth of a thief and the rapacity of a robber. Most natural is it to understand the *coming before me*, in verse 8, as corresponding with the *climbing up some other way*, in verse 1, and meaning an entrance into the fold other than through the door. But it is manifestly aimed at those who, like these Pharisees, by their action and attitude, assumed to be lords of the theocracy, and used both deceit and violence to accomplish their own will. Hence it would seem but proper to give the words *before me* (πρὸ ἐμοῦ, ver. 8) a somewhat broad and general significance, and not press them, as many do, into the one sole idea of a *precedence in time*. The preposition πρὸ is often used of place, as *before* the doors, *before* the gate, *before* the city (comp. Acts v, 23; xii, 6, 14; xiv, 13) and may here combine with the temporal reference of ἦλθον, *came*, the further idea of position in front of the door. These Pharisees *came* as teachers and guides of the people, and in such conduct as that of casting out the man born

Jesus' explanation somewhat enigmatical.

blind, they placed themselves *in front of the true door*, shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, and neither entering themselves nor allowing others to enter through that door (comp. Matt. xxiii, 13). All this Jesus may have intended by the enigmatical *came before me*. Accordingly, the various explanations, as "instead of me," "without regard to me," "passing by me," and "pressing before me," have all a measure of correctness. The expression is to be interpreted, as Lange urges, with special reference to the figure of the door. "The meaning is, All who *came before the door* (πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἦλθον). With the idea of passing by the door this other is connected: the setting of themselves up for the door; that is, all who came claiming rule over the conscience as spiritual lords. The time of their coming is indicated to be already past by the ἦλθον, not however by the πρὸ, forasmuch as the positive πρὸ does not coincide with the temporal one. . . . At the same time emphasis is given to the ἦλθον. They came as though the Messiah had come; there was no room left for him. It is not necessary that we should confine our thought to those who were false Messiahs in the stricter sense of the term, since the majority of these did not appear until after Christ. Every hierarch prior to Christ was pseudo-Messianic in proportion as he was anti-Christian; and to covet rule over the conscience of men is pseudo-Christian. Be it further observed that the thieves and robbers, who climb over the wall, appear in this verse with the assumption of a higher power. They stand no longer in their naked selfishness, they lay claim to positive importance, and that not merely as shepherds, but as the door itself. Thus the hierarchs had just been attempting to exercise rule over the man who was born blind."¹

The import of the other allusions and statements of this passage is sufficiently clear, but in a thorough and elaborate treatment of the whole subject the student should compare the similar allegories which are found in Jer. xxiii, 1-4; Exek. xxxiv; Zech. xi, 4-17; and also the twenty-third Psalm. So also the allegory of the vine and its branches, John xv, 1-10²—an allegory like that of the door and the shepherd peculiar to John—may be profitably compared

¹ Lange's Commentary on John, in loco.

² According to Lange (on John xv, 1) "Jesus' discourse concerning the vine is neither an allegory nor a parable, but a parabolic discourse, and that a symbolical one." But this is an over-refinement, and withal, misleading. The figures of some allegories may be construed as symbols, and allegory and parable may have much in common. But this figure of the vine, illustrating the vital and organic union between Christ and believers, has every essential quality of the allegory, and contains its own interpretation within itself.

and contrasted with the psalmist's allegory of the vine (Psa. lxxx, 8-15) which we have already noticed.

The allegorizing process by which Paul, in Gal. iv, 21-31, makes Hagar and Sarah illustrate two covenants, is an excep- Paul's allegory in Gal. iv, 21-31, peculiar and exceptional.
tional New Testament instance of developing a mystical meaning from facts of Old Testament history. Paul elsewhere (Rom. vii, 1-6) illustrates the believer's release from the law, and union with Christ, by means of the law of marriage, according to which a woman, upon the death of her husband, is discharged from (*κατηργηται*) the law which bound her to him alone, and is at liberty to become united to another man. In 2 Cor. iii, 13-16, he contrasts the open boldness (*παρρησία*) of the Gospel preaching with the veil which Moses put on his face purposely to conceal for the time the transitory character of the Old Testament ministration which then appeared so glorious, but was, nevertheless, destined to pass away like the glory of his own God-lit face. He also, in the same passage, makes the veil a symbol of the incapacity of Israel's heart to apprehend the Lord Christ. The passage of the Red Sea, and the rock in the desert from which the water flowed, are recognized as types of spiritual things (1 Cor. x, 1-4; comp. 1 Peter iii, 21). But all these illustrations from the Old Testament differ essentially from the allegory of the two covenants. Paul himself, by the manner and style in which he introduces it, evidently feels that his argument is exceptional and peculiar, and being addressed especially to those who boasted of their attachment to the law, it has the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem*. "At the conclusion of the theoretical portion of his epistle," says Meyer, "Paul adds a quite peculiar antinomistic disquisition—a learned rabbinico-allegorical argument derived from the law itself—calculated to annihilate the influence of the pseudo-apostles with their own weapons, and to root them out of their own ground."¹

We observe that the apostle, first of all, states the historical facts, as written in the Book of Genesis, namely, that Abraham was the father of two sons, one by the bond woman, the other by the free woman; the son of the bond- Historical facts accepted as literally true.
maid was born *κατὰ σάρκα*, according to flesh, i. e., according to the ordinary course of nature, but the son of the free woman was born through promise, and, as the Scripture shows (Gen. xvii, 19; xviii, 10-14), by miraculous interposition. He further on brings in the rabbinical tradition founded on Gen. xxi, 9, that Ishmael persecuted (*ἔδιωκε*, ver. 29) Isaac, perhaps having in mind also some subsequent aggressions of the Ishmaelites upon Israel, and then adds the words

¹ Critical Commentary on Galatians, in loco.

of Sarah, as written in Gen. xxi, 10, adapting them somewhat freely to his purpose. It is evident from all this that Paul recognizes the grammatico-historical truthfulness of the Old Testament narrative. But, he says, all these historical facts are capable of being allegorized: *ἀτινά ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα*, *which things are allegorical*; or as Ellicott well expresses it: "All which things, viewed in their most general light, are allegorical."¹ He proceeds to allegorize the facts referred to, making the two women represent the two covenants, the Sinaitic (Jewish) and the Christian, and showing in detail how one thing answers to, or *ranks with* (*συστοιχεῖ*) another, and also wherein the two covenants stand opposed. We may represent the correspondences of his allegory as follows:

a	{	¹ Hagar, bondmaid, = Old Covenant,	<i>συστοιχεῖ</i> , The present Jerusalem.
		² Sarah, free woman, = New Covenant,	" Jerusalem above, our mother.
b	{	³ Ishmael, child of flesh,	" Those in bondage to the law.
		⁴ Isaac, child of promise,	" We, Christian brethren (ver. 28).
		⁵ Ishmael persecuted Isaac,	" So now legalists pers. Christians.
c	{	⁶ Scripture says: Cast out bondmaid and son,	{ I say, (ver. 31; v, 1): Be not entangled in yoke of bondage.

The above tabulation exhibits at a glance six points of similitude (on a line with the figures 1, 2, 3, etc.), and three sets of things contrasted (as linked by the braces *a, b, c*). The general import of the apostle's language is clear and simple, and this allegorizing process served most aptly both to illustrate the relations and contrasts of the Law and the Gospel, and also to confound and silence the Judaizing legalists, against whom Paul was writing.

Here arises the important hermeneutical question, What inference are we to draw from this example of an inspired apostle allegorizing the facts of sacred history? Was it a fruit of his rabbinical education, and a sanction of that allegorical method of interpretation which was prevalent, especially among Jewish-Alexandrian writers, at that time?

That Paul in this passage treats historical facts of the Old Testament as capable of being used allegorically is a simple matter of fact. That he was familiar with the allegorical methods of expounding the Scriptures current in his day is scarcely to be doubted. That his own rabbinical training had some influence on him, and coloured his methods of argument and illustration, there seems no valid reason to deny. It is further evident that in his allegorical use of Hagar and Sarah he employs an exceptional and peculiar method of dealing with his Judaizing opponents, and, so far as the passage is an argument, it is essentially an *argumentum ad hominem*.

¹ Commentary on Galatians, in loco.

But it is not merely an argument of that kind, as if it could have no worth or force with any other parties. It is assumed to have an interest and value as illustrating certain relations of the Law and the Gospel.¹ But its position, connexion, and use in this epistle to the Galatians gives no sufficient warrant for such allegorical methods in general. Schmoller remarks: "Paul to be sure allegorizes here, for he says so himself. But with the very fact of his saying this himself, the gravity of the hermeneutical difficulty disappears. He *means* therefore to give an allegory, not an exposition; he does not proceed as an exegete, and does not mean to say (after the manner of the allegorizing exegetes) that only what he now says is the true sense of the narrative."² Herein especially consists the great difference between Paul's example and that of nearly all the allegorists. He concedes and assumes the historical truthfulness of the Old Testament narrative, but makes an allegorical use of it for a special and exceptional purpose.³

¹ According to Jowett, "it is neither an argument nor an illustration, but an interpretation of the Old Testament Scripture after the manner of the age in which he lived; that is, after the manner of the Jewish and Christian Alexandrian writers. Whatever difference there is between him and them, or between Philo and the Christian fathers, as interpreters of Scripture, is not one of kind, but of degree. The Christian writers lay aside many of the extravagances of Philo; St. Paul is free also from their extravagances, employing only casually, and exceptionally, and when reasoning with those 'who desire to be under the law,' what they use habitually and unsparingly, so as to overlay, and in some cases to destroy the original sense. Instead of seeking to draw subtle distinctions between the method of St. Paul and that of his age, probably of the school in which he was brought up, it is better to observe that the noble spirit of the apostle shines through the 'elements of the law' in which he clothes his meaning."—The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, etc., with Critical Notes and Dissertations, vol. i, p. 285. London, 1855.

² Commentary on Galatians (Lange's Biblework), in loco.

³ J. B. Lightfoot compares and contrasts Philo's allegory of Hagar and Sarah, and shows how the two move in different realms of thought, and yet have points of resemblance as well as points of difference. He shows how, "with Philo, the allegory is the whole substance of his teaching; with St. Paul it is but an accessory." He furnishes also, on the general subject, the following judicious and sensible remarks: "We need not fear to allow that St. Paul's mode of teaching here is coloured by his early education in the rabbinical schools. It were as unreasonable to stake the apostle's inspiration on the turn of a metaphor or the character of an illustration or the form of an argument, as on purity of diction. No one now thinks of maintaining that the language of the inspired writers reaches the classical standard of correctness and elegance, though at one time it was held almost a heresy to deny this. 'A treasure contained in earthen vessels,' 'strength made perfect in weakness,' 'rudeness in speech, yet not in knowledge,'—such is the far nobler conception of inspired teaching which we may gather from the apostle's own language. And this language we should do well to bear in mind."—St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Greek Text, Notes, etc., p. 370. Andover, 1881.

Hence we may say, in general, that as certain other Old Testament characters and events are acknowledged by Paul to have a typical significance (see Rom. ix, 14; 1 Cor. x, 5), so he allows a like significance to the points specified in the history of Hagar and Sarah. But he never for a moment loses sight of the historical basis, or permits his allegorizing to displace it. And in the same general way it may be allowable for us to allegorize portions of the Scripture, providing the facts are capable of typical significance, and are never ignored and displaced by the allegorizing process. Biblical characters and events may thus be used for homiletical purposes, and serve for "instruction in righteousness;" but the special and exceptional character of such handling of Scripture must, as in Paul's example, be explicitly acknowledged. The apostle's solitary instance is a sufficient admonition that such expositions are to be indulged in most sparingly.

The allegorical interpretation of the Book of Canticles, adopted by all the older Jewish expositors and the great majority of Christian divines, is not to be lightly cast aside. Where such a unanimity has so long prevailed, there is at least the presumption that it is rooted in some element of truth. The methods of procedure adopted by individual exegetes may all be open to objection, while, at the same time, they may embody principles in themselves essentially correct.

The allegorists agree in making the pure love and tender relations of Solomon and Shulamith represent the relations of God and his people. But when they come to details they differ most widely, each writer finding in particular passages mystic or historical allusions, which, in turn, are disregarded or denied by others. In fact, it can scarcely be said that any two allegorizing minds have ever agreed throughout in the details of their exposition. The Jewish Targum, which takes the bridegroom to be the Lord of the world, and the bride the congregation of Israel, explains the whole song as a picture of Israel's history, from the exodus until the final redemption and restoration of the nation to the mountain of Jerusalem.¹ Aben-Ezra makes the song an allegorico-prophetic history of Israel from Abraham onward. Origen and the Christian allegorists generally make Christ the bridegroom and his Church the bride. Some, however, explain all the allusions of the loving intercourse between Christ and the individual believer, while others treat the whole song as a sort of apocalypse, or prophetic picture of the history of the Church in all ages. Ambrose, in a sermon on the

¹ An English translation of the Targum of Canticles is given in Adam Clarke's Commentary, at the end of his notes on Solomon's Song.

perpetual virginity of the virgin Mary, represents Shulamith as identical with Mary, the mother of God. But these are only some of the more general types or outlines of exposition pursued by the allegorists. Besides such leading differences there is an endless and most confusing mass of special expositions. It is assumed that every word must be explained in a mystic sense. The Targum, for example, in chap. ii, 4, understands the bringing into the house of wine as the Lord bringing Israel to the school of Mount Sinai to learn the law from Moses. Aben-Ezra explains the coming of the beloved, leaping over the mountains (chap. ii, 8), as Jehovah descending upon Sinai and shaking the whole mountain by his thunder. The Christian allegorists also find in every word and allusion of the song some illustration of the "great mystery" of which Paul speaks in Eph. v, 31-33, and some have carried the matter into wild extravagance. Thus Epiphanius makes the eighty concubines (vi, 8) prefigure eighty heresies of Christendom; the winter (ii, 11) denotes the sufferings of Christ, and the voice of the turtle-dove (ii, 12) is the preaching of Paul. Hengstenberg makes the hair of the bride, which is compared to a flock of goats that leap playfully from Mount Gilead (iv, 1), signify the mass of the nations converted to the Church, and Cocceius discovered in other allusions the strifes of Guelphs and Ghibellines, the struggles of the Reformation, and even particular events like the capture of the elector of Saxony at Mülberg! And so the interpretation of this book has been carried to the same extreme as that of John's Apocalypse.

Against the allegorical interpretation of Canticles we may urge three considerations. First, the notable disagreement of its advocates, as indicated above, and the constant tendency of their expositions to run into irrational extremes. These facts warrant the inference that some fatal error lies in that method of procedure. Secondly, the allegorists, as a rule, deny that the song has any literal basis. The persons and objects described are mere figures of the Lord and his people, and of the manifold relations between them. This position throws the whole exposition into the realm of fancy, and explains how, as a matter of fact, each interpreter becomes a law unto himself. Having no basis in reality, the purely allegorical interpretation has not been able to fix upon any historical standpoint, or adopt any common principles. Thirdly, the song contains no intimation that it is an allegory. It certainly does not, like the other allegories of Scripture, contain its exposition within itself. Herein, as we have shown above, the allegory differs from the parable, and to

Objections to the allegorical method.

be self-consistent in allegorizing the song of songs we should either adopt Paul's method with the history of Sarah and Hagar, and, allowing a literal historical basis, say: All these things may be allegorized; or else we should call the song a parable, and, as in the parable of the prodigal son, affirm that its imagery is true to fact and nature and capable of literal explanation, but that it serves more especially to set forth the mystic relation that exists between God and his people.

Following, therefore, the analogy of Scripture we may more appropriately designate the Canticles as a dramatic parable. It may or may not have had a literal historical occasion, as the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings iii, 1), or, as many think, with some beautiful shepherd-maiden of Northern Palestine (comp. chap. iv, 8). In either case the imagery and form of the composition are poetic and dramatic, and, as in the book of Job, we are not to suppose a literal narrative of persons actually addressing one another in such perfect and ornamental style. Solomon is a well-known historical person, and also, in Scripture, a typical character. Shulamith may have been one of his wives. But the song of songs is a parable, and its leading actors are, as in all parables, typical of others besides themselves. The parable depicts in a most charming style the highest ideal of pure connubial love, and "we cannot but believe that the writer of this divine song recognized the symbolical character of that love, which he has here embellished. . . . The typical character of Solomon's own reign was well understood by himself, as appears from Psalm lxxii. That the Lord's relation to his people was conceived of as a marriage from the time of the covenant at Sinai, is shown by repeated expressions which imply it in the law of Moses. That, under these circumstances, the marriage of the king of Israel should carry the thought up by a ready and spontaneous association to the covenant-relation of the King *par excellence* to the people whom he had espoused to himself, is surely no extravagant supposition, even if the analogous instance of Psalm xlv did not remove it from the region of conjecture to that of established fact. The mystical use made of marriage so frequently in the subsequent scriptures, with evident and even verbal allusion to this song, and the constant interpretation of both the Synagogue and the Church, show the naturalness of the symbol, and enhance the probability that the writer himself saw what the great body of his readers have found in his production."¹

¹ Prof. W. H. Green, in American edition of Lange's O. T. Commentary, Introduction, pp. 24, 25. This learned exegete adopts, along with Zöckler, Delitzsch, and some others, what he calls the typical method of interpreting the Canticles. "I am

Accepting, then, the view that the song is of parabolic import, we should avoid the extravagances of those allegorists who find a spiritual significance in every word and metaphor. We should, first of all, study to ascertain the literal sense of every passage. First the natural, afterward that which is spiritual. The assumption of many that the literal sense involves absurdities and revolting images is a grave error. Such writers seem to forget that "the work is an oriental poem, and the diction should therefore not be taken as prose. It is the offspring of a luxuriant imagination tinged with the voluptuousness characteristic of the eastern mind. There love is warm and passionate even while pure. It deals in colours and images which seem extravagant to the colder ideas of the West."¹

Having apprehended the literal sense, we should proceed, as in a parable, to define the general scope and plan of the entire song. But remembering that the whole is poetry of the most highly ornamented character, the particular descriptions of persons, scenes, and events must not be supposed to have in every detail a spiritual or mystic significance. The mention of spikenard, myrrh, and cypress flowers (chap. i, 12-14), yields an intensified thought of fragrance, and indicates the mutual attractiveness of the lovers, and their desire and care to please one another; and from this general idea it is not difficult to infer similar relations between the Lord and his chosen ones. But an attempt to find special meanings in the spikenard, and myrrh, and cypress flower, as if each allusion pointed to some distinct feature of the economy of grace, would lead to certain failure in the exegesis. The carping critics who have found fault with the descriptions of the bodies of Solomon and Shulamith, and condemned them as revolting to a chaste imagination, too readily ignore the fact that from the historical standpoint of the ancient writer these were the noblest ideals of the perfect human form, which, according to the psalmist (Psa. cxxxix, 14), is "fearfully and wonderfully made." The highly wrought eulogy of the person of the beloved (chap. v, 10-16) gives a vivid idea of his surpassing beauty and perfection, and, like John's glowing vision of the Son of man in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks (Rev. i, 13-16), may well depict the glorious person of the Lord. But the description must be taken as a whole, and not torn into pieces by an effort to

not sure," he says, "but the absence of the name of God, and of any distinctive religious expressions throughout the song, is thus to be accounted for—that the writer, conscious of the parabolic character of what he is describing, felt that there would be an incongruity in mingling the symbol with the thing symbolized."

¹ Davidson, Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. ii, p. 404.

find some separate attribute or doctrine of the Divine Person in head, hair, eyes, etc. The same principle must be maintained in explaining the description of the charmingly beautiful and perfect form of Shulamith in chap. vii, 2-8. The allegorical interpreters have been guilty of the most extravagant folly in spiritualizing every part of that portraiture of womanly beauty. But, taken as a whole, it may appropriately set forth, in type, the perfection and beauty of "a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing" (Eph. v, 27).

CHAPTER VIII.

PROVERBS AND GNOMIC POETRY.

THE Old Testament Book of Proverbs has been appropriately called an Anthology of Hebrew gnomes.¹ Its general form is poetic, and follows the usual methods of Hebrew parallelism. The simpler proverbs are in the form of distichs, and consist of synonymous, antithetic and synthetic parallelisms, as has been explained in a previous part of this work.² But there are many involved passages and obscure allusions, and the book contains riddles, enigmas, or dark sayings (חֵידָה, חֵידָה, חֵידָה), as well as proverbs (פְּרָוֶה). Many a proverb is also a condensed parable; some consist of metaphors, some of similes, and some are extended into allegories. In the interpretation of all scriptural proverbs it is important, therefore, to distinguish between their substance and their form.

The Hebrew word for *proverb* (פְּרָוֶה) is derived from the verb פָּרַו, which signifies to *liken* or *compare*. The same verb means also to *rule*, or *have dominion*, and some have sought to trace a logical connexion between the two significations; but, more probably, as Gesenius suggests, two distinct and independent radicals have coalesced under this one form. The proverb proper will generally be found, in its ultimate analysis, to be a comparison or similitude. Thus, the saying, which became a proverb (פְּרָוֶה) in Israel, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" arose from his prophesying after the manner of the prophets with whom he came in contact (1 Sam. x, 10-12). The proverb used by Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth,

¹ Bruch's Weisheitslehre der Hebräer, p. 104. Strasburg, 1851.

² See above, pp. 149-153.

"Physician, heal thyself," is a condensed parable, as, indeed, it is there called (Luke iv, 23), and it would be no difficult task to enlarge it into a parabolic narrative. Herein also we may see how proverbs and parables came to be designated by the same word. The word *παροιμία*, *adage*, *byword*, expresses more nearly the later idea commonly associated with the Hebrew *מָשָׁל*, and stands as its representative in the Septuagint. In the New Testament it is used in the sense of *adage*, or common byword, in 2 Peter ii, 22, but in John's Gospel it denotes more especially an enigmatical discourse (John x, 6; xvi, 15, 29).¹

Proverbs proper are therefore to be understood as short, pithy sayings, in which a wise counsel, a moral lesson, or a suggestive experience, is expressed in memorable form. Such sayings are often called *gnomic* because of their pointed and sententious form and force. "The earliest ethical and practical wisdom of most ancient nations," observes Conant, "found expression in short, pithy, and pointed sayings. These embodied, in few words, the suggestions of common experience, or of individual reflection and observation. Acute observers and thinkers, accustomed to generalize the facts of experience, and to reason from first principles, were fond of clothing their results in striking apophthegms, conveying some instruction or witty reflection, some moral or religious truth, a maxim of worldly prudence or policy, or a practical rule of life. These were expressed in terms aptly chosen to awaken attention, or inquiry, and reflection, and in a form that fixed them indelibly in the memory. They thus became elements of the national and popular thought, as inseparable from the mental habits of the people as the power of perception itself."² "Proverbs," says another, "are characteristic of a comparatively early stage in the mental growth of most nations. Men find in the outer world analogies to their own experience, and are helped by them to generalize and formulate what they have observed. A single startling or humorous fact fixes itself in their minds as the type to which all like facts may be referred, as when men used the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' The mere result of an induction to which other instances may be referred fixes itself in their minds with the charm of a discovery, as in 'the proverb of the ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked' (1 Sam. xxiv, 13). . . . Such proverbs are found in the history of all nations, generally in their earlier stages. For the most part there is no record of

¹ Comp. above, p. 177.

² The Book of Proverbs, with Hebrew text, King James' Version, and Revised Version, etc. For the American Bible Union. Introduction, p. 8. New York, 1872.

their birth. No one knows their author. They find acceptance among men, not as resting upon the authority of a reverend name, but from their inherent truth, or semblance of truth."¹

The biblical proverbs are not confined to the book which bears that title. The Book of Ecclesiastes contains many a gnomic sentence. Proverbs appear also in almost every part of the Scriptures, and, from the definition and origin of proverbs, as given above, it will be readily seen that much care and discrimination may be often required for their proper exposition. In such exposition the following observations will be found of practical value and importance.

1. As proverbs may consist of simile, metaphor, parable, or allegory, the interpreter should, first of all, determine to which of these classes of figures, if to any, the proverb properly belongs. We have seen above that Prov. v, 15-18, is an allegory. In Prov. i, 20; viii, 1; ix, 1, wisdom is personified. Eccles. ix, 13-18, is a combination of parable and proverb, the parable serving to illustrate the proverb. Some proverbial similes are of the nature of a conundrum, requiring us to pause and study awhile before we catch the point of comparison. The same is true of some proverbial expressions in which the comparison is not formally stated, but implied. Thus, in Prov. xxvi, 8, "As binding a stone in a sling, so is he that gives honour to a fool." Here is a formal comparison, the point of which is not at first apparent, but it soon dawns on the mind as we reflect that the binding fast of a stone in a sling would of itself be a piece of folly. The next verse is enigmatical: "A thornbush (תִּנְתַּן) goes up in a drunkard's hand, and a proverb in the mouth of fools." The distich implies a comparison between the thornbush in the drunkard's hand and a proverb in the mouth of fools. But what is the point of comparison? The passage is obscure by reason of the uncertainty attaching to the word תִּנְתַּן , which may mean *thorn*, *thornbush*, or *thistle*. The authorized English version reads: "As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard, so is a parable in the mouth of fools." Stuart renders: "As a thornbush which is elevated [riseth up, Zöckler] in the hand of a drunkard, so is a proverb in the mouth of a fool," and he explains as follows: "As a drunken man, who holds a high thornbush in his hand, will be very apt to injure others or himself, so a fool's words will injure himself or others."² But Co-nant translates and explains the passage thus: "A thorn comes up

¹ Prof. Plumptre in the Speaker's Commentary on Proverbs (Am. ed.). Introduction, p. 514.

² Commentary on Proverbs, in loco.

into the drunkard's hand, so is a proverb in the mouth of fools. . . . The drunkard's hand, as he gropes around, blindly grasping at whatever comes in his way, is pierced by a thorn. So fares the fool when he awkwardly attempts to apply some sharp saying of the wise." The enigmatical character of the next verse we have already noticed (p. 181). It is evident, therefore, from this variety in the nature and style of proverbs, that the interpreter should be able to determine the exact character of each proverbial passage which he essays to explain.

2. Great critical and practical sagacity is also necessary both to determine the character of a proverb and to apprehend its scope and bearing. Many proverbs are literal statements of fact, the results of observation and experience; Critical and practical sagacity. as, "A child is known by his doings, whether pure and whether right his deed" (Prov. xx, 11). Many are simple precepts and maxims of a virtuous life, or warnings against sin, which any one can understand, as, "Trust in Jehovah with all thy heart, and upon thine own understanding do not rely" (Prov. iii, 5). "In the path of the wicked come thou not, and proceed not in the way of the evil" (Prov. iv, 14). But there are other proverbs that seem to defy all critical sharpness and ingenuity, as, "To eat much honey is not good, and to search out their glory is glory" (Prov. xxv, 27). The last clause has been a puzzle to all exegetes. Some, as the Authorized Version, carry over the negative particle from the preceding sentence, and so make the author say the precise opposite of what he does say. Others reject the *usus loquendi* of the verb חָקַר, to search out, and, appealing to the corresponding Arabic root, make the word mean to despise: "To despise their glory is glory." Others take the word כָּבֹד, glory, in its radical sense of weight: "To search into weighty matters is itself a weight; i. e., men soon become satiated with it as with honey" (Plumptre). Zöckler renders: "To search out the difficult bringeth difficulty;" Stuart: "Searching after one's own glory is burdensome." Others suggest an emendation of the text. Amid such a diversity of possible constructions the sagacious critic will be slow to venture a positive judgment. He will consider how many such obscure sayings have arisen from events now utterly forgotten. Their whole point and force may have depended originally upon some incident like that of Saul prophesying, or upon some provincial idiom. So, again, the mysterious word חֲסִידָא, in Prov. xxx, 15, translated *horseleech* in all the ancient versions, and *vampire* by many modern exegetes, gives an uncertainty to every exposition. Possibly here the text is corrupt, and we may take the word Alukah as a proper name, like Agur in

verse 1, and Lemuel in chap. xxxi, 1. Then we would supply something, as, "Words of Alukah," or, "Words which one spoke to Alukah." It will, at least, be granted that among so many proverbs as have been preserved to us in the Scriptures, several of which were manifestly designed to puzzle, there are probably some which can now be only conjecturally explained.

3. Wherever the context lends any help to the exposition of a context and proverb great deference is to be paid to it, and it is to parallelism. be noted that in the Book of Proverbs, as in the other Scriptures, the immediate context is, for the most part, a very safe guide to the meaning of each particular passage. So, also, the poetic parallelisms, in which this book is written, help greatly in the exposition. The synonymous and the antithetic parallelisms, especially, are adapted, by way of the analogies and contrasts they furnish, to suggest their own meaning from within themselves. Thus Prov. xi, 25: "The soul of blessing (liberal soul that is a blessing to others) shall become fat (enriched), and he that waters shall also himself be watered." Here the second member of the parallelism is a metaphorical illustration of the somewhat enigmatical sentiment of the first. So, again, in the antithetic parallelism of Prov. xii, 24, each member is metaphorical, and the sense of each is made clearer by the contrast: "The hand of the diligent shall bear rule, but the slothful shall be under tribute."

4. But there are passages in the Book of Proverbs where the context affords no certain or satisfactory help. There are common sense and sound judgment. passages that seem at first self-contradictory, and we are obliged to pause awhile to judge whether the language be literal or figurative. "There is," says Stuart, "scarcely any book which calls upon us so often to apply the golden mean between literality on the one hand and flimsy and diffuse generality on the other."¹ Especially must common sense and sound judgment be appealed to where other helps are not at hand. These are, in all doubtful cases, to be our last resort to guard us against construing all proverbs as universal propositions. Prov. xvi, 7, expresses a great truth: "When Jehovah delights in the ways of a man he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him." But there have been many exceptions to this statement, and many cases to which it could apply only with considerable modification. Such, to some extent, have been all cases of persecution for righteousness' sake. So, too, with verse 13 of the same chapter: "Delight of kings are lips of righteousness, and him that speaks right things he will love." The annals of human history show that this has not

¹ Commentary on Proverbs. Introduction, p. 128.

always been true; and yet the most impious kings understand the value of upright counsellors. Prov. xxvi, 4 and 5, are contradictory in form and statement, but, for reasons there given, both are at once seen to be true: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him. Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he become wise in his own eyes." A man's good sense and judgment must decide how to answer in any particular case. Prov. vi, 30, 31, has been supposed to involve an absurdity: "They do not despise a thief when he steals to satisfy his soul when he is hungry; but if found he shall restore sevenfold, the whole substance of his house shall he give." Theft is theft in any case, but if a man is so impoverished as to steal to satisfy hunger, wherewithal, it is asked, can he be made to restore sevenfold? Whence all that substance of his house? The absurdities here alleged arise from a lack of knowledge of Hebrew sentiment and law. To begin with, the passage is proverbial, and must be taken subject to proverbial limitations. Then the context must be kept in view, in which the writer is aiming to show the exceeding wickedness of adultery. No one shall be innocent, he argues, (ver. 29), who touches his neighbor's wife. A man who steals to satisfy the cravings of hunger is not despised, for the palliating circumstances are duly considered; nevertheless, if discovered, even he is subject to the full penalty of the law (comp. Exod. xxii, 1-4). The *sevenfold* is, doubtless, to be taken idiomatically. His entire property shall be given up, if necessary, to make due restitution. All this of a thief under the circumstances named. But an adulterer shall find even a worse judgment—blows, and shame, and reproach that may not be wiped away (verses 32-35). As for the supposed absurdity of compelling a man who has nothing to restore sevenfold, it arises from an absurdly literal interpretation of the proverb. The sense evidently is, that whatever the circumstances of the theft, if the thief be found, he shall certainly be punished as the case may demand. A man might own estates and yet steal to satisfy his hunger; or, if he owned no property, he could be sold (Exod. xxii, 3) for perhaps more than seven times the value of what he had stolen. So, also, in Eccles. x, 2, it is at once evident that the language is not to be taken literally, but metaphorically: "The heart of a wise man is on his right, but the heart of a fool on his left." The exact meaning of the proverb, however, is obscure. *Heart* is probably to be taken for the judgment or understanding, and the sentiment is that a wise man has his understanding always at ready and vigorous command, while the opposite is the case with the fool.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERPRETATION OF TYPES.

Types and symbols constitute a class of figures distinct from all those which we have treated in the foregoing chapters; but they are not, properly speaking, figures of speech. Types and symbols defined and distinguished. They resemble each other in being sensible representations of moral and religious truth, and may be defined, in general, as figures of thought in which material objects are made to convey vivid spiritual conceptions to the mind. Crabb defines types and symbols as different species of the emblem, and observes: "The *type* is that species of emblem by which one object is made to represent another mystically; it is, therefore, only employed in religious matters, particularly in relation to the coming, the office, and the death of our Saviour; in this manner the offering of Isaac is considered as a type of our Saviour's offering himself as an atoning sacrifice. The *symbol* is that species of emblem which is converted into a constituted sign among men; thus the olive and laurel are the symbols of peace, and have been recognized as such among barbarous as well as enlightened nations."¹ The symbols of Scripture, however, rise far above the conventional signs in common use among men, and are employed, especially in the apocalyptic portions of the Bible, to set forth those revelations, given in visions or dreams, which could find no suitable expression in mere words.

Types and symbols may, therefore, be said to agree in their general character as emblems, but they differ noticeably in special method and design. Examples of types and symbols. Adam, in his representative character and relation to the human race, was a type of Christ (Rom. v, 14). The rainbow is a symbol of the covenanted mercy and faithfulness of God (Gen. ix, 13-16; Ezek. i, 28; Rev. iv, 3; comp. Isa. liv, 8-10), and the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are symbols of the body and blood of Christ. There are also typical events like the passage of the Red Sea (1 Cor. x, 1-11), and symbolico-typical actions like Ahi-jah's rending his new garment as a sign of the rupture of the kingdom of Solomon (1 Kings xi, 29-31). In instances like the latter

¹ English Synonymes, p. 531. New York, 1859.

certain essential elements of both type and symbol become blended in one and the same example. The Scriptures also furnish us with examples of symbolical metals, names, numbers, and colours.

Certain analogies may be traced between types and symbols, and several figures of speech. Symbols, being always based upon some points of resemblance between themselves and the things to be symbolized, correspond somewhat closely with metonymy of the adjunct, or metonymy of the sign and the thing signified (comp. above, pp. 161, 162). Then there are analogies between the simile, the parable, and the type, on the one hand, and between the metaphor, the allegory, and the symbol, on the other. Similes, parables, and types have this in common, that a formal comparison is made or assumed between different persons and events, and the language is employed in its literal sense; but in metaphor, allegory, and symbol, the characteristic feature is that one thing is said or seen, and another is intended. If we say "Israel is like a barren fig-tree," the sentence is a simile. In Luke xiii, 6-9, the same image is expanded into a narrative, in the parable of the fruitless fig-tree. But our Lord's miracle of cursing the leafy but fruitless fig-tree (Mark xi, 13, 14) was a symbolico-typical action, foreshadowing the approaching doom of the Jewish nation. If, however, we say "Judah is an olive-tree," we have a metaphor; one thing is said to be another. But in Jer. xi, 16, 17, this metaphor is extended into an allegory, and in Zech. iv, 3, two olive-trees are symbols of Zerubbabel and Joshua, "the two anointed ones (Hebrew, sons of oil) who stand by the Lord of all the earth" (ver. 14). At the same time it is to be observed that as the metaphor differs from the simile in being an implied rather than a formal comparison, and as the allegory differs from the parable in a similar way—saying one thing and meaning another—so the symbol differs from the type in being a suggestive *sign* rather than an *image* of that which it is intended to represent. The interpretation of a type requires us to show some formal analogy between two persons, objects, or events; that of a symbol requires us rather to point out the particular qualities, marks, features, or signs by means of which one object, real or ideal, indicates and illustrates another. Melchizedek is a type, not a symbol, of Christ, and Heb. vii furnishes a formal statement of the typical analogies. But the seven golden candlesticks (Rev. i, 12) are a symbol, not a type, of the seven churches of Asia. The comparison, however, is implied, not expressed, and it is left to the interpreter to unfold it, and show the points of resemblance.

Besides these formal distinctions between types and symbols there is the more radical and fundamental difference that while a symbol may represent a thing either past, present, or future, a type is essentially a prefiguring of something future from itself. In the technical and theological sense a type is a figure or adumbration of that which is to come. It is a person, institution, office, action, or event, by means of which some truth of the Gospel was divinely foreshadowed under the Old Testament dispensations. Whatever was thus prefigured is called the antitype.¹ A symbol, on the other hand, has in itself no essential reference to time. It is designed rather to represent some character, office, or quality, as when a *horn* denotes either strength or a king in whom strength is impersonated (Dan. vii, 24; viii, 21). The origin of symbols has been supposed to be connected with the history of hieroglyphics.²

"The word *type*," observes Muenscher, "is employed not only in theology, but in philosophy, medicine, and other sciences and arts. In all these departments of knowledge the radical idea is the same, while its specific meaning varies with the subject to which it is applied. Resemblance of some kind, real or supposed, lies at the foundation in every case. In the science of theology it properly signifies *the preordained representative relation which certain persons, events, and institutions of the Old Testament bear to corresponding persons, events, and institutions in the New.*"³ Accordingly the type is always something real, not a fictitious or ideal symbol. And, further, it is no ordinary fact or incident of history, but one of exalted dignity and worth—one divinely ordained by the omniscient Ruler to be a foreshadowing of the good things which he purposed in the fulness of time to bring to pass through the mediation of Jesus Christ.⁴ Three things are,

¹ It should be observed, however, that this word (*ἀντίτυπον*), as used in the New Testament (Heb. ix, 24; 1 Peter iii, 21), is not equivalent to the technical sense of *antitype*, or *counterpart*, as now used in theological literature. It has the more general meaning of *image* or *likeness*.

² Comp. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv, sect. iv.

³ *Types and the Typical Interpretation of Scripture*. Article in the *American Biblical Repository* for January, 1841, p. 97.

⁴ In the New Testament the word *τύπος*, *type*, is applied variously, but always with the fundamental idea of a *figure* or real *form*. In John xx, 25, it is used of the print of the nails in the Saviour's hands—visible marks which identified him as the crucified. In Acts vii, 43, it denotes idolatrous images, and in verse 44, and Heb. viii, 5, the pattern or model after which the tabernacle was made. In Acts xxiii, 25, it denotes the form or style of a letter, and in Rom. vi, 17, a form of doctrine. Comp. *ὑποτύποις* in 2 Tim. i, 18. In Phil. iii, 17; 1 Thess. i, 7; 2 Thess. iii, 9; 1 Tim. iv, 12; Titus ii, 7; 1 Peter v, 3, the word is used in the sense of an *example*.

accordingly, essential to make one person or event the type of another.

1. There must be some notable point of resemblance or analogy between the two. They may, in many respects, be to- ^{Likeness and} tally dissimilar. In fact it is as essential that there be ^{unlikeness.} points of dissimilarity as that there be some notable analogy, otherwise we should have identity where only a resemblance is designed. Adam, for instance, is made a type of Christ, but only in his headship of the race, as the first representative of humanity; and in Rom. v, 14-20, and 1 Cor. xv, 45-49, the apostle notes more points of unlikeness than of agreement between the two. Moreover, we always expect to find in the antitype something higher and nobler than in the type, for "much greater honour than the house has he who built it" (Heb. iii, 3).

2. There must be evidence that the type was designed and appointed by God to represent the thing typified. This ^{Divinely ap-} proposition is maintained with great unanimity by the ^{pointed.} best writers on scriptural typology. "To constitute one thing the type of another," says Bishop Marsh, "something more is wanted than mere resemblance. The former must not only resemble the latter, but must have been designed to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its original institution. It must have been designed as something preparatory to the latter. The type as well as the antitype must have been pre-ordained, and they must have been pre-ordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of divine providence."¹ "It is essential to a type," says Van Mildert, "in the scriptural adaptation of the term, that there should be competent evidence of the divine intention in the correspondence between it and the antitype—a matter not to be left to the imagination of the expositor to discover, but resting on or pattern of Christian character and conduct. But the more technical theological sense of the word appears in Rom. v, 14, where Adam is called a "type of him who was to come." On this passage Meyer remarks: "The type is always something historical (a person, thing, saying) which is destined, in accordance with the divine plan to prefigure something corresponding to it in the future—in the connected scheme of sacred historical teleology, which is to be discerned from the standpoint of the antitype." The word is used in the same sense in 1 Cor. x, 6: "These things (the experiences of the fathers, verses 1-5) became types of us." That is, says Meyer, they were "historical transactions of the Old Testament, guided and shaped by God, and designed by him, figuratively, to represent the corresponding relation and experience on the part of Christians." In verse 11 of the same chapter we have the word *τυπικῶς*, *typically*, or, after the manner of type; and it here bears essentially the same sense as verse 6. "These things came to pass typically with them; and it was written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the ages are come."

¹ Lectures on Sacred Criticism and Interpretation, p. 371. Lond., 1838.

some solid proof from Scripture itself."¹ But we should guard against the extreme position of some writers who declare that nothing in the Old Testament is to be regarded as typical but what the New Testament affirms to be so. We admit a divine purpose in every real type, but it does not therefore follow that every such purpose must be formally affirmed in the Scriptures.

3. The type must prefigure something in the future. It must serve in the divine economy as a shadow of things to come (Col. ii, 17; Heb. x, 1). Hence it is that sacred typology constitutes a specific form of prophetic revelation. The Old Testament dispensations were preparatory to the New, and contained many things in germ which could fully blossom only in the light of the Gospel of Jesus. So the law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ (Gal. iii, 24). Old Testament characters, offices, institutions, and events were prophetic adumbrations of corresponding realities in the Church and kingdom of Christ.

The principal types of the Old Testament may be distributed into five different classes, as follows:

1. Typical Persons. It is to be noted, however, that persons are typical, not as persons, but because of some character or relation which they sustain in the history of redemption. Adam was a type of Christ because of his representative character as the first man, and federal head of the race (Rom. v, 14). "As through the disobedience of the one man the many were made sinners, so also through the obedience of the one the many shall be made righteous" (Rom. v, 19). "The first man Adam became a living soul; the last Adam a life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. xv, 45). Enoch may be regarded as a type of Christ, in that, by his saintly life and translation he brought life and immortality to light to the antediluvian world. Elijah the Tishbite was made, in the same way, a type of the ascending Lord, and these two were also types of God's power and purpose to change his living saints, "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump" (1 Cor. xv, 52). In the spirit and power of his prophetic ministry Elijah was also a type of John the Baptist. Abraham's faith in God's word, and consequent justification (Gen. xv, 6), while yet in uncircumcision (Rom. iv, 10), made him a type of all believers who are justified by faith "apart from works of law" (Rom. iii, 28). His offering of Isaac, at a later date (Gen. xxii), made him a type of working faith, showing how "a man is justified by works and not by faith only" (James ii, 24). Typical relations may also be traced in Melchizedek, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, and Zerubbabel.

¹ Bampton Lectures for 1814, p. 239.

2. **Typical Institutions.** The sacrificing of lambs and other animals, the blood of which was appointed to make atone-^{Typical Institutions.}ment for the souls of men (Lev. xvii, 11), was typical of the offering of Christ, who, "as a lamb without blemish and without spot" (1 Pet. i, 19), was "once offered to bear the sins of many" (Heb. ix, 28). The sabbath is a type of the believer's everlasting rest (Heb. iv, 9). The provision of cities of refuge, into which the manslayer might escape (Num. xxxv, 9-34), was typical of the provisions of the Gospel by which the sinner may be saved from death. The Old Testament passover was typical of the New Testament eucharist, and the feast of tabernacles a foreshadowing of the universal thanksgiving of the Church of the latter day (comp. Zech. xiv, 16). The Old Testament theocracy itself was a type and shadow of the more glorious New Testament kingdom of God.

3. **Typical Offices.** Every holy prophet of the Old Testament, by being the medium of divine revelation, and a messenger sent forth from God, was a type of Christ. It^{Typical Offices.} was in the office of prophet that Moses was a type of Jesus (Deut. xviii, 15). The priests, and especially the high priest, in the performance of their priestly duties, were types of Him who through his own blood entered into the holy place once for all, and thereby obtained eternal redemption (Heb. iv, 14; ix, 12). Christ is also, as king, the antitype of Melchizedek, who was king of righteousness and king of peace (Heb. vii, 2), and of David and Solomon, and of every other of whom Jehovah might say, "I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion" (Psa. ii, 6). So the Lord Christ unites in himself the offices of prophet, priest, and king, and fulfills the types of former dispensations.

4. **Typical Events.** Under this head we may name the flood, the exodus from Egypt, the sojourn in the wilderness, the^{Typical Events.} giving of manna, the supply of water from the rock, and the lifting up of the brazen serpent, the conquest of Canaan, and the restoration from the Babylonish captivity. It is such events and experiences as these, according to Paul (1 Cor. x, 11), which "came to pass typically with them: and it was written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the ages are come."

5. **Typical Actions.** These partake so largely of the nature of symbols that we may appropriately designate them as^{Typical Actions.} symbolico-typical, and treat them in a chapter by themselves. So far as they were prophetic of things to come they were types, and belong essentially to what we have defined as typical events; so far as they were signs (*τίμη*, *σημεία*), suggestive of lessons of present or permanent value, they were symbols. The symbol

may be a mere outward visible sign; the type always requires the presence and action of an intelligent agent. So it should be noted that typical characters, institutions, offices, or events are such by bringing in the activity or service of some intelligent agent. The brazen serpent, considered merely as a sign—an object to look to—was rather a symbol than a type; but the personal agency of Moses in lifting up the serpent on a pole, and the looking upon it on the part of the bitten Israelites, places the whole transaction properly in the class of typical events; for as such it was mainly a foreshadowing of things to come. The miracle of the fleece, in Judges vi, 36-40, was not so much a type as a symbolical sign, an extraordinary miraculous token, and our Lord cites the case of Jonah, who was three days and three nights in the whale, not only as a prophetic type of his burial and resurrection, but also as a symbolical "sign" for that "evil and adulterous generation" (Matt. xii, 39). The symbolico-typical actions of the prophets are: Isaiah's walking naked and barefoot for three years (Isa. xx, 2-4); Jeremiah taking and hiding his girdle by the Euphrates (Jer. xiii, 1-11); his going to the potter's house and observing the work wrought there (xviii, 1-6); his breaking the potter's bottle in the valley of Hinnom (xix); his putting a yoke upon his neck for a sign to the nations (xxvii, 1-14; comp. xxviii, 10-17); and his hiding the stones in the brick-kiln (xliii, 8-13); Ezekiel's portraiture upon a brick of the siege of Jerusalem, and his lying upon his side for many days (Ezek. iv); his cutting off his hair and beard, and destroying it in different parcels (v); his removing the baggage, and eating and drinking with trembling (xii, 3-20); his sighing (xxi, 6, 7); and his peculiar action on the death of his wife (xxiv, 15-27); Hosea's marrying "a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms" (Hos. i), and his buying an adulteress (iii); and Zechariah's making crowns of silver and gold for the head of Joshua (Zech. vi, 9-15).

The hermeneutical principles to be used in the interpretation of types are essentially the same as those used in the interpretation of parables and allegories. Nevertheless, in view of the peculiar nature and purpose of the scriptural types, we should be careful in the application of the following principles:

1. The real point of resemblance between type and antitype should, first of all, be clearly apprehended, and all far-fetched and recondite analogies should be as carefully avoided. It often requires the exercise of a very sober discrimination to determine the proper application of this rule.

Hermeneutical
principles to be
observed.

All real corre-
spondences to
be noted.

Every real correspondence should be noted. Thus, the lifting up of the brazen serpent, narrated in Num. xxi, 4-9, is one of the most notable types of the Old Testament, and was explained by Jesus himself as a prefiguration of his being lifted up upon the cross (John iii, 14, 15). Three points of analogy are clearly traceable: (1) As the brazen serpent was lifted up upon a pole, so Christ upon the cross. (2) As the serpent of brass was made, by divine order, in the likeness of the fiery serpents, so Christ was made in the likeness of sinful flesh (Rom. viii, 3) a curse for us (Gal. iii, 13). (3) As the offending Israelites, bitten and ready to die, looked unto the serpent of brass and lived, so sinful men, poisoned by the old serpent, the devil, and ready to perish, look by faith to the crucified Christ, and are made alive for evermore. Other incidental analogies involved in one or another of these three may be allowed, but should be used with caution. Thus, Bengel says: "As that serpent was one without venom placed over against venomous serpents, so the man Christ, a man without sin, against the old serpent." This thought may be incidentally included in analogy (2) above. Lange's observation, however, seems too far-fetched and mystical: "The fiery serpents in the wilderness were primarily the form of a divine punishment, presented in a form elsewhere denoting sin. The elevated serpent-standard was thus the type of punishment lifted in the phantom of sin, and transformed into a means of salvation. This is the nature of the cross. The look at the cross is a look at the curse-laden One, who is not a sinner, but a divine token of evil and penalty, and of the suffering of [a substitute for] penalty which is holy, and therefore transformed into deliverance."¹ Such incidental analogies, as long as they adhere consistently to the main points, may be allowed, especially in homiletical discourse. But to find in the brass—a metal inferior to gold or silver—a type of the outward meanness of the Saviour's appearance; or to suppose that it was cast in a mould, not wrought by hand, and thus typified the divine conception of Christ's human nature; or to imagine that it was fashioned in the shape of a cross to depict more exactly the form in which Christ was to suffer—these, and all like suppositions, are far-fetched, misleading, and to be rejected.

In Hebrews vii the priesthood of Christ is illustrated and enhanced by typical analogies in the character and position of Melchizedek. Four points of resemblance are there set forth. (1) Melchizedek was both king and priest; so Christ. (2) His timelessness—being without recorded parentage, genealogy,

¹ Gnomon, on John iii, 14.

² Commentary on John, in loco.

or death—is a figure of the perpetuity of Christ's priesthood. (3) Melchizedek's superiority over Abraham and over the Levitical priests is made to suggest the exalted dignity of Christ. (4) Melchizedek's priesthood was not, like the Levitical, constituted by formal legal enactment, but was without succession and without tribe or race limitations; so Christ, an independent and universal priest, abides forever, having an unchangeable priesthood. Much more is said in the chapter by way of contrasting Christ with the Levitical priests, and the manifest design of the writer is to set forth in a most impressive way the great dignity and unchangeable perpetuity of the priesthood of the Son of God. But interpreters have gone wild over the mysterious character of Melchizedek, yielding to all manner of speculation, first, in attempting to answer the question "Who was Melchizedek?" and second, in tracing all imaginable analogies. Whedon observes sensibly and aptly: "Our opinion is, that Melchizedek was nobody but himself; himself as simply narrated in Gen. xiv, 18-20; in which narrative both David, in Psa. cx, and our author after him, find every point they specify in making him a king-priest, typical of the king-priesthood of Christ. Yet it is not in the person of Melchizedek alone, but in the grouping, also, of circumstances around and in his person, that the inspired imagination of the psalmist finds the shadowing points. Melchizedek, in Genesis, suddenly appears upon the historic stage, without antecedents or consequents. He is a king-priest not of Judaism, but of Gentilism universally. He appears an unlineal priest, without father, mother, or pedigree. He is preceded and succeeded by an everlasting silence, so as to present neither beginning nor end of life. And he is, as an historic picture, forever there, divinely suspended, the very image of a perpetual king-priest. It is thus not in his actual unknown reality, but in the Scripture *presentation*, that the group of shadowings appears. It is by optical truth only, not by corporeal facts, that he becomes a picture, and with his surroundings a tableau, into which the psalmist first reads the conception of an adumbration of the eternal priesthood of the Messiah; and all our author does is to develop the particulars which are in mass presupposed by the psalmist."

2. The points of difference and of contrast between type and antitype should also be noted by the interpreter. The type from its very nature must be inferior to the antitype, for we cannot expect the shadow to equal the substance. "For," says Fairbairn, "as the typical is divine truth on a lower stage, exhibited by means of outward relations and

Notable differences and contrasts to be observed.

¹ Commentary on New Testament, in loco.

terrestrial interests, so, when making the transition from this to the antitypical, we must expect the truth to appear on a loftier stage, and, if we may so speak, with a more heavenly aspect. What in the one bore immediate respect to the bodily life, must in the other be found to bear immediate respect to the spiritual life. While in the one it is seen and temporal objects that ostensibly present themselves, their proper counterpart in the other is the unseen and eternal.—there, the outward, the present, the worldly; here, the inward, the future, the heavenly.”¹

The New Testament writers dilate upon these differences between type and antitype. In Heb. iii, 1-6, Moses, considered ~~Moses and~~ as the faithful apostle and servant of God, is repre- ^{Christ.} sented as a type of Christ, and this typical aspect of his character is based upon the remark in Num. xii, 7, that Moses was faithful in all the house of God. This is the great point of analogy, but the writer immediately goes on to say that Jesus is “worthy of more glory than Moses,” and instances two points of superiority: (1) Moses was but a part of the house itself in which he served, but Jesus is entitled to far greater glory, inasmuch as he may be regarded as the builder of the house, and much greater honour than the house has he who built or established it. Further (2), Moses was faithful in the house as a minister (ver. 5), but Christ as a son over the house. Still more extensively does this writer enlarge upon the superiority of Christ, the great High Priest, as compared with the Levitical priests after the order of Aaron.

In Rom. v, 14, Adam is declared to be “a type of Him who was to come,” and the whole of the celebrated passage, ~~Adam and~~ verses 12-21, is an elaboration of a typical analogy ^{Christ.} which has force only as it involves ideas and consequences of the most opposite character. The great thought of the passage is this: As through the trespass of the one man Adam a condemning judgment, involving death, passed upon all men, so through the righteousness of the one man, Jesus Christ, the free gift of saving grace, involving justification unto life, came unto all men. But in verses 15-17 the apostle makes prominent several points of distinction in which the free gift is “not as the trespass.” First, it differs *quantitatively*. The trespass involved the one irreversible sentence of death to the many, the free gift abounded with manifold provisions of grace to the same many (τοὺς πολλούς). It differs also *numerically* in the matter of trespasses; for the condemnation followed one act of transgression, but the free gift provides for justification from many trespasses. Moreover, the free gift differs

¹ The Typology of Scripture, vol. i, p. 181. Philadelphia, 1867.

qualitatively in its glorious results. By the trespass of Adam "death reigned"—acquired domination over all men, even over those who sinned not after the likeness of the transgression of Adam; but through the one man, Jesus Christ, they who receive the abundance of his saving grace will themselves reign in eternal life.

3. The Old Testament types are susceptible of complete interpretation only by the light of the Gospel. It has too often been hastily assumed that the ancient prophets and holy men were possessed of a full knowledge of the mysteries of Christ, and vividly apprehended the profound significance of all sacred types and symbols. That they at times had some idea that certain acts and institutions foreshadowed better things to come may be admitted, but according to Heb. ix, 7-12, the meaning of the holiest mysteries of the ancient worship was not manifest while the outward tabernacle was yet standing. And not only did the ancient worshippers fail to understand those mysteries, but the mysteries themselves—the forms of worship, "the meats, and drinks, and divers washings, ordinances of flesh, imposed until a time of rectification" (*διορθώσεως, straightening up*),¹ were unable to make the worshippers perfect. In short, the entire Mosaic cultus was, in its nature and purpose, preparatory and pedagogic (Gal. iii, 25), and any interpreter who assumes that the ancients apprehended clearly what the Gospel reveals in the Old Testament types, will be likely to run into extravagance, and involve himself in untenable conclusions.

We may appropriately add the following words of Cave: "Having apprehended that the divine revelation to the human race had been made at successive times and by successive stages, the doctrine of types gave utterance to the further apprehension that these revelations were not incongruous and disconnected, but by numerous links, subtle in their location, and by concords prearranged, were inseparably interwoven. To the belief that holy men had spoken things beyond the limits of human thought, the doctrine of types superadded or testified to the addition of the belief that these holy men were moved by one Spirit, their utterances having mysterious interconnexions with each other, this explaining that, and that completing this. . . . It is this community of system, this fundamental resemblance under different forms, which the doctrine of types aids us to apprehend. Nor, when once the conception of the historical development of the Scriptures has been seized, is it

¹ That is, says Alford, "when all these things would be better arranged, the substance put where the shadow was before, the sufficient grace where the insufficient type." Greek Testament on Heb. ix, 10.

any longer difficult to fix the precise significance of the type. Type and antitype convey exactly the same truth, but under forms appropriate to different stages of development."¹

It remains for us to inquire into the validity of the principle, maintained by many writers, that only those persons and things are to be regarded as typical which are expressly declared to be such in the New Testament. A leading authority for this view is Bishop Marsh, who says: "There is no other rule by which we can distinguish a real from a pretended type, than that of Scripture itself. There is no other possible means by which we can know that a previous design and a pre-ordained connexion existed. Whatever persons or things, therefore, recorded in the Old Testament, were especially declared by Christ, or by his apostles, to have been designed as prefigurations of persons and things relating to the New Testament, such persons and things so recorded in the former are types of the persons or things with which they are compared in the latter. But if we assert that a person or thing was designed to prefigure another person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by divine authority, we make an assertion for which we neither have nor can have the slightest foundation. And even when comparisons are instituted in the New Testament between antecedent and subsequent persons and things, we must be careful to distinguish the examples, where a comparison is instituted merely for the sake of *illustration*, from the examples where such a *connexion* is declared as exists in the relation of a type to its antitype."²

This principle, however, is altogether too restrictive for an adequate exposition of the Old Testament types. We should, indeed, look to the Scriptures themselves for general principles and guidance, but not with the expectation that every type, designed to prefigure Gospel truths, must be formally announced as such. We might with equal reason demand that every parable and every prophecy of Scripture must have inspired and authoritative exposition. Such a rigid rule of interpretation could scarcely have been adopted by so many excellent divines except under the pressure of the opposite extreme, which found hidden meanings and typical lessons in almost every fact of Scripture. The persons and events which are expressly declared by the sacred

¹ The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice, p. 157. Edinb., 1877.

² Lectures on Sacred Criticism and Interpretation, p. 373. This extreme view is, in substance, affirmed by Macknight, Ernesti, Conybeare, Van Mildert, Horne, Nares, Chevalier, Stuart, Stowe, and Muenscher.

writers to be typical are rather to be taken as specimens and examples for the interpretation of all types. For it will hardly be deemed reasonable or satisfactory to affirm that Moses and Jonah

A better principle. were typical characters and deny such character to

Samuel and Elisha. The miraculous passage of the Jordan may have as profound a typical significance as that of the Red Sea, and the sweetened waters of the desert as that of the smitten rock in Horeb. Our Lord rebuked the two disciples for having a heart so dull and slow to believe in all things which the prophets spoke (Luke xxiv, 25), clearly implying the duty of seeking to apprehend the sense of all the prophetic Scriptures. A similar reproof is administered to the Hebrews (Heb. v, 10-14) for their incapacity to understand the typical character of Melchizedek, "thus placing it beyond a doubt," says Fairbairn, "that it is both the duty and the privilege of the Church, with that measure of the Spirit's grace which it is the part even of private Christians to possess, to search into the types of ancient Scripture and come to a correct understanding of them. To deny this is plainly to withhold an important privilege from the Church of Christ, to dissuade from it is to encourage the neglect of an incumbent duty."¹

Such Old Testament persons and events as are cited for typical lessons should always, however, possess some notably exceptional importance. Some have taken Abel, as a keeper of sheep, to be a type of Christ the great Shepherd. But a score of others might as well be instanced, and the analogy is, therefore, too common to be exalted into the dignity of a prefiguring type. So, also, as we have said, every prophet, priest, and king of the Old Testament, considering merely their offices, were types of Christ; but it would be improper to cite every one, of whom we have any recorded history, as a type. Only exceptional characters, such as Moses, Aaron, and David, are to be so used. Each case must be determined on its own merits by the good sense and sound judgment of the interpreter; and his exegetical discernment must be disciplined by a thorough study of such characters as are acknowledged on all hands to be scriptural types.

¹ Typology, vol. i, page 29. See this subject more amply discussed by this writer in connexion with the passage above quoted (pp. 26-32) where he ably shows that the writers belonging to the school of Marsh "drop a golden principle for the sake of avoiding a few lawless aberrations." He observes that their system of procedure "sets such narrow limits to our inquiries that we cannot, indeed, wander far into the regions of extravagance. But in the very prescription of these limits it wrongfully withholds from us the key of knowledge, and shuts us up to evils scarcely less to be deprecated than those it seeks to correct."

CHAPTER X.

INTERPRETATION OF SYMBOLS.

BIBLICAL SYMBOLISM is, in many respects, one of the most difficult subjects with which the interpreter of divine revelation has to deal. Spiritual truths, prophetic oracles, and things unseen and eternal, have been represented enigmatically in sacred symbols, and it appears to have been the pleasure of the Great Author of divine revelation that many of the deepest mysteries of providence and grace should be thus enshrined. And, because of its mystic and enigmatic character, this whole subject of symbolism demands of the interpreter a sober and discriminating judgment, a most delicate taste, a thorough collation and comparison of Scripture symbols, and a rational and self-consistent procedure in their explanation.

The proper and logical method of investigating the principles of symbolization is first to collate a sufficient number and variety of the biblical symbols, especially such as are accompanied by an authoritative solution. And it is all-important that we do not admit into such a collation any objects which are not veritable symbols, for such a fundamental fallacy would necessarily vitiate our whole subsequent procedure. Having brought together in one field of view a goodly number of unquestionable examples, our next step is to mark carefully the principles and methods exhibited in the exposition of those symbols which are accompanied by a solution. As, in the interpretation of parables, we make the expositions of our Lord a main guide to the understanding of all parables, so from the solution of symbols furnished by the sacred writers we should, as far as possible, learn the principles by which all symbols are to be interpreted.

It is scarcely to be disputed that the cherubim and flaming sword placed at the east of Eden (Gen. iii, 24), the burning bush at Horeb (Exod. iii, 2), and the pillars of cloud and fire which went before the Israelites (Exod. xiii, 21) were of symbolical import. In a scientific classification of symbols these are, perhaps, sufficiently exceptional to be placed by themselves, and designated as miraculously signal. Other symbols are appropriately named material, because they consist of material

objects, as the blood offered in expiatory sacrifices, the bread and wine of the Eucharist, and the tabernacle and temple with their apartments and furniture. But by far the more numerous symbols are the visional, including all such as were seen in the dreams and visions of the prophets. Under one or the other of these three heads we may bring all the biblical symbols, and any attempt at a more minute classification would, at this stage of our investigation, be unnecessary and inexpedient.¹

As the visional symbols are the most numerous and common, and many of them have special explanations, we begin with these, and take the simplest and less important first. In Jer. i, 11, the prophet is represented as seeing "a rod of an almond tree," which is at once explained as a symbol of the active vigilance with which Jehovah would attend to the performance of his word. The key to the explanation is found in the Hebrew name of the almond tree, *ḥadā*, which Gesenius defines as "the waker, so called as being the earliest of all trees to awake from the sleep of winter."² In verse 12 the Lord appropriates this word in its verbal form, and says: "For I am watching (*ḥadā*) over my word to perform it."

¹ Winthrop, in his *Essay on the Characteristics and Laws of Prophetic Symbols* (2d ed., New York, 1854, pp. 16-19), adopting substantially the theory of Mr. D. N. Lord (*Theological and Literary Journal* for April, 1851, p. 688), divides what he regards as the biblical symbols into five classes, as follows: (1) Living conscious agents, as God, the Son of man, the Lamb, angels, men, souls (Rev. vi, 9), beasts, monster animals, and insects; (2) dead bodies, as the slain witnesses in Rev. xi; (3) natural unconscious agents or objects, as the earth, sun, moon, stars, and waters; (4) artificial objects, as candlesticks, sword, cities, books, diadems, and white robes; (5) acts, effects, characteristics, conditions, and relations of agents and objects, as speaking, fighting, and colour. But a large proportion of the agents and objects he enumerates are not symbols. He makes God and Christ, disembodied souls, risen saints, and living men, symbols of themselves! Other objects named, as acts, effects, colours, and relations, are symbolical only as they form part of a composite image, and should be rather designated as symbolical *attributes*, and not erected into independent symbols. E. R. Craven, the American editor of Lange on the Revelation (pp. 145, 146), adopts the first four classes of Lord and Winthrop, and then propounds a further classification based upon the relations of symbols to the ultimate objects symbolized. He finds five orders, which he designates (1) immediate-similar, (2) immediate-ideal, (3) mediate-individual, (4) classical, and (5) aberrant. But he falls into the error of Lord and Winthrop, of making an object symbolize itself. His immediate-similar, and at least some of his immediate-symbols, cannot, for this reason, be accepted as symbols until proven to be such by valid evidence. Such proof we do not find that he has attempted to produce.

² Heb. Lex., sub verbo. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xvi, 25) observes that the almond blossoms first of all trees in the month of January, and matures its fruit in March. Nägelsbach (*Com. on Jeremiah*, in loco) remarks: "What the cock is among domestic animals, the almond is among trees."

A seething pot (סִיר נֹפֵחַ, *a pot blown upon*, i. e., by fire) appeared to the prophet with "its face from the face of the north" (Jer. i, 18), that is, its front and opening were turned toward the prophet at Jerusalem, as if a furious fire were pouring its blaze upon its northern side, and was likely to overturn it and drive its boiling hot waters southward "upon all the cities of Judah" (ver. 15). This is explained in the immediate context as the irruption of "all the families of the kingdoms of the north" upon the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. "The swelling waters of a flood are the usual symbol of any overwhelming calamity (Psa. lxi, 1, 2), and especially of a hostile invasion (Isa. viii, 7, 8); but this is a flood of scalding waters whose very touch is death."¹ Here, also, in the inspired exposition of the vision, appears a play upon Hebrew words. Jehovah says, in verse 14, "From the north shall be opened (תִּפְתָּח) the evil upon all the inhabitants of the land." There is a designed assonance between נֹפֵחַ in verse 13 and תִּפְתָּח in verse 14.

The symbol of the good and bad figs, in Jer. xxiv, is accompanied by an ample exposition. The prophet saw "two baskets of figs set before the temple of Jehovah" (ver. 1), as if they had been placed there as offerings to the Lord. The good figs were pronounced very good, and the bad figs were very bad, and, for that reason, not fit to be eaten (ver. 3). The good figs represent, according to the Lord's own showing, the better classes of the Jewish people, who were to be taken for a godly discipline to the land of the Chaldeans, and in due time brought back again. The bad figs represent Zedekiah and the miserable remnant that were left with him in the land of Judah, but were soon cut off or driven away.

Very similar is Amos' vision of "a basket of summer fruit" (Amos viii, 1), that is, early-ripe fruit (רֵץ; comp. 2 Sam. xvi, 1, and Isa. xvi, 9) ready to be gathered. It was a symbol of the end (רֵץ) about to come upon Israel. As in the symbols of the almond rod and the seething pot, there is here also a paronomasia of the Hebrew words for *ripe fruit* and *end*, *qayits* and *qets*. The people are *ripe* for judgment, and Jehovah will bring the matter to an early *end*; and, as if the end had come, it is written (ver. 3): "And the songs of the temple have wailed in that day, saith the Lord Jehovah. Vast the corpse! In every place he has cast it forth. Hush!"

The resurrection of dry bones, in Ezek. xxxvii, 1-14, is explained of the restoration of Israel to their own land. The vision is not a parable (Jerome), but a composite visional symbol of life from the dead.

¹ R. Payne Smith, in *Speaker's Commentary*, in loco.

The dry bones are expressly declared to be "the whole house of Israel" (ver. 11), and are represented as saying: "Our bones are dried, and our hope is perished." These bones were not encased in sepulchres, or buried in the ground, but were seen in great numbers "on the surface of the valley"

The Resurrection of dry Bones.

(ver. 2). So the exiled Israelites were scattered among the nations, and the lands of their exile were their graves. But the prophecy now comes from Jehovah (ver. 12): "Behold, I open your graves and bring you up out of your graves, O my people!" In verse 14 it is added: "I will put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I will cause you to rest on your own ground, and ye shall know that I, Jehovah, have spoken and accomplished, saith Jehovah." To all outward appearances Israel was politically and spiritually ruined, and the promised restoration was, in reality, as life from the dead.

In the opening vision of the Apocalypse, John saw the likeness of the Son of man in the midst of seven golden candlesticks, and was told that the candlesticks were symbols of the seven churches of Asia. And there is no question but that the golden candlestick with its seven lamps seen by the prophet Zechariah (chap. iv, 2), and the seven-branched candlestick of the Mosaic tabernacle (Exod. xxv, 31-40), were of like symbolical import. These all denote the Church or people of God considered as the light of the world (comp. Matt. v, 14; Phil. ii, 15; Eph. v, 8).

In Zechariah's vision (Zech. iv) there appeared two olive trees, one at the right and the other at the left of the golden candlestick, and through two of their branches they poured the golden oil out of themselves. The composite symbol was "a word of Jehovah to Zerubbabel, saying, Not in might and not in power, but in my Spirit, saith Jehovah of hosts" (ver. 6); and the two olive trees denoted "the two anointed ones (Hebrew, sons of oil) who stand by the Lord of all the land" (ver. 14). These two anointed ones are spoken of as if well known, and needing no further designation. The vision had special comfort and encouragement for Zerubbabel. At that time of trouble, when the supremacy of Persia seemed so absolute that Israel might well despair of regaining any of its ancient glory, and might be overawed by an undue estimate of national and military power, the lesson is given that the people of God need not aspire after that sort of prowess. God's people are set to be the light of the world, and their glory is to be seen not in worldly might and pomp, but in the Spirit of Jehovah of hosts. And this Spirit, as contrasted with the might of the world, is to be understood, not solely as the sanctifying grace of God in the heart, but as the divine wisdom and

The two Olive Trees.

power of the Almighty, by which he ever carries to completion the great purposes of his will. The mountains of difficulty which confronted this great leader of God's people should become a plain (ver. 7); his hands had laid the foundation of the house of God (which itself was a symbol of the Church), and he has the assurance that he shall complete it, and in the triumph of his labour even the eyes of Jehovah shall rejoice (ver. 10). "Joshua, the high priest standing before the angel of Jehovah" (chap. iii, 1) has already received special comfort and encouragement from the vision and prophecy of the previous chapter, and these two, Joshua and Zerubbabel, are evidently "the two anointed ones" denoted by the olive trees. These were raised up in the providence of God and prepared and consecrated to be the ministers of his grace to the people in that perilous time.¹ There is no propriety in making these trees represent, as some do, the Church and the State; for, if the candlestick represents the Church, it would be incongruous to make one of the olive trees represent the same thing. For the same reason we must reject the view of Kliefoth and Wright, who make the olive trees denote Jews and Gentiles as jointly aiding and sustaining the light of truth, for this also confounds candlestick and olive trees. There is, further, no warrant for making these trees symbolize the regal and priestly offices or orders, for the Scripture furnishes no valid evidence that those *offices* and *orders* as such were ever designed to be media of communicating the grace and power of God to the Church. The office of priest was established, not as a means of communicating divine grace to the people, but rather to offer the people's gifts and sacrifices for sins to God (Heb. v, 1), and the office of king certainly had no such function as that of these olive trees. Neither was Zerubbabel in any proper sense a king. Individual priests and kings were, indeed, a means of blessing to Israel, but an equal or greater number were a curse rather than a blessing. Joshua and Zerubbabel were the chosen and anointed agents for building the second temple, and they fully meet the requirements of the symbol.²

¹ "The two sons of oil," says Keil, "can only be the two media, anointed with oil, through whom the spiritual and gracious gifts of God were conveyed to the Church of the Lord, namely, the existing representatives of the priesthood and the regal government, who were at that time Joshua, the high priest, and the prince Zerubbabel. These stand by the Lord of the whole earth as the divinely appointed instruments through whom the Lord causes his Spirit to flow into his congregation."—Commentary on the Minor Prophets, in loco.

² Cowles observes: "I prefer to apply the phrase, *the two anointed ones*, to the two orders, kings and priests, rather than to the two individuals then filling those offices, Zerubbabel and Joshua, because this provision for oil through these conducting tubes

The mention of "the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the Lord of the earth," in Rev. xi, 4, is merely a metaphorical allusion to these symbols in Zechariah, and serves to enhance the dignity of the two witnesses whom the writer is describing. But with John they are not symbols, and were not seen as such in his vision. And this fact should make us distrust all those expositions which make the two witnesses represent offices and orders in the Church, or two lines of witnesses, or the Law and the Gospel, or two different Christian bodies, as the Waldenses and Albigenses. If the olive trees in Zechariah represent individuals, the allusion in Rev. xi, 4 would most properly designate the two witnesses as individuals also, and the whole description of their work, power, death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, most readily harmonizes with this view. The singularity of their position is also denoted by calling them "the two candlesticks," as well as the two olive trees. They were not only God's two anointed ones, but the two sole light holders which he had remaining in that doomed city "where their Lord was crucified" (ver. 8).

The symbols employed in the Book of Daniel are, happily, so fully explained that there need be no serious doubt as to the import of most of them. The great image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (chap ii, 31-35) was a symbol of a succession of world-powers. The head of gold denoted Nebuchadnezzar himself, as the mighty head and representative of the Babylonian monarchy (vers. 37, 38). The other parts of the image, composed of other metals, symbolized kingdoms that were subsequently to arise. The legs of iron denoted a fourth kingdom of great strength, "forasmuch as iron breaks in pieces and crushes every thing" (ver. 40). The feet and toes, part of iron and part of clay, indicated the mingled strength and weakness of this kingdom in its later period (vers. 41-43). The stone that smote the image, and became a great mountain filling the whole land, was a prophetic symbol of the kingdom of the God of heaven (vers. 44, 45).¹

was not transient, limited to the lifetime of these two men, but permanent—to continue as long as God should give them kings and priests, and, especially, because permanence was a cardinal idea in the symbol."—Notes on the Minor Prophets, in loco. Here are several unwarranted and fallacious assumptions. There is nothing in the symbol that represents enduring permanence; Zerubbabel, though of royal ancestry, was not a king, but, like Nehemiah, of later times, was merely a temporary governor, and a subject of the Persian Empire. And no king, in any worthy sense of the name, ever reigned in Israel after the exile.

¹ Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree, in Dan. iv, is so fully and minutely explained there, that we need only make this reference to it, and leave the reader to examine the details for himself.

The four great beasts, in Dan. vii, 1-8, are said to represent four kings that should arise out of the earth (ver. 17). The fourth beast is also defined, in verse 23, as a fourth kingdom, from which we infer that a wild beast may symbolize either a king or a kingdom. So in the image, the king Nebuchadnezzar was the head of gold (chap. ii, 38), and also the representative of his kingdom. The ten horns of the fourth beast are ten kings (ver. 24), but from a comparison of Dan. viii, 8, 22, and Rev. xvii, 11, 12, it appears that horns may also symbolize either kings or kingdoms. In any such image of a wild beast with horns, the beast would properly represent the kingdom or world-power, and the horn or horns some particular king or kings in whom the exercise of the power of the kingdom centered itself. So a horn may represent either a king or kingdom, but always with this implied distinction. No explanation is given of the wings and the heads of the beasts, nor of other noticeable features of the vision, but we can hardly doubt that they also had some symbolical import. The vision of the ram and the he-goat, in chap. viii, contains no symbols essentially different, for the ram is explained as the kings of Media and Persia, the goat as the king of Greece, and the great horn as the first king (vers. 20, 21).

Most of the symbols employed by Zechariah are accompanied by a partial explanation, but so vague and general as to leave much room for conjecture. The riders on various coloured horses, indefinite in number, are said to be "those whom Jehovah sent forth to walk up and down in the land" (Zech. i, 10), and they are represented as saying to the angel of Jehovah: "We have walked up and down in the land, and behold, all the land is sitting and resting" (ver. 11). Whether they traversed the land together in a body, or separately and successively; and whether their mission was merely one of inspection, or for the purpose of bringing the land to the quiet condition reported, are points left undecided by the language of the sacred writer. Any one of these suppositions is possible; and our opinion on the subject should be formed by a careful study of the historical standpoint of the prophet, and the analogy of other similar visions and symbols.

The four horns (Zech. i, 18, 19 in Eng. Ver., and Vulg., but chap. ii, 1, 2 in Heb. text), described in the next vision are explained as "the horns which scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem." Horns here, as in the visions of Daniel, doubtless represent kings or kingdoms, but whether these four horns belonged to one beast or more is not stated. Many interpreters understand by the four horns the four kingdoms predicted

by Daniel; but against this view is the consideration that these four horns *have wrought* their work of violence (רָצְּצוּ, *have scattered, or did scatter*), but a part of the kingdoms foretold by Daniel were future from the historical standpoint of Zechariah. Others understand four distinct world-powers, as Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and Persia, while others understand the number four as a symbolical number, having a very general reference to the four points of the compass, and denoting enemies from all quarters. Either of the last two suppositions may be held, but the last named, in the absence of any thing more specific in the language of the prophet, is the safer hypothesis. The four smiths or "carpenters" (vers. 20, 21), which are evidently the providential agencies raised up to awe and cast out the powerful enemies and scatterers of God's people, may denote either human or divine instrumentalities, or an interworking of both.

The flying roll (Zech. v, 1-4) was a symbol of Jehovah's curse upon thieves and false swearers. Its dimensions, twenty cubits by ten, exactly the size of the porch of the temple (1 Kings vi, 3), might naturally intimate that the judgment denoted must begin at the house of the Lord (Ezek. ix, 6; 1 Pet. iv, 17). In immediate connexion with this vision the prophet saw also an ephah going forth (ver. 6), an uplifted talent of lead,¹ and a woman sitting in the midst of the ephah. The woman was declared to be a symbol of "wickedness" (ver. 8). But what sort of wickedness? The ephah and the stone of lead, naturally suggestive of *measure* and *weight*, would indicate the wickedness of unrighteous traffic—the sin denounced by Amos (viii, 5) of "making the ephah small and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit." This symbol of wickedness is here presented as a woman who had an empty measure for her throne, and a weight of lead for a sign. But her punishment and confusion are brought about by the

¹ Very many expositors understand כֶּכֶר עֹפֶרֶת to mean a *circle* or *cover* of lead; but, as Wright well observes, "if the ephah had a cover of lead, that cover would scarcely have been termed *the stone of lead*, or *lead stone* (ver. 8). The rendering *lead cover* obscures the real sense of the vision. The Hebrew word rendered *talent* does, indeed, literally mean a circle, and the expression *a circle of bread* is used to denote a round loaf (Exod. xxix, 23; 1 Sam. ii, 36). The word is not found in the signification of a *cover*, though that is a possible signification. It is constantly used in the sense of a fixed weight by which gold, silver, and other things were weighed and measured, and is naturally spoken of in such a meaning here in connexion with the ephah, as the latter was the usual measure of capacity. The talent was the standard measure of quantity, and the weight was made of lead as the most common heavy metal, and was used in all commercial transactions for weighing out money."—Bampton Lectures on Zechariah, pp. 111, 112.

instruments of her sin (comp. Matt. vii, 2). She is cast into the ephah, and the leaden weight is cast like a stone upon her mouth. She is not, however, destroyed, but transported to a distant land, and this is effected by two other women, apparently her aiders and abettors in wickedness, who had wings like the wings of a stork, and who were therefore quick and powerful enough to rescue the one woman from immediate doom, and carry her off and establish her in another land. Thus the children of this world are wise toward their own kind (Luke xvi, 8). This distant land is called the land of Shinar (ver. 11), perhaps for the reason that it was the land where wickedness first developed itself after the flood (Gen. xi, 2).

The four chariots, probably war chariots, which this same prophet saw going forth from between the two mountains of brass, and drawn by different coloured horses (Zech. vi, 1-8), are but another and fuller form of presenting the facts symbolized in the vision of the horsemen in chap. i, 8-11. The import of the mountains of brass is undefined. The chariots and horses "are the four winds¹ of the heavens, going forth from standing before the Lord of all the land" (ver. 5). The black horses were said to go forth to the land of the north, the white behind them (perhaps meaning to *regions behind or beyond them*, אַחֲרֵיהֶם), and the speckled (פִּרְרִים, *spotted*) to the land of the south. Whither the red horses went is not stated, unless we suppose (as is very probable) that the word אַחֲזִים, *strong*, in ver. 7, (rendered *bay* in Eng. Ver.), is a copyist's blunder for אֲדָמִים, *red*. These, it is said, "sought to go forth to walk up and down in the land" (ver. 7), and were permitted to have their way, and it is added that those that went to the land of the north "have caused my spirit to rest (in judgment) in the land of the north."

There can be no doubt that these warlike symbols denoted certain agencies of divine judgment. They were, like the winds of the heavens, the messengers and ministers of the divine will (comp. Psa. civ, 4; Jer. xlix, 36), and it is to be noted that the horsemen of chap. i, 8-11, and these chariots, respectively, open and close the series of Zechariah's symbolic visions. No more specific explanation of their meaning than that furnished above is given in the Scripture. Perhaps, in distinguishing the import of the several symbols, we might reasonably suppose that the warlike riders on horses denoted so many military chieftains and conquerors (as for example Shalmaneser, Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh Necho, and Cyrus),

¹ The word רִיחוֹת, *winds*, does not anywhere appear to be used in the plural in the sense of *spirits*, or personal beings; but these four chariots correspond with the mystic wheels of Ezek. i, 15-21; x, 9-13.

and the more impersonal vision of the chariots and horses as conquering world-powers, and having regard to the military forces of a kingdom rather than any individual conqueror; as when, in Isa. x, 5, Assyria (not Assyrian as Eng. Ver.) is a rod of God's anger.

The foregoing examples of symbols, more or less fully explained, should have great weight with us in determining the general principles of biblical symbolism. We note that the names of all these symbols are to be taken literally.

Trees, figs, bones, candlesticks, olive trees; beasts, horns, horses, riders, and chariots, are all simple and natural designations of what the prophets saw. But, while the words are to be understood literally, they are symbols of something else. As, in metonymy, one thing is put for another, or, as in allegory, one thing is said and another is intended, so a symbol always denotes something other than itself. Ezekiel saw a resurrection of dry bones, but it meant the restoration of Israel from the lands of their exile. Daniel saw a great horn upon the head of a he-goat, but it represented the mighty Grecian conqueror, Alexander the Great. But, though one thing is said and another is intended in the use of symbols, there is always traceable a resemblance, more or less detailed, between the symbol and the thing symbolized. In some cases, as that of the almond rod (Jer. i, 11), the analogy is suggested by the name. A candlestick represents the Church or people of God by holding a light where it may shine for all in the house (Matt. v, 15), even as God's people are to occupy a position in the visible Church, and let their light so shine that others may see their good works. The correspondences between the beasts in Daniel and the powers they represented are in some points quite detailed. In view of these

Three fundamental Principles.

several facts, therefore, we accept the following as three fundamental principles of symbolism: (1) The names of symbols are to be understood literally; (2) the symbols always denote something essentially different from themselves; and (3) some resemblance, more or less minute, is traceable between the symbol and the thing symbolized.

The great question with the interpreter of symbols should, therefore, be, What are the probable points of resemblance between this sign and the thing which it is intended to represent? And one would suppose it to be obvious to every thoughtful mind that in answering this question no minute and rigid set of rules, as supposably applicable to all symbols, can be expected. For there is an air of enigma and mystery about all emblems, and the examples adduced above show that while in some the points of resemblance are many and minute, in others they are

No minute set of rules applicable to all symbols.

slight and incidental. In general it may be said that in answering the above question the interpreter must have strict regard (1) to the historical standpoint of the writer or prophet, (2) to the scope and context, and (3) to the analogy and import of similar symbols and figures elsewhere used. That is, doubtless, the true interpretation of every symbol which most fully satisfies these several conditions, and which attempts to press no point of supposable resemblance beyond what is clearly warranted by fact, reason, and analogy.

For the interpretation of prophetic symbols Fairbairn enunciates two very important principles: (1) "The image must be contemplated in its broader and commoner aspects, as it would naturally present itself to the view of persons generally acquainted with the works and ways of God, not as connected with any smaller incidents or recondite uses known only to the few. . . . (2) The other condition with which the use and interpretation of symbols must be associated is that of a consistent and uniform manner of applying them; not shifting from the symbolical to the literal without any apparent indication of a change in the original; or from one aspect of the symbolical to another essentially different, but adhering to a regular and harmonious treatment of the objects introduced into the representation. Without such a consistence and regularity in the employment of symbols there could be no certainty in the interpretations put upon them, all would become arbitrary and doubtful."¹

The hermeneutical principles derived from the foregoing examination of the visional symbols of Scripture are equally applicable to the interpretation of material symbols, such as the tabernacle, the ark of the covenant, the mercy-seat, the sacrificial offerings and ceremonial washings required by the law, the water of baptism and the bread and wine in the Lord's supper. For, as far as they set forth any spiritual fact or thought, their imagery is of essentially the same general character.²

¹ Fairbairn on Prophecy, pp. 150, 151. The writer goes on to show how current systems of apocalyptic interpretation violate both of these principles.

² Bähr enunciates the following hermeneutical principles and rules for the explanation of symbols: (1) The meaning of a symbol is to be determined first of all by an accurate knowledge of its nature. (2) The symbols of the Mosaic cultus can have, in general, only such meaning as accords with the religious ideas and truths of Mosaism, and with its clearly expressed and acknowledged principles. (3) The import of each separate symbol is to be sought, in the first place, from its name. (4) Each individual symbol has, in general, but one signification. (5) However different the connexion in which it may occur, each individual symbol has always the same fundamental meaning. (6) In every symbol, whether it be object or action, the main idea to be symbol-

The symbolical import of the shedding of blood in sacrificial Symbolism of worship is shown in Lev. xvii, 11, where it is stated, Blood. as the reason for the prohibition of eating blood, that "the soul of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make expiation for your souls, for the blood makes expiation in the soul." The exact sense of the last clause is somewhat obscure. The phrase נַפְשׁוֹ, *in the soul*, is rendered in the common version, after the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther, *for the soul*; but the verb נָפַח is never elsewhere construed with אֵל, referring to that *for which* expiation is made. It is better, therefore, to translate as Keil does: "For the blood, it expiates *by virtue of* the soul." The preposition אֵל thus denotes the means by which the atonement is accomplished. "It was not the blood as such," says Keil, "but the blood as the vehicle of the soul, which possessed expiatory virtue, because the animal soul was offered to God upon the altar as a substitute for the human soul."¹ Delitzsch renders: "For the blood, by means of the soul, is an atonement." That is, as he observes, "the blood atones by the means, or by the power, of the soul which is in it. The life of the sinner has specially incurred the punitive wrath of Jehovah, but he accepts for it the substituted life of the sacrificial beast, the blood of which is shed and brought before him, whereupon he pardons the sinner. The prohibition of eating the blood is thus doubly established: the blood has the soul in itself, and it is, in consequence of a gracious arrangement of God, the means of atonement for the souls of men, in virtue of the soul contained in it. The one reason lies in the nature of the blood, and the other in its destination to a holy purpose, which, even apart from the other reason, withdraws it from a common use: it is that which contains the soul, and God suffers it to be brought to his altar as an atonement for human souls. It atones not by indwelling power, which the blood of beasts has not, except, perchance, as given by God for this purpose—given, namely, with a view to the fulness of the times foreseen from eternity, when that blood is to flow for humanity which atones, because a soul united to the eternal Spirit (comp. Heb. ix, 14) has place therein, and because it is exactly of such value that it is able to screen the whole of humanity."²

Nothing pertaining to the Mosaic worship is more evident than ized must be carefully distinguished from that which necessarily serves only for its appropriate exhibition, and has, therefore, only a secondary purpose. See his *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, pp. 89–93. Second ed. Heidelberg, 1874.

¹ Commentary on Leviticus xvii, 11.

² Biblical Psychology, p. 283. See the whole section on soul and blood, part iv, sec. 11.

the fact that "apart from shedding of blood (*ἀπατεκχνοία*, *pouring out of blood*, Heb. ix, 22) there is no remission." This solemn pouring out of blood was the offering of a living soul, for the warm life blood was conceived as the element in which the soul subsisted, or with which it was in some mysterious way identified (comp. Deut. xii, 23). When poured out at the altar it symbolized the surrender of a life which had been forfeited by sin, and the worshipper who made the sacrifice thereby acknowledged before God his death-deserving guilt. "The rite of expiatory sacrifice," says Fairbairn, "was, in its own nature, a symbolical transaction embodying a threefold idea; first, that the worshipper, having been guilty of sin, had forfeited his life to God; then, that the life so forfeited must be surrendered to divine justice; and, finally, that being surrendered in the way appointed, it was given back to him again by God, or he became re-established as a justified person in the divine favour and fellowship."¹

The symbolism and typology of the Mosaic tabernacle are recognized in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, from which it appears that specific objects, as the candlestick, the showbread, and the ark, had a symbolical meaning, and that the various ordinances of the worship were shadows of good things to come. But the particular import of the various symbols, and of the tabernacle as a whole, is left for the interpreter to gather from the various Scripture passages which bear upon the subject. It must be ascertained, like the import of all other symbols not formally expounded in the Scriptures, from the particular names or designations used, and from such allusions by the sacred writers as will serve either for suggestion or illustration.

The words by which the tabernacle is designated serve as a clue to the great idea embodied in its complex symbolism. The principal name is מִשְׁכָּן, *dwelling*, but אֹהֶל, *tent*, usually connected with some distinguishing epithet, is also frequently used, and is applied to the tabernacle in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers more than one hundred and fifty times. In Exod. xxiii, 19; xxxiv, 26, it is called בֵּית יְהוָה, *house of Jehovah*, and in 1 Sam. i, 9; iii, 3, הֵיכַל יְהוָה, *temple of Jehovah*. But a fuller indication of the import of these names is found in the compound

¹ Typology, vol. i, p. 54. On the symbolism and typology of the Old Testament sacrifices, see Kurtz, *Der alttestamentliche Opfercultus* (Mitau, 1862); English translation, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament* (Edinb., 1868); Cave, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Edinb., 1877); Keil, *Die Opfer des alten Bundes nach ihrer symbolischen und typischen Bedeutung* (in Luth. Zeitschrift for 1856 and 1857).

expressions *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, *tent of meeting*, *אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת*, *tent of the testimony*, and *בֵּית הָעֵדוּת*, *dwelling of the testimony*. The testimony is a term applied emphatically to the law of the two tables (Exod. xxv, 16, 21; xxxi, 18), and designated the authoritative declaration of God, upon the basis of which he made a covenant with Israel (Exod. xxxiv, 27; Deut. iv, 13). Hence these tables were called tables of the covenant (Deut. ix, 9) as well as tables of the testimony. As the representatives of God's most holy testimony against sin they occupied the most secret and sacred place of his tabernacle (Exod. xxv, 16). All these designations of the tabernacle serve to indicate its great design as a symbol of Jehovah's meeting and dwelling with his people. One passage which, above all others, elaborates this thought, is Exod. xxix, 42-46: "It shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations, at the door of the tent of meeting (*אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*) before Jehovah, where I will meet (*אֶמְצָא*) you, to speak unto thee there. And I will meet (*אֶמְצָא*) there the sons of Israel, and he (i. e., Israel) shall be sanctified in my glory. And I will sanctify the tent of meeting (*אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*) and the altar, and Aaron and his sons will I sanctify to act as priests for me. And I will dwell (*אֶשְׁכֵּן*) in the midst of the sons of Israel, and I will be God to them, and they shall know that I am Jehovah their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, that I might dwell (*אֶשְׁכֵּן*) in their midst—I, Jehovah, their God."

The tabernacle, therefore, is not to be thought of as a symbol of things external and visible,¹ not even of heaven itself considered merely as a *place*, but of the meeting and dwelling together of God and his people both in time and eternity. The ordinances of worship may be expected to denote the way in which Jehovah condescends to meet with man, and enables man to approach nigh unto him—a meeting and fellowship by which the true Israel become sanctified in the divine glory (Exod. xxix, 43). The divine-human relationship realized in the kingdom of heaven is attained in Christ when God comes

¹ A full statement of the various opinions of the symbolical import of the tabernacle would require more space than this work allows, and would tend, perhaps, only to confuse. Our purpose is to direct the student to the right method of ascertaining the meaning of the principal symbols, and leave him to pursue the details for himself. For a condensed statement of opinions on the subject, see especially Leyrer, article *Stiftshütte*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart ed., 1855-66). See also Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus* (Heidelb., 2 vols., 1837-39; revised ed., vol. I, 1874); Bähr, *Der salomonische Tempel* (Karlsr., 1848); Friedrich, *Symbolik der mosaischen Stiftshütte* (Lpz., 1841); Simpson, *Typical Character of the Tabernacle* (Edinb., 1852); Keil, *Biblischen Archaeologie*, pp. 124-129 (Frankf., 1875); Atwater, *History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews* (New York, 1875).

unto man and makes his abode (*μονήν*) with him (John xiv, 23), so that the man dwells in God and God in him (1 John iv, 16). This is the glorious indwelling contemplated in the prayer of Jesus that all believers "may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us, that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one" (John xvii, 21-23). Of this blessed relationship the tabernacle is a significant symbol, and being also a shadow of the good things to come, it was a type of the New Testament Church or kingdom of God, that spiritual house, built of living stones (1 Pet. ii, 5) which is a habitation of God in the spirit (Eph. ii, 22).

The two apartments of the *ἱερόν* (*dwelling*, or tabernacle proper), the holy place and the most holy, would naturally represent the twofold relation, the human and the divine. The two Apartments. The Holy of Holies, being Jehovah's special dwellingplace, would appropriately contain the symbols of his testimony and relation to his people; the holy place, with ministering priest, incense altar, table of showbread and candlestick, expressed the relation of the true worshippers toward God. The two places, separated only by the veil, denoted, therefore, on the one hand, what God is in his condescending grace toward his people, and on the other, what his redeemed people—the salt of the earth and the light of the world—are toward him. It was meet that the divine and human should thus be made distinct.¹

As the Holy of Holies in the temple was a perfect cube (1 Kings vi, 20), so was it doubtless in the tabernacle. The length and breadth and height of it being equal, like The Most Holy place and its Symbols. the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi, 16), its form was a symbol of perfection. Here was placed the ark, the depository of

¹ However near God may come to his creatures, and however close the fellowship to which he admits them, there still must be something to mark his incomparable greatness and glory. Even in the sanctuary above, where all is stainless purity, the ministering spirits are represented as veiling their faces with their wings before the manifested glory of Godhead; and how much more should sinful men on the earth be alive to his awful majesty, and feel unworthy to stand amid the splendours of his throne? If, therefore, he should so far condescend as to pitch among them a tent for his dwelling, we might certainly have expected that it would consist of two apartments—one which he would reserve for his own peculiar residence, and another to which they should have free access, who, as his familiars, were to be permitted to dwell with him in his house. For in this way alone could the two grand ideas of the glorious majesty of God, which raises him infinitely above his people, and yet of his covenant nearness to them, be reconciled and imaged together.—Fairbairn, *Typology*, vol. II, p. 249.

the two tables of testimony. This testimony was Jehovah's declaration from the thick darkness (לְחֹשֶׁךְ) of the mount on which he descended in smoke and fire, and would remain a monumental witness of his wrath against sin. The ark or chest, made of the most durable wood, and overlaid within and without with gold, was a becoming shrine in which to preserve inviolate the sacred tables of divine testimony. The most holy God is jealous (כַּיָּסֵד, comp. Exod. xx, 5) for the honour of his law. Over the ark, and thus covering the testimony, was placed the capporeth (כַּפֹּרֶת), or mercyseat (Exod. xxv, 21; xxvi, 34), to be sprinkled with blood on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi, 11-17). This was a most significant symbol of mercy covering wrath. Made of fine gold, and having its dimensions the same as the length and breadth of the ark (Exod. xxv, 17), it fittingly represented that glorious provision of Infinite Wisdom and Love by which, in virtue of the precious blood of Christ, and in complete harmony with the righteousness of God, atonement is made for the guilty but penitent transgressor. The Septuagint translates כַּפֹּרֶת, *capporeth*, by *ἱλαστήριον*, which word Paul uses in Rom. iii, 25, where he speaks of the "righteousness of God through faith of Jesus Christ," and "the redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) which is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth *an expiatory covering* (*ἱλαστήριον*), through faith in his blood," etc. The divine provision for the covering of sin is the deepest mystery of the kingdom of grace. "It must be noticed," says Cremer, "that according to Exod. xxv, 22, and Lev. xvi, 2, the Cappareth is the central seat of the saving presence and gracious revelation of God; so that it need not surprise that Christ is designated *ἱλαστήριον*, as he can be so designated when we consider that he, as high priest and sacrifice at the same time, comes *ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι* (in his own blood), and not as the high priest of the Old Testament, *ἐν αἵματι ἄλλοτρίῳ* (with blood not his own) which he must discharge himself of by sprinkling on the Cappareth. The Cappareth was so far the principal part of the Holy of Holies, that the latter is even termed 'the house of the cappareth' (1 Chron. xxviii, 11)."¹

The two cherubim, placed at the ends of the mercyseat, and spreading their wings over it, were objects too prominent to be without significance. In Eden the cherubim appear with the flaming sword to watch (רָגַע) the way of the tree of life (Gen. iii, 24). In Ezek. i, 5-14 they appear as "living creatures" (חַיִּים), their composite form is described, and they are represented as moving the mystic wheels of divine providence and judgment (vers. 15-21). Over their heads was enthroned "the

¹ Biblico-Theological Lexicon, p. 806.

appearance of the likeness of the glory of Jehovah" (vers. 26-28). In Rev. iv, 6-8 they appear also as living creatures (ζῶα) "in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne." Whatever the various import of these figures, we note that they everywhere appear in most intimate relation to the glory of God. May we not believe that they were symbols of the ultimate glory of redeemed humanity, conveying at the same time profound suggestions of the immanent presence and intense activity of God in all creature life, by which (presence and activity) all that was lost in Eden shall be restored to heavenly places in Christ, and man, redeemed and filled with the Spirit, shall again have power over the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God (comp. Rev. ii, 7 and xxii, 14)? Though of composite form, and representing the highest kinds of creature life on earth (Ezek. i, 10; Rev. iv, 7), these ideal beings had preeminently the likeness of a man (Ezek. i, 5). Jehovah is the God of the living, and has about the throne of his glory the highest symbols of life. Both at the gate of paradise and in the Holy of Holies these cherubim were signs and pledges that in the ages to come, having made peace through the blood of the cross, God would reconcile all things unto himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens (Col. i, 20), and sanctify them in his glory (Exod. xxix, 43).¹ Then the redeemed "shall reign in life" (ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύουσιν) through Jesus Christ (Rom. v, 17.)

As the Holy of Holies symbolized Jehovah's relations to his people, and intimated what he is to them and what he purposes to do for them; and as its symbols of mercy covering wrath showed how and on what terms he condescends to meet and dwell with men; so, on the other hand, the holy place, with its golden altar of incense, table of showbread, golden candlestick, and ministering priests, represented the relation of the true Israel toward God. The priests who officiated in this holy place acted not for themselves alone; they were the representatives of all Israel, and their service was the service of all the tribes, whose peculiar relation to God, so long as they obeyed his voice and kept his covenant, was that of "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. xix, 5, 6; comp. 1 Pet. ii, 5, 9; Rev. i, 6; v, 10). As the officiating priest stood in the holy place, facing the Holy of Holies, he had on his right the table of showbread, on his left the candlestick, and immediately before him the altar of incense (Exod. xl, 22-27). The twelve cakes of showbread kept continually on the table symbolized the twelve tribes of Israel continually presented as a living sacrifice before God (Lev. xxiv, 5-9).

The golden candlestick, with its seven lamps, placed opposite the

table, was another symbol of Israel considered as the Church of the living God. As the showbread represented the relation of Israel to God as a holy and acceptable offering, the candlestick represented what this same Israel would do for God as causing the light of the Spirit in them to shine forth. To all thus exalted may it well be said: "Ye were once darkness, but now light in the Lord; walk as children of light (for the fruit of the light is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth), proving what is well pleasing unto the Lord" (Eph. v, 8-10).

But the highest continual devotion of Israel to God is represented at the golden altar of incense, which stood immediately before the veil and in front of the mercyseat (Exod. xxx, 6). The offering of incense was an expressive symbol of the prayers of the saints (Psa. cxli, 2; Rev. v, 8; viii, 3, 4), and the whole multitude of the people were wont to pray without at the hour of the incense-offering (Luke i, 10). Jehovah was pleased to "inhabit the praises of Israel" (Psa. xxii, 3), for all that his people may be and do in their consecrated relation to him expresses itself in their prayers before his altar and mercyseat.

We need not linger in detail upon the symbolism of the court of the tabernacle, with its altar of burnt offerings and its Great Altar and Laver in laver of brass. There could be no approach to God, on the court. the part of sinful men, no possible meeting or dwelling with him, except by the offerings made at the great altar in front of the sacred tent. All that belongs to the symbolism of sacrificial blood centred in this altar, where the daily offerings of Israel were made. No priest might pass into the tabernacle until sprinkled with blood from that altar (Exod. xxix, 21), and the live coals used for the burning of incense before Jehovah were taken from the same place (Lev. xvi, 12). Nor might the priest, on penalty of death, minister at the altar or enter the tabernacle without first washing at the laver (Exod. xxx, 20, 21). So the great altar continually proclaimed that without the shedding of blood there is no remission, and the priestly ablutions denoted that without the washing of regeneration no man might enter the kingdom of God (comp: Psa. xxiv, 3, 4; John iii, 5; Heb. x, 19-22). All those blessed relations, which were symbolized in the holy place, are possible only because of the reconciliation effected at the altar of sacrifice without. Having there obtained remission of sins, the true Israel, as represented in the priests, draw near before God in forms of holy consecration and service.

The graduated sanctity of the several parts of the tabernacle is very noticeable. In front was the court, into which any Israelite

who was ceremonially clean might enter; next was the holy place, into which none but the consecrated priests might go to perform the work of their office, and, especially to offer incense. Beyond this, veiled in thick darkness, was the Holy of Holies, into which only the high priest entered, and he but once a year. This graduated sanctity of the holy places was fitted to inculcate and impress the lesson of the absolute holiness of God, whose special presence was manifested in the innermost sanctuary. The several apartments were also adapted to show the gradual and progressive stages of divine revelation. The outer court suggests the early patriarchal period, when, under the open sky, the devout fathers of families and nations, like Noah, Melchizedek, and Abraham, worshipped the God of heaven.¹ The holy place represents the period of Mosaism, that intermediate stage of revelation and law, when many a type and symbol foreshadowed the better things to come, and the exceptional entrance of the high priest once a year within the veil signified that "the way of the holies was not yet made manifest" (Heb. ix, 8). The Holy of Holies represents the Messianic æon, when the Christian believer, having boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus (Heb. x, 19), is conceived to "have come to Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem" (Heb. xii, 22).

The graduated sanctity of the holy places.

The profound symbolism of the tabernacle is further seen in connexion with the offerings of the great day of atonement. Once a year the high priest entered the Holy of Holies to make atonement for himself and Israel, but in connexion with his work on that day all parts of the tabernacle are brought into notice. Having washed his flesh in water, and put on the hallowed linen garments, he first offered the burnt offering on the great altar to make atonement for himself and his house (Lev. xvi, 2-6). Then taking a censer of live coals from the altar he offered incense upon the fire before the Lord, so that the cloud covered the mercyseat, and, taking the blood of a bullock and a goat, he passed within the veil and sprinkled the mercyseat seven times with the blood of each (Lev. xvi, 12-16). All this, we are told in the Epistle to the Hebrews, prefigured the work of Christ for us: "Christ having come a high priest of the good things to come, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this creation [not material, tangible, or local], nor through the blood of

Symbolical typical suggestions of the High Priest's action on the day of Atonement.

¹For a somewhat different conception of the import of the holy places, as representing periods of revelation, see Atwater, *Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews*, pp. 263-271.

goats and calves, but through his own blood entered in once for all into the holy places (*τὰ ἅγια*, plural, and indefinitely intimating more than places merely), having obtained eternal redemption. . . . For Christ entered not into holy (places) made with hands, patterns of the true, but into the heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix, 11, 12, 24). The believer is, accordingly, exhorted to enter with confidence into the holy places by the blood of Jesus, and to draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith (Heb. x, 19, 22). Whither our high priest has gone we may also go, and the position of the cherubim over the mercyseat and in the garden of Eden suggests the final glorification of all the sons of God. This is the inspiring and suggestive doctrine of Paul in Eph. i, 15; ii, 10, where he speaks of "the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints," and "that energy of the strength of his might which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly" (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, in the heavenlies, not heavenly places merely, but fellowships, powers, glories); and then goes on to say that God, in like manner, quickens those who were dead in trespasses and sins, makes them alive with Christ, raises them up and makes them sit together in the same heavenly regions, associations, and glories into which Christ himself has gone. Thus we see the fullest revelation of the means by which, and the extent to which, Israel shall be sanctified in Jehovah's glory (Exod. xxix, 43).¹ Then, in the highest and holiest sense, will "the tabernacle of God be with men, and he will tabernacle with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them" (Rev. xxi, 3). In the heavenly glory there will be no place for temple, or any local shrine and symbol, "for the Lord, the God, the Almighty, is its temple, and the Lamb" (Rev. xxi, 22).

¹ The profound expression, in Exod. xxix, 43, may well be compared with that of Jesus, in John xvii, 24, which, according to the best-authenticated text, reads: "Father, that which thou hast given me (*ὃ δέδωκός μοι*), I will that where I am they also (*καὶ αὐτοὶ*) may be with me, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me, for thou didst love me before the foundation of the world." The pleonastic construction here seems to have a designed significance. The whole body of the redeemed is first conceived as a unit; it is Christ's inheritance, regarded as the Father's gift to him. It is the same as the *πάν ὃ δέδωκέν μοι*, all that which he has given me, in John vi, 39. But as the thought turns to the individual beholding (comp. "I shall see for myself," etc., Job xix, 27) on the part of the redeemed the plural (*καὶ αὐτοὶ*) is resumed. Thus Alford: "The nenter has a peculiar solemnity, uniting the whole Church together as *one gift* of the Father to the Son. Then the *καὶ αὐτοὶ* resolves it into the great multitude whom no man can number, and comes home to the heart of every individual believer with inexpressibly sweet assurance of an eternity with Christ."—Greek Test., in loco.

CHAPTER XI.

SYMBOLICO-TYPICAL ACTIONS.

IN receiving his divine commission as a prophet, Ezekiel saw a roll of a book spread out before him, on both sides of which were written many doleful things. He was ^{visional actions.} commanded to eat the book, and he obeyed, and found that which seemed so full of lamentation and woe to be sweet as honey in his mouth (Ezek. ii, 8-iii, 3). The same thing is, in substance, repeated in the Apocalypse of John (x, 2, 8-11), and it is there expressly added that the book which was sweet as honey in his mouth became bitter in his stomach. These transactions manifestly took place in vision. The prophet was lifted into a divine trance or ecstasy, in which it seemed to him that he saw, heard, obeyed, and experienced the effects which he describes. It was a symbolical transaction, performed subjectively in a state of prophetic ecstasy. It was an impressive method of fastening upon his soul the conviction of his prophetic mission, and its import was not difficult to apprehend. The book contained the bitter judgments to be uttered against "the house of Israel," and the prophet was commanded to cause his stomach to eat it and to fill his bowels with it (iii, 3); that is, he must make the prophetic word, as it were, a part of himself, receive it into his innermost being (ver. 10), and there digest it. And though it may be often bitter to his inner sense, the process of prophetic obedience yields a sweet experience to the doer.¹ "It is infinitely sweet and lovely," says Hengstenberg, "to be the organ and spokesman of the Most High."²

But in the fourth and fifth chapters of Ezekiel we are introduced to a series of four symbolico-typical actions in which ^{Symbolico-typical acts of} the prophet appears not as the *seer*, but the *doer*. First ^{Ezek. iv and v.} he is commanded to take a brick³ and engrave upon it a portraiture of Jerusalem in a state of siege. He is also to set

¹ What Ezekiel and John did in vision Jeremiah describes in other and more simple style. Comp. Jer. xv, 16.

² Commentary on Ezekiel, in loca.

³ לבנה, a white brick, so called, according to Gesenius, from the white chalky clay of which certain bricks were made. In the valley of the Euphrates Ezekiel's eyes had, doubtless, become familiar with bricks and stone slabs covered with images and inscriptions.

up an iron pan between it and himself, and direct his face against it, as if he were the besieging party, and had erected an iron wall between himself and the doomed city. This, it was declared, would be "a sign to the house of Israel" (Ezek. iv, 1-3). Evidently, therefore, the sign was intended to be outward, actual, and visible, for how could these things, if imagined only in the prophet's soul, be made a sign to Israel? In the next place he is to lie upon his left side three hundred and ninety days, and then upon his right side forty days, thus symbolically bearing the guilt of Israel and Judah four hundred and thirty days, each day of his prostration denoting a year of Israel's abject condition. During this time he must keep his face turned toward the siege of Jerusalem, and his arm made bare (comp. Isa. lli, 10), and God lays bands upon him that he shall not turn from one side to another (Ezek. iv, 4-8). As the days of this prostration are symbolical of years, so it would seem the number four hundred and thirty is appropriated from the term of Israel's sojourn in Egypt (Exod. xii, 40), the last forty years of which, when Moses was in exile, were the most oppressive of all. This number would, from its dark associations, become naturally symbolical of a period of humiliation and exile; not, however, necessarily denoting a chronological period of just so many years. Still further, the prophet is directed to prepare for himself

The prophet's food. food of divers grains and vegetables, some desirable and some undesirable, and put them in one vessel, as if it were necessary to use any and all kinds of available food, and one vessel would suffice for all. His food and drink are to be weighed out and measured, and in such small rations as to denote the most pinching destitution. He is also commanded to bake his barley cakes with human excrement, to denote how Israel would eat their defiled bread among the heathen; but in view of his loathing at the thought of food thus prepared, he is permitted to substitute the excrement of cattle for that of man. All this was designed to symbolize the misery and anguish which should come upon Israel (verses 9-17). A fourth sign follows in chapter v, 1-4, and is accompanied (verses 5-17) by a divine interpretation. The prophet is directed to shave off his hair and beard with a sharp sword, and weigh and divide the numberless hairs in three parts. One third he is to burn in the midst of the city (i. e., the city portrayed on the brick), another third he is to smite with the sword, and another he is to scatter to the wind. These three acts are explained as prophetic symbols of a threefold judgment impending over Jerusalem, one part of whose inhabitants shall perish by pestilence and famine, another by the slaughter of war, and a

third by dispersion among the nations, whither also the perils of the sword shall follow them.

Many able expositors insist that these symbolical actions of the prophet took place only in vision, as the eating of the roll in chapter ii, 8. And yet they are all obliged to ^{The actions outward and actual.} acknowledge that the language used is such as to make a different impression on the mind of a reader. Certain it is that the eating of the roll is described as a vision: "I saw, and behold a hand stretched out unto me, and behold in it a roll of a book" (Ezek. ii, 9). No such language is used in connexion with the transactions of chapters iv and v, but the prophet is the *doer*, and his actions are to serve as a *sign* to the house of Israel.

Five reasons have been urged to show that these actions could not have been outward and actual: (1) The spectacle of ^{Five objections considered.} such a miniature siege would only have provoked among the Israelites who saw it a sense of the ludicrous. But even if this were true, it would by no means disprove that the acts were, nevertheless, actually done, for many of the noblest oracles of prophecy were ridiculed and scoffed at by the rebellious house of Israel. The assertion, however, is purely a subjective fancy of modern interpreters. It is like the untenable notion of those allegorical expounders of Canticles, who presume to say that a literal interpretation of some parts of the song is monstrous and revolting, but, at the same time, allegorically descriptive of the holiest things! If these symbolic actions of Ezekiel, literally performed, would have been childish and ludicrous, would not any conceivable communication of them to Israel as a sign have been equally ludicrous? As long as the actions were possible and practicable, and were calculated to make a notable impression, there is no objection to their literal occurrence which may not be urged with equal force against their ideal occurrence.

But it is urged (2) that lying motionless on one side for three hundred and ninety days was a physical impossibility. ^{The prostration not without intermissions.} The prophet's language, however, sufficiently intimates that his prostration was not absolutely continuous during the whole twenty-four hours of each of the days. He prepared his own food and drink, weighed and measured it, and, we may suppose, that as a Jewish fast of many days allowed eating at night while requiring abstinence by day, so Ezekiel's long prostration had many incidental reliefs. The prohibition of turning from one side to another required, at most, only that during the longer period he must not lie at all on his right side, and during the last forty days he must not lie at all on his left. (3) Fairbairn

declares that it would have been a moral impossibility to eat bread composed of such abominable materials, since it would have involved a violation of the Mosaic law.¹ But it cannot be shown that the law anywhere prohibits the materials which Ezekiel was ordered to prepare for his food; and, even if it did, it would not follow that Ezekiel might not thus symbolically exhibit the penal judgments that were to visit Israel, when fathers should even eat their own sons, and sons their fathers (chap. v, 10).

Another objection (4) is that between the dates given at Ezek. i, 1, 2, and viii, 1, there could not have been four hundred and thirty days for these symbolical actions to really take place. But between the fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (chap. i, 1, 2) and the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year (chap. viii, 1) there intervened one year and two months, or four hundred and twenty-seven days, a period not only sufficiently approximate to meet all the necessity of the case, but so closely approximate as to be in itself an evidence of the real performance of these actions. And all this might be said after subtracting from the period the seven days mentioned in chapter iii, 15. But the visions of chapters viii, xi may have taken place while Ezekiel yet remained lying on his side. We are not to suppose that his body was literally transported to Jerusalem, for he expressly states that it was done "in visions of God" (chap. viii, 3). His *sitting* in his house, with the elders of Judah before him (viii, 1), does not necessarily define either his or their posture, and the word *בָּיִת* is commonly used in the sense of *abiding* or *staying*. The long prostration and symbolical acts of this priest-prophet would naturally attract the elders of Judah to his house, and cause them to linger long in his presence; and all this time his arm was made bare, and he prophesied against Jerusalem (iv, 7). There was nothing in his posture or surroundings to hinder his receiving, during that signal year and two months, many an additional word and vision of Jehovah. (5) It has been further objected that it was literally impossible for him to burn the third part of his hair "in the midst of the city" (chap. v, 2). But the city here referred to is to be understood of the miniature city engraved on the brick, which consideration at once obviates the objection.

¹ Commentary on Ezekiel, p. 48. Fairbairn's references to Deut. xiv, 3; xxiii, 12-14, and xlii, 1-5, are pointless in this argument, for those passages have no necessary bearing on this subject, inasmuch as Ezekiel was excused from using human ordure. Nor was a mixture of various kinds of food a transgression, as Hitzig imagines, of the law of Lev. xix, 19; Deut. xxii, 9.

There appears, therefore, no sufficient reason to deny that Ezekiel's symbolic actions, described in chapters iv and v, were outwardly performed. Nor is it difficult to conceive the impression which these performances must naturally have made upon the house of Israel—especially upon the elders. After his first overwhelming vision (see chap. i, 28), and the hearing of his divine commission, he went to certain captives who dwelt along the Chebar, and sat down among them in mute astonishment (עָצָבָה) for seven days (chap. iii, 15). Then Jehovah's word came to him again, and he went forth into the plain, and there again beheld the glory of the cherubim (ver. 23), and received the command to go and shut himself up within his house, and perform the symbolical actions which we have examined. And no more impressive or signal prophecies could have been given than these symbolic deeds. Not to have done the things commanded would have been to withhold from the house of Israel the signs of judgment which he was commissioned to exhibit. The fourfold symbol denoted, (1) the coming siege of Jerusalem, (2) the exile and consequent prostration of Israel and Judah (comp. Isa. i, 11; Amos v, 2), which should be like another Egyptian bondage, (3) the destitution and humiliation of this sad period, and, (4) finally, the threefold judgment with which the siege should end, namely, pestilence and famine, the sword, and dispersion among the nations.

Other symbolical actions of this prophet are his removal of his baggage through the broken wall (chap. xii, 3-8), and his eating his bread with quaking, and drinking water with trembling and anxiety (xii, 18), his deep and bitter sighing (xxi, 6; Heb. xxi, 11), and his strange deportment on the death of his wife (xxiv, 16-18). But the symbol of the boiling caldron in chap. xxiv, 3-12, is expressly presented as an *uttered parable*, or symbolical discourse, and the imagery is, accordingly, ideal, and not to be understood of an outward action. The symbolical actions of Isaiah (xx, 2-4) and Jeremiah (xiii, 11; xviii, 1-6; xix, 1-2; xxvii, 1-14, and xliii, 8-13) are, like those of Ezekiel, amply explained in their immediate context.

Of all the symbolical actions of the prophets the most difficult and disputed example is that of Hosea taking unto himself "a woman of whoredoms and children of whoredoms" (Hosea i, 2), and his loving "a woman beloved of a friend, and an adulteress" (Hosea iii, 1). The great question is: Are these transactions to be understood as mere visional symbols, or as real events in the outward life of the prophet? No one will venture to deny that the language of Hosea most

No valid argument against their outward performance.

Other symbolical actions.

Hosea's marriage.

naturally implies that the events were outward and real. He plainly says that Jehovah commanded him to go and marry an adulterous woman, and that he obeyed. He gives the name of the woman and the name of her father, and says that she conceived and bore him a son, whom he named Jezreel, and subsequently she bore him a daughter and another son, to whom he also gave significant names as God directed him. There is no intimation whatever that these events were merely visions of the soul, or that they were to be published to Israel as a purely parabolic discourse. If the account of any symbolical action on record is so explicit and positive as to require a literal interpretation, this surely is one, for its terms are clear, its language is simple, and its general import not difficult to comprehend.

Whence, then, the difficulties which expositors have felt in its interpretation? It is mainly in the supposition that such a marriage, commanded by God and effected by a holy prophet, was a moral impossibility. A part of the difficulty has also arisen from a misapprehension of the meaning of certain allusions, and the scope of the entire passage. Upon these misapprehensions false assumptions have been based, and false interpretations have naturally followed. Thus, it has been assumed that the three children of the prophet, Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi, were themselves the "children of whoredoms" whom the prophet was to take, and that the prophet's wife herself continued her dissolute life after her marriage with him. Of all this there is nothing in the text. The most simple and natural meaning of "a woman of whoredoms and children of whoredoms" (chap. i, 2) is a woman who is a notable harlot, and who, as such, has begotten children who also follow her lewd practices. If it had been otherwise, and the prophet had been directed to take a pure virgin, the language of our text would have been utterly out of place. For how could Hosea know how and where to select a virgin who would, after her marriage with him, become a harlot? That the prophet's wife continued her lewd practices after her marriage with him is nowhere intimated.

The straightforward, literal statement that the prophet "went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, and she conceived and bare him a son" (ver. 3), is the furthest possible from describing something which occurred only in idea. The sophism of Hengstenberg, that these things took place "actually, but not outwardly,"¹

¹ Christology of the Old Testament, English translation (Edinb., 1863), vol. i, p. 185. Hengstenberg's whole discussion of this subject, which assumes to be very full and thorough, is a notable exhibition of exegetical dogmatism.

is too glaring to be for a moment entertained. If the things here narrated had no outward reality in the prophet's life, it is an abuse of language to say they actually occurred. All attempts to explain the names Gomer and Diblaim symbolically are manifest failures, and Schmoller is candid enough to admit that "we cannot say that, in themselves, they necessarily demand such an explanation."¹ Gomer may indeed denote *completion*, but no parallel usage justifies the meaning of "completed whoredom," which most English expositors adopt from Aben Ezra and Jerome. The verb גָּמַר means either to come to an end in the sense of *ceasing to exist* (Psa. vii, 10; xii, 2; lxxvii, 9), or to *complete*, or bring to perfection, in a good sense (Psa. lvii, 3; cxxxviii, 8; comp. the Chaldee גָּמַר in Ezra vii, 12). Gesenius and Fürst (Heb. Lex.) suggest the meaning of *coals, heat*, or fireglow. The name of Diblaim is also too uncertain to warrant a symbolical interpretation. If we allow its identity with דִּבְלִים, *fig cakes*, the explanation, "completed whoredom, the daughter of two fig cakes," is sufficiently awkward and far-fetched to discredit the whole interpretation.

Hengstenberg is also guilty of the bold and remarkable assertion that "there exists a multitude of symbolical actions, in regard to which it is undeniable and universally admitted (!) that they took place internally only."² He does not deign to inform us what they are, and we may with equal propriety, therefore, affirm that there is not a single instance of a vision, or of a symbolical action, that took place only internally, but that there is in the context something which clearly indicates its visionary character. Jeremiah's taking the wine cup of Jehovah's fury and presenting it to the nations (Jer. xxv, 15-33) is not a parallel case, but is metaphorical, as the expression "cup of the wine of this fury" (ver. 15) abundantly shows. This is confirmed by its causal connexion (וְ, *for*) with verse 14, and by the whole tone and spirit of the passage, which is highly figurative; see, especially, verses 27-31. The same is true of Zech. xi, 4-14, where the prophet by inspiration identifies himself with the Lord, and describes no vision, or internal transaction, but a highly figurative account of the relations of the Lord and Israel. The breaking of the staves, Beauty and Bands, was the Lord's doing, and not that of the prophet. Much more scientific and trustworthy is the procedure of Cowles, who collates all the Old Testament examples bearing on this point, and exhibits "a clear line of distinction drawn between

Gomer and Diblaim not symbolical names.

Hengstenberg's unwarrantable assertion.

¹ Commentary on Hosea (Lange's Biblework), in loco.

² Christology, vol. i, p. 186.

the things seen and shown in vision only, and those which were done in outward life for symbolic or other purposes. These distinctions," he observes, "lie not mainly—indeed scarcely at all—in the nature of the things as convenient to be done, or as impossible, but in the very *form* of the statements. In other words, the Lord has been specially careful to leave us in no doubt as to what was actually *done* by his prophets on the one hand, and what was only *seen* by them in vision on the other."¹

The prophet Hosea was not commanded to go and rehearse a parable before the people, nor to relate what occurred to him in vision, but to perform certain actions. The time necessary for his marriage, and the birth of the three children of Gomer, need have been no greater than that in which Isaiah was required to walk naked and barefoot for a sign (Isa. xx, 3). The names of the three children are symbolical of certain purposes and plans of God in his dealings with the house of Israel, but there is no hint that these children were at all given to licentiousness. Their names point to coming judgments, as did the name of Isaiah's son (Isa. viii, 3), but those symbolical names are no disparagement of the character of the persons who bore them. As long as Gomer was no man's lawful wife, her marriage to Hosea, even though she had become noted as a harlot, and had thus begotten "children of whoredoms," involved no breach of law. The law governing a priest's marriage (Lev. xxi, 7-15), and which even prohibited his marrying a widow, did not apply to a prophet more than to any other man in Israel. That a prophet should marry a harlot, and take her children with her, was indeed surprising, and calculated to excite wonder and astonishment; but to excite such wonder, and deeply impress it on the popular heart, was the very purpose of the whole transaction. We cannot conceive how the actions here recorded could have been made signs and wonders in Israel (comp. Isa. viii, 18), or have been at all impressive, if they were known to have never occurred. In that case they would have been either ridiculed as a silly fancy, or denounced as an utter falsehood. Their real occurrence, however, would have been a sign and a wonder too striking to be trifled with; but it is not probable that when the people of the whole land had grievously committed whoredom away from Jehovah (chap. i, 2) their moral sense would have been so shocked at these actions of a prophet as many modern critics imagine.

The main purport and scope of the passage may be indicated as follows: Hosea is commanded to marry a harlot "because the land

¹ Notes on the Minor Prophets. Dissertation I, p. 413. New York, 1866.

has grievously committed whoredom away from Jehovah." The adulterous woman would thus represent idolatrous Israel, ^{Scope of passage indicated.} whose sins are so frequently set forth under this figure. No particular historical period is indicated, none need be assumed. All question here as to when Jehovah was married to Israel, or what Israel was before, and what after such marriage, only tends to confuse and obscure the main purport of this Scripture, into which a consideration of such questions does not enter. The marriage of the prophet to a harlot was a striking symbol of Jehovah's relation to a people to whom it would be supposed he would have utter aversion. Yet of that people, so guilty of spiritual adultery, will Jehovah beget a holy seed, and the three symbolical names, Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi, denote the severe measures, stated in the passage itself, by which the redemption of Israel must be accomplished. Jezreel may have a double reference, one local, taken from the well-known valley of this name where Jehu wrought his bloody deeds (2 Kings x, 1-7); the other etymological (as the word denotes "God sows," or, "God will sow"), and indicating that the very judgments by which the kingdom of the house of Israel was overthrown were a sowing of the seed from ^{The symbolical Names.} which should spring a regenerated nation. The names Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi symbolize other forms of judgment. By his un pitying chastisements (Lo-ruhamah) and the utter rejection of them as a people (Lo-ammi) will he secure the redemption of that vast multitude mentioned in verses 10, 11, and chapter ii, 1 (Heb. ii, 1-3), whose glory and triumph will give new significance to the "day of Jezreel," and change the name of Lo-ruhamah to Ruhamah (compassionated), and Lo-ammi to Ammi (my people). This view fully harmonizes with the language of chapter ii, 22, 23, and gives a unity and definiteness to the whole of the first two chapters of Hosea. The oracle of chapter ii, is, accordingly, to be understood as Jehovah's appeal to Israel. It is addressed to the "children of whoredoms," who are called on to plead with their mother (ii, 2; Heb. ii, 4). It consists of complaint, threatening, and promises, and from verse 14 on to the end of the chapter (Heb., verses 16-25) indicates the process by which Jehovah will woo and marry that mother of profligate children, making for her "the valley of Achor as a door of hope" (ver. 15),¹ and thereby

¹ Achor (אֲחֹר) means *troubler*, or *troubling*, and is here used in allusion to the events recorded in Josh. vii, 24-26. In the valley of Achor, Achan was punished for his crimes, and the ban was thereby removed from Israel. "Through the name *Achor* this valley became a memorial how the Lord restores his favour to the Church after the expiation of the guilt by the punishment of the transgressor. And this divine

accomplishing her redemption. To emphasize this most wonderful prophecy and promise the marriage of Hosea and Gomer served as a most impressive sign.

The third chapter of Hosea records another symbolical action of Hosea, chap. iii, this prophet, by which it is shown, in another form, another symbolical act with similar purport. how Jehovah would reform and regenerate the children of Israel. Who this adulterous woman beloved by a friend (ver. 1) was, we are not told, and conjectures are idle. The supposition of many, that she was identical with Gomer, accords with the apocalyptic habit of repeating symbolical prophecies under various forms. So this prophet may have repeated the record of the great symbolical act of his life so as to exhibit it from another point of view. The supposition, however, is unnecessary. In the long life and ministry of Hosea (comp. chap. i, 1) there was room for several events of this kind, and we most naturally assume that in the meantime his former wife, Gomer, had died. In the very brief record here made there was no space for such details. Hosea's loving this woman, buying her according to oriental custom, and placing her apart for many days, are explained as a symbol of Israel's exile and dispersion until the appointed time of restitution should come. All that is here said about Israel's remaining many days without king, sacrifices, and images was amply fulfilled during the Assyrian exile. No traces of idolatry or spiritual whoredom remained in Israel or Judah after the restoration which took place under Cyrus and his successors. The reason why so many expositors have supposed that this chapter refers to another and later exile arises from failure to note the habit of prophetic discourse to repeat the same things under different symbols. This error has misled many into the notion that the adulterous woman of chapter ii, must be identified with the Gomer of chapter i. As in the prophecies of Daniel we find the composite image of chapter ii, and the four beasts of chapter vii, only different symbols of the same events, and the vision of the ram and he-goat, in chapter viii, going over a part of the same ground again, so here we should understand that Hosea, at different periods of his life, depicted by entirely different symbolic actions different phases of

mode of procedure will be repeated in all its essential characteristics. The Lord will make the valley of troubling a door of hope; that is, he will so expiate the sins of his Church and cover them with his grace, that the covenant of fellowship with him will no more be rent asunder by them; or he will so display his grace to the sinners that compassion will manifest itself even in wrath, and through judgment and mercy the pardoned sinners will be more and more firmly and inwardly united to him."—Keil on Hosea, in loco.

the same great facts. Similar repetition abounds in Ezekiel, Zechariah, and the Apocalypse of John.

These actions of Hosea, then, according to all sound laws of grammatico-historical interpretation, are to be understood as having actually occurred in the life of the prophet, and are to be classed along with other actions which we have termed symbolico-typical. Such actions, as we have observed before, combine essential elements of both symbol and type, and serve to illustrate at once the kinship and the difference between them. Serving as signs and visible images of unseen facts or truths, they are symbolical; but being at the same time representative actions of an intelligent agent, actually and outwardly performed, and pointing especially to things to come, they are typical. Hence the propriety of designating them by the compound name symbolico-typical. And it is worthy of note that every instance of such actions is accompanied by an explanation of its import, more or less detailed.

The miracles of our Lord may not improperly be spoken of as symbolico-typical. They were *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, *signs and wonders*, and they all, without exception, have a ^{aclessymbolical} moral and spiritual significance. The cleansing of the leper symbolized the power of Christ to heal the sinner, and so all his miracles of love and mercy bear the character of redemptive acts, and are typically prophetic of what he is evermore doing in his reign of grace. The stilling of the tempest, the walking on the sea, and the opening of the eyes of the blind furnish suggestive lessons of divine grace and power, as some of the noblest hymns of the Church attest. The miracle of the water made wine, says Trench, "may be taken as the sign and symbol of all which Christ is evermore doing in the world, ennobling all that he touches, making saints out of sinners, angels out of men, and in the end heaven out of earth, a new paradise of God out of the old wilderness of the world."¹ Hengstenberg observes that Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem, as predicted in Zech. ix, 10, "was a symbolical action, the design and purport of which were to assert his royal dignity, and to set forth in a living picture the true nature of his person and kingdom, in opposition to the false notions of both friends and foes. Apart, therefore, from the prophecy, the entry had its own peculiar meaning, as, in fact, was the case with every act of Christ and every event of his life."²

¹ Notes on the Miracles of our Lord, p. 98. New York, 1858.

² Christology of the Old Testament, vol. iii, p. 375. Edinb., 1863.

CHAPTER XII.

SYMBOLIC NUMBERS, NAMES, AND COLOURS.

EVERY observant reader of the Bible has had his attention arrested at times by what seemed a mystical or symbolical use of numbers. The numbers three, four, seven, ten, and twelve, especially, have a significance worthy of most careful study. Certain well-known proper names, as Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, are also used in a mystic sense, and the colours red, black, and white are understood to be so associated with the ideas respectively of bloodshed, evil, and purity as to have become emblematic of those ideas. The only valid method of ascertaining the symbolical meaning and usage of such numbers, names, and colours in the Scriptures, is by an ample collation and study of the passages where they occur. The hermeneutical process is therefore essentially the same as that by which we ascertain the *usus loquendi* of words, and the province of hermeneutics is, not to furnish an elaborate discussion of the subject, but to exhibit the principles and methods by which such a discussion should be carried out.¹

Process of ascertaining Symbolism of Numbers, etc.

SYMBOLICAL NUMBERS.

The number one, as being the first, the startingpoint, the parent, and source of all numbers, the representative of unity, might naturally be supposed to possess some mystical significance, and yet there appears no evidence that it is ever used in any such sense in the Scriptures. It has a notable emphasis in that watchword of Israelitish faith, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is ONE JEHOVAH" (Deut. vi, 4; comp. Mark xii, 29, 32; 1 Cor. viii, 4), but neither here nor elsewhere is the number used in any other than its literal

¹ On the symbolism of numbers see Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, vol. i, (1874), pp. 185-282; Kurtz, *Ueber die symbolische Dignität der Zahlen an der Stiftshütte*, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1844, pp. 315-370; Lämmert, *Zur Revision der biblischen Zahlensymbolik*, in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* for 1864, pp. 1-49; and Engelhardt, *Einiges über symbolische Zahlen*, in the same periodical for 1866, pp. 301-332; Kliefoth, *Die Zahlensymbolik der heiligen Schrift*, in *Dieckhoff und Kliefoth's Theologische Zeitschrift* for 1862, pp. 1-89, 341-453, and 509-623; Stuart's *Excursus* (appropriating largely from Bähr) on the Symbolical Use of Numbers in the Apocalypse, in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. ii, pp. 409-434; White, *Symbolical Numbers of Scripture* (Edinb., 1868).

sense. The number three, however, is employed in such relations as to suggest that it is especially the number of divine fullness in unity. Bähr seems altogether too fanciful when he says: "It lies in the very nature of the number three, that is, in its relation to the two preceding numbers one and two, that it forms in the progression of numbers the first conclusion (Abschluss); for the one is first made a number by being followed by the two, but the two as such represents separation, difference, contrast, and this becomes cancelled by the number three, so that three is in fact the first finished, true, and complete unity."¹ But he goes on to say that every true unity comprises a trinity, and instances the familiar triads, beginning, middle, and end; past, present, and future; under, midst, and upper; and he cites from many heathen sources to show the mystic significance that everywhere attached to the number three. He also cites from the Scripture such triads as the three men who appeared to Abraham (Gen. xviii, 2), the three forefathers of the children of Israel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod. iii, 6), the three sons of Noah, by whom the postdiluvian world was peopled (Gen. ix, 19), the three constituent parts of the universe, heaven, earth, and sea (Exod. xx, 11; Psa. cxlvi, 6), the cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop, used in the ceremonial purification (Lev. xiv, 6; Num. xix, 6), the threefold cord that is not quickly broken (Eccl. iv, 12), and other less noticeable examples. More important and conspicuous, however, as exhibiting a sacredness in the number three, are those texts which associate it immediately with the divine name. These are the thrice-repeated benediction of Num. vi, 24-26, or threefold *putting the name* of Jehovah (ver. 27) upon the children of Israel; the threefold name in the formula of baptism (Matt. xxviii, 19), and the apostolic benediction (2 Cor. xiii, 14); and the *trisagion* of Isa. vi, 3, and Rev. iv, 8, accompanied in the latter passage by the three divine titles, Lord, God, and Almighty, and the additional words "who was, and who is, and who is to come." From all this it would appear, as Stuart² has observed, "that the doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead lies much deeper than the New-Platonic philosophy, to which so many have been accustomed to refer it. An original impression of the character in question plainly overspread all the ancient oriental world . . . That many philosophistic and superstitious conceits have been mixed with it, in process of time, proves nothing against the general fact as stated. And this being admitted, we cease to think it strange that such distinction and significancy have been given in the Scriptures to the number three."

¹ Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus, p. 206.

² Commentary on Apocalypse, vol. ii, pp. 419, 420.

If its peculiar usage in connexion with the divine Name gives mystical significance to the number three, and entitles it to be called "the number of God," the use of the number four

Four. in the Scriptures would in like manner entitle it to be called "the number of the world," or of the visible creation. Thus we have the four winds of heaven (Jer. xlix, 36; Ezek. xxxvii, 9; Dan. vii, 2; viii, 8; Zech. ii, 6; vi, 5; Matt. xxiv, 31; Mark xiii, 27; Rev. vii, 1), the four corners or extremities of the earth (Isa. xi, 12; Ezek. vii, 2; Rev. vii, 1; xx, 8), corresponding, doubtless, with the four points of the compass, east, west, north, and south (1 Chron. ix, 24; Psa. cvii, 3; Luke xiii, 29), and the four seasons. Noticeable also are the four living creatures in Ezek. i, 5, each with four faces, four wings, four hands, and connected with four wheels; and in Zechariah the four horns (i, 18), the four smiths (i, 20), and the four chariots (vi, 1).

The number seven, being the sum of four and three, may naturally be supposed to symbolize some mystical union of God with the world, and accordingly, may be called the sacred number of the covenant between God and his creation. The hebdomad, or period of seven days, is so essentially associated with the record of creation (Gen. ii, 2, 3; Exod. xx, 8-11), that from the beginning a sevenfold division of time was recognized among the ancient nations. In the Scripture it is peculiarly a ritual number. In establishing his covenant with Abraham God ordained that seven days must pass after the birth of a child, and then, upon the eighth day, he must be circumcised (Gen. xvii, 12; comp. Lev. xii, 2, 3). The passover feast continued seven days (Exod. xii, 15). The feast of Pentecost was held seven weeks after the day of the wave offering (Lev. xxiii, 15). The feast of trumpets occurred in the seventh month (Lev. xxiii, 24), and seven times seven years brought round the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv, 8). The blood of the sin offering was sprinkled seven times before the Lord (Lev. iv, 6). The ceremonial cleansing of the leper required that he be sprinkled seven times with blood and seven times with oil, that he tarry abroad outside of his tent seven days (Lev. xiv. 7, 8; xvi, 27), and that his house also be sprinkled seven times (Lev. xiv, 51). Contact with a dead body and other kinds of ceremonial uncleanness required a purification of seven days (Num. xix, 11; Lev. xv, 13, 24). And so the idea of covenant relations and obligations seems to be associated with this sacred number. Jehovah confirmed his word to Joshua and Israel, when for seven days seven priests with seven trumpets compassed Jericho, and on the seventh day compassed the city seven times (Josh. vi, 13-15). The golden candlestick had seven

lamps (Exod. xxxviii, 23). The seven churches, seven stars, seven seals, seven trumpets, seven thunders, and seven last plagues of the Apocalypse are of similar mystical significance.

The number ten completes the list of primary numbers, and is made the basis of all further numeration. Hence, it is naturally regarded as the number of rounded fullness

Ten.

or completeness. The Hebrew word for ten, *עשר*, is believed to favour this idea. Gesenius (Lex.) traces it to a root which conveys the idea of *conjunction*, and observes that "etymologists agree in deriving this form from the conjunction of the ten fingers." Fürst adopts the same fundamental idea, and defines the word as if it were expressive of "*union, association; hence multitude, heap, multiplicity*" (Heb. Lex). And this general idea is sustained by the usage of the number. Thus the Decalogue, the totality and substance of the whole Torah, or Law, is spoken of as *the ten words* Exod. xxxiv, 28; Deut. iv, 13; x, 4; ten elders constitute an ancient Israelitish court (Ruth iv, 2); ten princes represent the tribes of Israel (Josh. xxii, 14); ten virgins go forth to meet the bridegroom (Matt. xxv, 1). And, in a more general way, ten times is equivalent to many times (Gen. xxxi, 7, 41; Job xix, 3), ten women means many women (Lev. xxvi, 26), ten sons many sons (1 Sam. i, 8), ten mighty ones are many mighty ones (Eccles. vii, 19), and the ten horns of Dan. vii, 7, 24; Rev. xii, 3; xiii, 1; xvii, 12, may fittingly symbolize many kings.¹

The symbolical use of the number twelve in Scripture appears to have fundamental allusion to the twelve tribes of Israel. Thus Moses erects "twelve pillars according

Twelve.

to the twelve tribes of Israel" (Exod. xxiv, 4), and there were twelve stones in the breastplate of the high priest (Exod. xxviii, 21), twelve cakes of showbread (Lev. xxiv, 5), twelve bullocks, twelve rams, twelve lambs, and twelve kids for offerings of dedication (Num. vii, 87), and many other like instances. In the New Testament we have the twelve apostles, twelve times twelve thousand are sealed out of the tribes of Israel, twelve thousand from each tribe (Rev. vii, 4-8), and the New Jerusalem has twelve gates, bearing the names of the twelve tribes, and guarded by twelve angels (Rev. xxi, 12), and its wall has twelve foundations, bearing the twelve names of the apostles (xxi, 14). Twelve, then, may properly be called the mystical number of God's chosen people.

It is thus by collation and comparison of the peculiar uses of these numbers that we can arrive at any safe conclusion as to their

¹ Compare Wemyss, *Clavis Symbolica*, under the word Ten, and Bähr, *Symbolik*, vol. i, pp. 223, 224.

symbolical import. But allowing that they have such import as the foregoing examples indicate, we must not suppose that they thereby necessarily lose their literal and proper meaning. The number ten, as shown above, and some few instances of the number seven (Psa. xii, 6; lxxix, 12; Prov. xxvi, 16; Isa. iv, 4; Dan. iv, 16), authorize us to say that they are used sometimes indefinitely in the sense of *many*. But when, for example, it is written that seven priests, with seven trumpets, compassed Jericho on the seventh day seven times (Josh. vi, 13-15), we understand the statements in their literal sense. These things were done just so many times, but the symbolism of the sevens suggests that in this signal overthrow of Jericho God was confirming his covenant and promises to give into the hand of his chosen people their enemies and the land they occupied (comp. Exod. xxiii, 31; Josh. ii, 9, 24; vi, 2). And so the sounding of the seven trumpets of the Apocalypse completed the mystery of God as declared to his prophets (Rev. x, 7), so that when the seventh angel sounded great voices in heaven said: "The kingdom of the world is become that of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever" (Rev. xii, 15).

The "time and times and dividing (or half) of a time" (Dan. vii, 25; xii, 7; Rev. xii, 13) is commonly and with reason believed to stand for three years and a half, a time denoting a year. A comparison of verses 6 and 12 of Rev. xii shows this period to be the same as twelve hundred and sixty days, or exactly three and a half years, reckoning three hundred and sixty days to a year. But as this number is in every case used to denote a period of woe and disaster to the Church or people of God (Rev. xi, 2), we may regard it as symbolical. It is a divided seven (comp. Dan. ix, 27) as if suggesting the thought of a broken covenant, an interrupted sacrifice, a triumph of the enemy of God.

The twelve hundred and sixty days are also equivalent to forty-two months (Rev. xi, 2, 3; xiii, 5), reckoning thirty days to a month, and, thus used, it is probably to be regarded, not as an exact designation of just so many days, but as a round number readily reckoned and remembered, and approximating the exact length of the period denoted with sufficient nearness. In Dan. viii, 14 we have the peculiar expression "two thousand and three hundred evening mornings," which some explain as meaning so many days, in allusion to Gen. i, 5, where evening and morning constitute one day. Others, however, understand so many morning and evening sacrifices, which would require half the number of days (eleven hundred and fifty). Perhaps, however, the

word **אֶלֶף**, *two thousand*, should be pointed **אֶלֶף**, *one thousand*, then we would have thirteen hundred days of evening and morning. This closely approximates the twelve hundred and ninety days of Dan. xii, 11, which, when compared with the thirteen hundred and thirty-five days mentioned in the next verse, seems rather to show that in the peculiarly exact designations of time here recorded we have not mystical or symbolical numbers, but literal designations of the length of important periods.

The number forty designates in so many places the duration of a penal judgment, either forty days or forty years, that it may be regarded as symbolic of a period of judgment. Forty. The forty days of the flood (Gen. vii, 4, 12, 17), the forty years of Israel's wandering in the wilderness (Num. xiv, 34), the forty stripes with which a convicted criminal was to be beaten (Deut. xxv, 3), the forty years of Egypt's desolation (Ezek. xxix, 11, 12), and the forty days and nights during which Moses, Elijah, and Jesus fasted (Exod. xxiv, 28; 1 Kings xix, 8; Matt. iv, 2), all favour this idea. But there is no reason to suppose that in all these cases the number forty is not also used in its proper and literal sense. The symbolism, if any, arises from the association of the number with a period of punishment or trial.

The number seventy is also noticeable as being that of the totality of Jacob's sons (Gen. xli, 27; Exod. i, 5; Deut. x, 22) and of the elders of Israel (Exod. xxiv, 1, 9; Seventy. Num. xi, 24); the Jews were doomed to seventy years of Babylonian exile (Jer. xxv, 11, 12; Dan. ix, 2); seventy weeks distinguish one of Daniel's most important prophecies (Dan. ix, 24), and our Lord appointed seventy other disciples besides the twelve (Luke x, 1). Auberlen observes: "The number seventy is ten multiplied by seven; the human is here moulded and fixed by the divine. For this reason the seventy years of exile are a symbolical sign of the time during which the power of the world would, according to God's will, triumph over Israel, during which it would execute the divine judgments on God's people."¹

We have already seen (p. 278), in discussing the symbolical actions of Ezekiel, that the four hundred and thirty days of his prostration formed a symbolical period in allusion to the four hundred and thirty (390+40) years of the Egyptian bondage (Exod. xii, 40). Like the number forty, as shown above, it was associated with a period of discipline and sorrow. Each day of the prophet's prostration represented a year of Israel's humiliation and judgment (Ezek. iv, 6), as the forty days

¹ The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, Eng. Trans., p. 184. Edinb., 1856.

during which the spies searched the land of Canaan were typical of the years of Israel's wandering and wasting in the wilderness (Num. xiv, 33, 34).

Here it is in place to examine the so-called "year-day theory" of prophetic interpretation, so prevalent among modern expositors.¹ Upon the statement of the two passages just cited from Numbers and Ezekiel, and also upon supposed necessities of apocalyptic interpretation, a large number of modern writers on prophecy have advanced the theory that the word *day*, or *days*, is to be understood in prophetic designations of time as denoting years. This theory has been applied especially to the "time, times, and dividing of a time" in Dan. vii, 25, xii, 7, and Rev. xii, 14; the twelve hundred and sixty days of Rev. xi, 3; xii, 6; and also by many to the two thousand three hundred days of Dan. viii, 14, and the twelve hundred and ninety and thirteen hundred and thirty-five days of Dan. xii, 11, 12. The forty and two months of Rev. xi, 2, and xiii, 5, are, according to this theory, to be multiplied by thirty ($42 \times 30 = 1260$), and then the result in days is to be understood as so many years. After the like manner, the time, times, and a half, are first understood as three years and a half, and then the years are multiplied by three hundred and sixty, a round number for the days of a year, and the result (1260) is understood as designating, not so many days, but so many years.

If this is a correct theory of interpreting the designations of prophetic time, it is obvious that it is a most important one. It is necessarily so far-reaching in its practical results as fundamentally to affect one's whole plan and process of exposition. Such a theory, surely, ought to be supported by the most convincing and incontrovertible reasons. And yet, upon the most careful examination, we do not find that it has any sufficient warrant in the Scripture, and the expositions of its advocates are not of a character likely to commend it to the critical mind. Against it we urge the five following considerations:

1. This theory derives no valid support from the passages in Numbers and Ezekiel already referred to. In Num. xiv, 33, 34, Jehovah's word to Israel simply states that they must suffer for their iniquities forty years, "in the

A theory so far reaching and fundamental should have most valid support.

Has no support in Num. xiv and Ezek. iv.

¹ See on this subject Stuart's article on the Designation of Time in the Apocalypse in the American Biblical Repository for Jan., 1835. Also a reply to the same by Dr. Allen in the same periodical for July, 1840. Compare also Cowles' Dissertation on the subject at the end of his Commentary on Daniel. Elliott's laboured argument on this subject (Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. iii, pp. 260-298) is mainly a series of presumptions.

number of the days which ye searched the land, forty days, a day for the year, a day for the year." There is no possibility of misunderstanding this. The spies were absent forty days searching the land of Canaan (Num. xiii, 25), and when they returned they brought back a bad report of the country, and spread disaffection, murmuring, and rebellion through the whole congregation of Israel (xiv, 2-4). Thereupon the divine sentence of judgment was pronounced upon that generation, and they were condemned to "graze (*רָעוּ*, *pasture, feed*) in the wilderness forty years" (xiv, 33). Here then is certainly no ground on which to base the universal proposition that, in prophetic designations of time, a day means a year. The passage is exceptional and explicit, and the words are used in a strictly literal sense; the days evidently mean days, and the years mean years. The same is true in every particular of the days and years mentioned in Ezek. iv, 5, 6. The days of his prostration were literal days, and they were typical of years, as is explicitly stated. But to derive from this symbolico-typical action of Ezekiel a hermeneutical principle or law of universal application, namely, that days in prophecy mean years, would be a most unwarrantable procedure.

2. If the two passages now noticed were expressive of a universal law, we certainly would expect to find it sustained and capable of illustration by examples of fulfilled prophecy. But examples bearing on this point are overwhelmingly against the theory in question. God's word to Noah was: "Yet seven days, I will cause it to rain upon the land forty days and forty nights" (Gen. vii, 4). Did any one ever imagine these days were symbolical of years? Or will it be pretended that the mention of nights along with days removes the prophecy from the category of those scriptures which have a mystical import? God's word to Abraham was that his seed should be afflicted in a foreign land four hundred years (Gen. xv, 13). Must we multiply these years by three hundred and sixty to know the real time intended? Isaiah prophesied that Ephraim should be broken within threescore and five years (Isa. vii, 8); but who ever dreamed that this must be resolved into days in order to find the period of Ephraim's fall? Was it ever sagely believed that the three years of Moab's glory, referred to in Isa. xvi, 14, must be multiplied by three hundred and sixty in order to find the import of what Jehovah had spoken concerning it? Was it by such mathematical calculation as this that Daniel "understood in the books the number of the years, which was a word of Jehovah to Jeremiah (comp. Jer. xxv, 12) the prophet, to complete as to the desolations of Jerusalem seventy

Not sustained
by Prophetic
Analogy.

years" (Dan. ix, 2)? Or is it supposable that the seventy years of Jeremiah's prophecy were ever intended to be manipulated by such calculations? In short, this theory breaks down utterly when an appeal is taken to the analogy of prophetic scriptures. If the time, times, and a half of Dan. vii, 25 means three and a half years multiplied by three hundred and sixty, that is, twelve hundred and sixty years, then the seven times of Dan. iv, 16, 32, should mean seven times three hundred and sixty, or two thousand five hundred and twenty years. Or if in one prophecy of the future, twelve hundred and sixty days must, without any accompanying qualification, or any statement to that effect in the context, be understood as denoting so many years, then the advocates of such a theory must show pertinent and valid reason why the forty days of Jonah's prophecy against Nineveh (Jon. iii, 4) are not to be also understood as denoting forty years.

3. The year-day theory is thought to have support in Daniel's prophecy of the *seventy weeks* (Dan. ix, 24-27). But that prophecy says not a word about days or years, but Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks not parallel. seventy *heptads*, or *sevens* (שָׁבָעִים). The position and gender of the word indicate its peculiar significance. It nowhere else occurs in the masculine except in Dan. x, 2, 3, where it is expressly defined as denoting *heptads of days* (שָׁבָעִים יָמִים). Unaccompanied by any such limiting word, and standing in such an emphatic position at the beginning of ver. 24, we have reason to infer at once that it involves some mystical import. When, now, we observe that it is a Messianic oracle, granted to Daniel when his mind was full of meditations upon Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years of Jewish exile (ver. 2), and in answer to his ardent supplications, we most naturally understand the seventy heptads as heptads of years. But this admission furnishes slender support to such a sweeping theory as would logically bring all prophetic designations of time to the principle that days mean years.

4. It has been argued that in such passages as Judg. xvii, 10; 1 Sam. ii, 19; 2 Chron. xxi, 19, and Isa. xxxii, 10, the Days nowhere properly mean Years. word *days* is used to denote *years*, and "if this word be sometimes thus used in Scripture in places not prophetic, why should it not be thus employed in prophetic passages?"¹ But a critical examination of those passages will show that the word for *days* is not really used in the sense of years. In Judg. xvii, 10, Micah says to the Levite: "Dwell with me, and be to me for a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten (pieces) of silver for

¹ See Allen's article "On the Designations of Time in Daniel and John," in *The American Biblical Repository*, for July, 1840, p. 39.

the days" (יָמָיו), that is, for the days that he should dwell with him as a priest. In 1 Sam. ii, 19, it is said that Samuel's mother made him a little robe, and brought it up to him *from days to days* in her going up along with her husband to offer the sacrifice *of the days*." Here the reference is to the particular days of going up to the tabernacle to worship and sacrifice, and the exact sense is not brought out by the common version, "year by year" or "yearly." They may have gone up several times during the year at the days of the great national feasts. And this appears from a comparison of 1 Sam. i, 3 and 7, where, in the first place, it is said that Elkanah went up *from days to days*, and in ver. 7, "so he did *year by year*." That is, he went up three times a year according to the law (Exod. xxiii, 14-17) "from days to days," as the well-known national feasts came round; and his wife generally accompanied him. 2 Chron. xxi, 19 is literally: "And it came to pass at days from days (i. e., after several days), and about the time of the going out (expiration) of the end, at two days, his bowels went out," etc.¹ Similarly, Isa. xxxii, 10: "Days above a year shall ye be troubled," etc. That is, more than a year shall ye be troubled.² The most that can be said of such a use of the word days, is, that it is used indefinitely in a proverbial and idiomatic way; but such a usage by no means justifies the broad proposition that a day means a year.

5. The advocates of the year-day theory rest their strongest argument, however, upon the necessity of such a theory for what they regard the true explanation of certain prophecies. They affirm that the three times and a half of Dan. vii, 25, and the twelve hundred and sixty days of Rev. xii, 6, and their parallels, are incapable of a literal interpretation. And so, carrying the predictions both of Daniel and John down into the history of modern Europe for explanation, most of these writers understand the twelve hundred and sixty year-days as designating the period of the Roman Papacy. Mr. William Miller, famous in the last generation for the sensation he produced, and the large following he had, adopted a scheme of interpreting not only the twelve hundred and sixty days, but also the twelve hundred and ninety, and the thirteen hundred and thirty-five (of Dan. xii, 11, 12), so that he ascertained and published with great assurance that the coming of Christ would take place in October, 1843. We have lived to see his theories thoroughly exploded, and yet there have not been wanting others who have adopted his hermeneutical principles, and named A. D. 1866 and

¹ See Keil and Bertheau on Chronicles, in loco.

² See Alexander on Isaiah, in loco.

Disproved by
repeated Fail-
ures in inter-
pretation.

A. D. 1870 as "the time of the end." A theory which is so destitute of scriptural analogy and support as we have seen above, and presumes to rest on such a slender showing of divine authority, is on those grounds alone to be suspected; but when it has again and again proved to be false and misleading in its application, we may safely reject it, as furnishing no valid principle or rule in a true science of hermeneutics.¹ Those who have supposed it to be necessary for the exposition of apocalyptic prophecies, should begin to feel that their systems of interpretation are in error.

The duration of the thousand years, or the millennial reign, mentioned in Rev. xx, 2-7, has been variously estimated. The thousand years of Rev. xx. Most of those who advocate the year-day theory have singularly agreed to understand this thousand years literally. With them days mean years, and times mean years, to be resolved into three hundred and sixty days each, but the thousand years of the Apocalypse are literally and exactly a thousand years! Many, however, understand this number as denoting an indefinitely long period, and some have not scrupled to apply to it the theory of a day for a year, and multiplying by three hundred and sixty, estimate the length of the millenium at three hundred and sixty thousand years. But in this case we have no analogy, no real parallel, in other parts of scripture. Allen himself candidly admits that "there is nothing in the customary use of the phrase *a thousand*, in other places, which will determine its import in the Book of Revelation. The probability of its being used there definitely or indefinitely must be determined by examining the place itself, and from the nature of the case."² This is a very safe and proper rule, and it may well be added that, as we have found the number ten to symbolize the general idea of *fulness, totality, completeness*, so not improbably the number one thousand may stand as the symbolic number of manifold fulness, the rounded æon of Messianic triumph, (*ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων*), during which he shall abolish all rule and all authority and power, and put all his enemies under his feet (1 Cor. xv, 24, 25), and bring in the fulness (*τὸ πλήρωμα*) of both Jews and Gentiles (Rom. xi, 12, 25).

¹ It may be said that Bengel's long-ago exploded theory of explaining apocalyptic designations of time is worthy of as much credence as this more popular year-day theory. In his *Erklärten Offenbarung Johannis* (1740) he takes the mystic number 666 (Rev. xiii, 18) for his startingpoint, and dividing it by 42 months, he makes a prophetic month equal 15½ years. His prophetic days were of corresponding length, amounting to about half a year, and his scheme fixed the end of all things in A. D. 1836. In favour of Bengel it may be said that he started with a number which is propounded as a riddle, which is more than we can say in favour of these other theorists.

² American Biblical Repository, July, 1840, p. 47.

SYMBOLICAL NAMES.

A symbolical use of proper names is apparent in such passages as Rev. xi, 8, where the great city, in which the bodies of ^{Sodom} and the slain witnesses were exposed, and "where also their ^{Egypt} Lord was crucified," is called, spiritually,¹ Sodom and Egypt. Evidently this wicked city, whether we understand Jerusalem or Rome, is so designated because its moral corruptions and bitter persecuting spirit were like those of Sodom and Egypt, both famous in Jewish history for these ungodly qualities. In a similar way Isaiah likens Judah and Jerusalem to Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. i, 9, 10). Compare also Jer. xxiii, 14. In Ezek. xvi, 44-59, the abominations of Jerusalem are made to appear loathsome by comparison and contrast with Samaria on one side and Sodom on the other.

In like manner "Babylon the great," is evidently a symbolical name in Rev. xiv, 8; xvi, 19; xvii, 5; xviii, 2, etc. ^{Babylon and} Whether the name is used to denote the same city as ^{Jerusalem} that called Sodom and Egypt in chapter xi, 8, or some other city, its mystical designation is to be explained, like that of Sodom and Egypt, as arising from Jewish historical associations with Babylon, the great city of the exile. That city could, in Jewish thought, be associated only with oppression and woe, and their antipathy to it as a persecuting power is well expressed in Psa. cxxxvii. The opposite of Babylon, the Harlot, in the Apocalypse, is Jerusalem, the Bride (Rev. xxi, 9, 10). So, too, in the psalm just referred to, the opposite of Babylon, with its rivers and willows, was Jerusalem and Mount Zion. And the careful student will note that, as one of the seven angels said to the prophet, "Come hither," and then "carried him away in spirit into a wilderness" and showed him the mystic Babylon, the Harlot (Rev. xvii, 1-3), so also one of the same class of angels addressed him with like words, and then "carried him away in spirit into a mountain great and high," and showed him the holy Jerusalem, the Bride (chap. xxi, 9, 10). And if the Bride denotes the true Church of the people and saints of the Most High, doubtless the Harlot represents the false and apostate Church, historically guilty of the blood of saints and martyrs. Which great city best represents that harlot—Rome, which truly has been a bitter persecutor, or Jerusalem, so often called a harlot by the prophets, and charged by Jesus himself as guilty of "all the righteous blood poured out upon the land, from the blood of Abel, the righteous,

¹ Πνευματικῶς, i. e., by a mental discernment intensified and exalted by a divine inspiration which enables one to see things according to their real and spiritual nature.

unto the blood of Zachariah, son of Barachiah" (Matt. xxiii, 35)—where also their Lord and ours was crucified—each expositor will determine for himself.

The name of Egypt is used symbolically in Hos. viii, 13, where Ephraim is sentenced, on account of sin, to "return to Egypt." The name had become proverbial as the land of bondage (Exod. xx, 2), and Moses had threatened such a return in his warnings and admonitions addressed to Israel (Deut. xxviii, 68). In Hos. ix, 3, this return to Egypt is, by the Hebrew poetic parallelism of the passage, made equivalent to eating unclean things in the land of Asshur. Hence the Assyrian exile is viewed as another Egyptian bondage.

The names of David and Elijah are used after the same symbolical manner to designate, prophetically, the prince David and Eli-
jah. Messiah and the prophet John the Baptist. In Ezek. xxxiv, 23, 24, Jehovah declares that he will set his servant David for a shepherd over his people, and for a prince among them. Here, assuredly, the language cannot be taken literally, and no one will contend that the historical David is to appear again in fulfilment of this prediction. Compare Ezek. xxxvii, 24; Jer. xxx, 9; Hos. iii, 5. So, too, the prophecy of the coming of Elijah in Mal. iv, 5, was fulfilled in John the Baptist (Matt. xi, 14; xvii, 10-13).

The name Ariel is used in Isa. xxix, 1, 2, 7, as a symbolical designation of Jerusalem, but its mystical import is quite Ariel.
uncertain. The word, according to Gesenius,¹ may denote either *lion of God*, or *altar of God*; but whether it should be understood as denoting the city of lion-like heroes, or of invincible strength, or as the city of the altar place, it is impossible to determine. Fuerst thinks (Heb. Lex.), in view of Isa. xxxi, 9, "where Jerusalem is celebrated as a sacred hearth of the everlasting fire, it is more advisable to choose this signification."

A hostile, oppressive world-power is designated in Isa. xxvii, 1, as "Leviathan, a flying serpent, Leviathan, a crooked serpent. . . . a dragon which is in the sea." Some think three different hostile powers are meant, but the repetition of the name Leviathan, and the poetic parallelism of the passage, are against that view. Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Media, Persia, and Rome have all been suggested as the hostile power intended. It is, perhaps, best to understand it generically as a symbolic name for any and every godless world-power that sets itself up as an opposer and oppressor of the people of God.

¹ Commentar über den Jesaia, in loco.

SYMBOLISM OF COLOURS.

The setting of the rainbow in the cloud for a covenant sign between God and the land, that no flood of waters should again destroy all flesh (Gen. ix, 8-17) would naturally associate the prominent colours of that bow with ideas of heavenly grace. In the construction of the tabernacle four colours are prominent, *blue*, *purple*, *scarlet*, and *white* (Exod. xxv, 4; xxvi, 1, 31; xxxv, 6, etc.), and the blending of these in the coverings and appurtenances of that symbolic structure probably served not only for the sake of beauty and variety, but also to suggest thoughts of heavenly excellence and glory. The exact colours, tints, or shades denoted by the Hebrew words translated *blue*, *purple*, and *scarlet* (חֹלֶצֶת שָׁנִי, אַרְגָּמָן, and חִכְלִית), it is hardly possible now to determine with absolute certainty,¹ but probably the common version is sufficiently correct.

Rainbow and tabernacle colours.

The import of these several colours is to be gathered from the associations in which they appear. Blue, as the colour of the heaven, reflected in the sea, would naturally suggest that which is heavenly, holy, and divine. Hence it was appropriate that the robe of the ephod was made wholly of blue (Exod. xxviii, 31; xxxix, 22), and the breastplate was connected with it by blue cords (ver. 28). It was also by a blue cord or ribbon that the golden plate inscribed "Holiness to Jehovah" was attached to the high priest's mitre (ver. 31). The loops of the tabernacle curtains were of this colour (Exod. xxvi, 4), and the children of Israel were commanded to place blue ribbons as badges upon the borders of their garments (Num. xv, 37-41) as if to remind them that they were children of the heavenly King, and were under the responsibility of having received from him commandments and revelations. Hence, too, it was appropriate that a blue cloth was spread over the holiest things of the tabernacle when they were arranged for journeying forward (Num. iv, 6, 7, 11, 12).

Import of colours to be inferred from their association.

Blue.

Purple and scarlet, so often mentioned in connexion with the dress of kings, have very naturally been regarded as symbolical of royalty and majesty (Judg. viii, 26; Esther

Purple and Scarlet.

¹ See Bähr's section on the Beschaffenheit der Farben in his chapter on Die Farben und Bildwerke der Cultus-Stätte, Symbolik, vol. i (new ed.), pp. 831-337. See also Atwater, Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews, pp. 209-224, and the various biblical dictionaries and cyclopædias, under the word *Colours*. Josephus' explanation of the import of these colours (Ant., iii, 7, sec. 7) is more fanciful than authoritative or satisfactory.

viii, 15; Dan. v, 7; Nah. ii, 3). Both these colours, along with blue, appeared upon the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi, 1) and upon the veil that separated the holy place from the most holy (Exod. xxvi, 31). A scarlet cloth covered the holy vessels which were placed upon the table of showbread, and a purple cloth the altar of burnt offerings (Num. iv, 8, 13).

White is, pre-eminently, the colour of purity and righteousness.

White.

The Hebrew word for *fine linen*, or *byssus* (כִּשְׂמֹנִית), of which the covering and veil and curtains of the tabernacle were partly made (Exod. xxvi, 1, 31, 36) is from a root which signifies *whiteness*, or *to be white*. It was also largely used in the vestments of the high priest (Exod. xxviii, 5, 6, 8, 15, 39). Of kindred signification is the Hebrew word לבן, *white linen*, in which the Levitical singers were arrayed (2 Chron. v, 12). With these white garments of the priests and Levites (comp. Ps. cxxxii, 9) we naturally associate the raiment "white as the light" in which the transfigured Christ appeared (Matt. xvii, 2; Mark ix, 3), the apparel of the angels (Matt. xxviii, 3; John xx, 12; Acts i, 10), the white robes of the glorified (Rev. vii, 9), and the fine linen bright and pure, symbolic of "the righteous acts of the saints" (Rev. xix, 8), which is the ornamental vesture of the wife of the Lamb. Also, as characterizing the horses of victorious warriors (Zech. i, 8; vi, 3; Rev. vi, 2; xix, 11), and the throne of judgment (Rev. xx, 11), white may represent victorious royalty and power.

Black, as being the opposite of white, would easily become associated with that which is evil, as mourning (Jer. xiv, 2), pestilence, and famine (Rev. vi, 5, 6). Red is naturally associated with war and bloodshed, as the armour of the armed warrior is suggestive of tumult and garments rolled in blood (Isa. ix, 5; Nah. ii, 3). But in any attempt to explain the symbolism of a particular colour the interpreter should guard against pressing the matter to an unwarranted extreme. The most prudent and learned exegetes have reasonably doubted whether the different colours of the horses seen in Zechariah's first vision (Zech. i, 8) should be construed as having each a definite symbolical significance. The several colours of the curtains of the tabernacle appear to have been somewhat promiscuously blended together (Exod. xxvi, 1, 31), and when thus used they served probably for beauty and adornment rather than for separate and specific symbolical import. Only as an interpreter is able to show from parallel usage, analogy and inherent propriety, that a given colour is used symbolically, will his exposition be entitled to command assent.

The same thing, substantially, may be said of the symbolical import of metals. No specific significance should be sought in each separate metal or precious stone, for any attempt to point out such significance is apt to run into various freaks of fancy.¹ But the pure gold with which the ark, mercyseat, cherubim, altar of incense, table, and candlestick, were either overlaid or entirely constructed (Exod. xxv), might very appropriately symbolize the light and splendour of God as he dwells in his holy temple. The altar of burntofferings was overlaid with brass or copper (Exod. xxvii, 2), an inferior metal. The pillars of the court were also made of this material (Exod. xxvii, 10). The sockets of the tabernacle boards, and the hooks and joinings of the pillars, were of silver (Exod. xxvi, 19; xxvii, 10). Outside of any attempt to trace a mystic meaning in each of these metals, it may be enough to say, in general, that gold, as being the more costly, would appropriately be used in constructing the holiest things of the inner sanctuary. Brass would, accordingly, be more appropriate for the things of the outer court, and silver, intermediate between the two, would naturally serve, to some extent, in both. The great image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream combined gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay (Dan. ii, 32, 33). The power, strength, and glory of the Babylonian monarchy, as represented in the regal splendour of the king, Nebuchadnezzar, was represented by the golden head (verses 37 and 38). The silver denoted an inferior kingdom. The iron denoted, especially, the strength of the fourth kingdom, "inasmuch as iron breaks in pieces and crushes every thing" (ver. 40). So the different metals used in the construction of the tabernacle were expressive of the relative sanctity of its different parts. The twelve precious stones in the high priest's breastplate, bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel (Exod. xxviii, 15-21), and the twelve foundations of Jerusalem the golden (Rev. xxi, 14), may symbolize God's own elect as his precious jewels; but an effort to tell which tribe, or which apostle, was designated by each particular jewel, would lead the interpreter into unauthorized speculations, more likely to bewilder and confuse than to furnish any valuable lesson.

¹ See the third chapter of Bähr's *Symbolik* (vol. i, New ed.) on *Das Baumaterial der Cultus-Stätte*, pp. 283-330, in which not a little of valuable suggestion is presented along with much that is too fanciful to be safely accepted. See also Atwater, *Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews*, pp. 225-232.

CHAPTER XIII.

DREAMS AND PROPHETIC ECSTASY.

IN an intelligent exposition of the prophetic portions of Holy Scripture, the methods and forms by which God communicated supernatural revelations to men become questions of fundamental importance. Dreams, night visions, and states of spiritual ecstasy are mentioned as forms and conditions under which men received such revelations. In Num. xii, 6, it is written: "If there be a prophet among you, I, Jehovah, will make myself known to him in the vision; in the dream will I speak within him."¹ The open and visible manner in which Jehovah revealed himself to Moses is then (verses 7, 8) contrasted with ordinary visions, showing that Moses was honoured above all prophets in the intimacy of his communion with God. The *appearance* (הַמָּוֶלֶת, *form, semblance*, ver. 8) of Jehovah which Moses was permitted to behold was some thing far above what other holy seers beheld (comp. Deut. xxxiv, 12). This appearance "was not the essential nature of God, his unveiled glory, for this no mortal man can see (Exod. xxxiii, 18), but a form which manifested the invisible God to the eye of man in a clearly discernible mode, and which was essentially different, not only from the visional sight of God in the form of a man (Ezek. i, 26; Dan. vii, 9, 13), but also from the appearances of God in the outward world of the senses in the person and form of the angel of Jehovah, and stood in the same relation to these two forms of revelation, so far as directness and clearness were concerned, as the sight of a person in a dream to that of the actual figure of the person himself. God talked with Moses without figure, in the clear distinctness of a spiritual communication, whereas to the prophets he only revealed himself through the medium of ecstasy or dream."²

The dream is noticeably prominent among the earlier forms of receiving divine revelations, but becomes less frequent at a later period. The most remarkable instances of dreams recorded in the Scriptures are those of Abimelech (Gen. xx,

¹ [2, *within him*, not *unto him*, as the common version. "*In him*," says Keil, "inasmuch as a revelation in a dream fell within the inner sphere of the soul life."—Commentary on the Pentateuch, in loco. Compare Job xxxiii, 14–17.

² Keil's Commentary on Num. xii, 8.

3-7), Jacob at Bethel (xxviii, 12), Laban in Mt. Gilead (xxxi, 24), Joseph respecting the sheaves and the luminaries (xxxvii, 5-10), the butler and the baker (xl, 5-19), Pharaoh (xli, 1-32), the Midianite (Judg. vii, 13-15), Solomon (1 Kings iii, 5; ix, 2), Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii and iv), Daniel (Dan. vii, 1), Joseph (Matt. i, 20; ii, 13, 19), and the Magi from the East (Matt. ii, 12). The "night vision" appears to have been of essentially the same nature as the dream (comp. Dan. ii, 19; vii, 1; Acts xvi, 9; xviii, 9; xxvii, 23).

It is manifest that in man's interior nature there exist powers and latent possibilities which only extraordinary occasions or peculiar conditions serve to display. And these facts it becomes the interpreter to note. These latent powers are occasionally seen in cases of disordered mental action and insanity. The phenomena of somnambulism and clairvoyance also exhibit the same. And ordinary dreams, considered as abnormal operations of the perceptive faculties uncontrolled by the judgment and the will, are often of a striking and impressive character. The dreams of Joseph, of the butler and baker, and of the Midianite, are not represented as divine or supernatural revelations. Innumerable instances equally striking have occurred to other men. But at the same time, all such impressive dreams bring out into partial manifestation latent potencies of the human soul which may well have served in the communication of divine revelations to men. "The deep of man's internal nature," observes Delitzsch, "into which in sleep he sinks back, conceals far more than is manifest to himself. It has been a fundamental error of most psychologists hitherto to make the soul extend only so far as its consciousness extends; it embraces, as is now always acknowledged, a far greater abundance of powers and relations than can commonly appear in its consciousness. To this abundance pertains, moreover, the faculty of foreboding, that leads and warns a man without conscious motive, and anticipates the future—a faculty which, in the state of sleep, wherein the outer senses are fettered, is frequently unbound, and looms in the remoteness of the future."¹

Dreams evince latent powers of the soul.

The profound and far-reaching significance of some prophetic dreams may be seen in that of Jacob at Bethel (Gen. xxviii, 10-22). This son of Isaac was guilty of grave wrongs, but in his quiet and thoughtful soul there was a hiding of power, a susceptibility for divine things, a spiritual insight and longing that made him a fitter person than Esau to lead in the development of the chosen nation. He appears to have passed the

Jacob's dream at Bethel.

¹ Biblical Psychology, English translation (Edinb., 1879), p. 330. See his whole section on Sleeping, Waking, and Dreaming, from which the above extract is taken.

night in the open field near the ancient town of Luz (ver. 19). Before darkness covered him he, doubtless, like Abraham in that same place long before (Gen. xiii, 14), looked northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward, and saw afar the hills and mountains towering up like a stairway into heaven, and this view may have been, in part, a psychological preparation for his dream. For, falling asleep, he beheld a ladder or stairway (סִבְעָה), perhaps a gigantic staircase composed of piles of mountains placed one upon another so as to look like a wondrous highway of passage to the skies. The main points of his dream fall under four BEHOLDS, three of vision—"behold, a ladder," "behold, angels of God," "behold, Jehovah" (verses 12, 13)—and one of promise—"behold, I am with thee" (ver. 15). These words imply an intense impressiveness in the whole revelation. It was a night vision by means of which the great future of Jacob and his seed was set forth in symbol and in promise. For Jacob at the bottom of the ladder, Jehovah at the top, and angels ascending and descending, form altogether a complex symbol full of profound suggestions. It indicated at least four things: (1) There is a way opened between earth and heaven by which spirits may ascend to God. (2) The ministry of angels. (3) The mystery of the incarnation: for the ladder was a symbol of the Son of man, the way (ἡ ὁδός, John xiv, 4, 6; Heb. ix, 8) into the holiest heaven, the Mediator upon whom, as the sole ground and basis of all possibility of grace, the angels of God ascend and descend to minister to the heirs of salvation (John i, 52). In that mystery of grace Jehovah himself reaches down as from the top of the ladder, and lays hold upon this son of Abraham and all his spiritual seed, and lifts them up to heaven. (4) The promise, in connexion with the vision (verses 13-15), emphasized the wonderful providence of God, who stood (ver. 13) gazing down upon this lonely, helpless man, and making gracious provision for him and his posterity.

We need not assume that Jacob understood the far-reaching import of that dream, but it led him to make a holy vow, and, doubtless, it was often afterward the subject of his quiet meditations. It could not fail to impress him with the conviction that he was a special object of Jehovah's care, and of the ministry of angels.

It is noticeable that the record of the prophetic dreams of the heathen, as, for example, those of Pharaoh and his butler and baker, of the Midianite, and of Nebuchadnezzar, are accompanied by an ample explanation. We observe also that the dreams of Joseph and of Pharaoh were double, or repeated under different forms. Joseph's first dream was a vision of sheaves in

the harvest field; his second, of the sun, moon, and eleven stars (Gen. xxxvii, 5-11). They both conveyed the same prognostication, and were so far understood by his brethren and his father as to excite the envy of the former and draw the serious attention of the latter. Joseph explains the two dreams of Pharaoh as one (Gen. xli, 25), and declared that the repetition of the dream to Pharaoh twice was because the word was established from God, and God was hastening to accomplish it (ver. 32). Here is a hint for the interpretation of other dreams and visions. Daniel's dream-vision of the four beasts out of the sea (Dan. vii) is, in substance, a repetition of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image, and the visions of the eighth and eleventh chapters, go partly over the same ground again. God thus repeats his revelations under various forms, and thereby denotes their certainty as the determinate purposes of his will. Many visions of the Apocalypse are also, apparently, symbols of the same events, or else move so largely over the same field as to warrant the belief that they, too, are repetitions, under different forms, of things that were shortly to come to pass, and the certainty of which was fixed in the purposes of God.

Repetition of dreams and visions.

But dreams, we observed, were rather the earlier and lower forms of divine revelation. A higher form was that of prophetic ecstasy, in which the spirit of the seer became possessed of the Spirit of God, and, while yet retaining its human consciousness, and susceptible of human emotion, was rapt away into visions of the Almighty and made cognizant of words and things which no mortal could naturally perceive. In 2 Sam. vii, 4-17, we have the record of "a word of Jehovah" that came to Nathan in a night vision (see ver. 17) and was communicated to David. It contained the prophecy and promise that his kingdom and throne should be established forever. It was for David an impressive oracle, and he "went and sat down before Jehovah" (ver. 18), and wondered and worshipped. Such wonder and worship were probably, at that or some other time, a means of inducing the psychological condition and spiritual ecstasy in which the second psalm was composed. David becomes a seer and prophet. "The Spirit of Jehovah spoke within him, and his word was upon his tongue" (2 Sam. xxiii, 2). He is lifted into visionary ecstasy, in which the substance of Nathan's prophecy takes a new and higher form, transcending all earthly royalty and power. He sees Jehovah enthroning his Anointed (מָשִׁיחַ, *his Messiah*) upon Zion, the mountain of his holiness (Psa. ii, 2, 6). The nations rage against him, and struggle to cast off his authority, but they are

Prophetic ecstasy or visionary trance.

utterly discomfited by him who "sitteth in the heavens," and to whom the nations are given for an inheritance. Thus, the second psalm is seen to be no mere historical ode, composed upon the regal inauguration of David or Solomon, or any other earthly prince. A greater than either David or Solomon arose in the psalmist's vision. For he is clearly styled the Messiah, the Son of Jehovah; the kings and judges of the earth are counselled to kiss him, that they may not perish, and all who put their trust in him are pronounced blessed. And it is only as the interpreter attains a vivid apprehension of the power of such ecstasy that he can properly perceive or explain the import of any Messianic prophecy.

Another illustration of the prophetic ecstasy may be seen in Ezekiel's Rap-
ture. Ezekiel's statements. At the beginning of his prophecies he uses four different expressions to indicate the form and power in which he received revelations (Ezek. i, 1, 3). The heavens were opened, visions of God were seen, the word of Jehovah came with great force,¹ and the hand of Jehovah was laid upon him. Allowing for whatever of the poetical element these expressions contain, it remains evident that the prophet experienced a mighty interworking of human and superhuman powers: The visions of God caused him to fall upon his face (ver. 28), and, anon, the Spirit lifted him up upon his feet (chap. ii, 1, 2). At another time the form of a hand reached forth and took him by a lock of his head, and transported him in the visions of God to Jerusalem (Ezek. viii, 3). From this it would appear that for a mortal man to receive consciously a revelation from the Infinite Spirit two things are essential. The human spirit must become divinely exalted, or rapt away from its ordinary life and operations, and the Divine Spirit must so take possession of its energies, and quicken them into supersensual perception, that they become temporary organs of the Infinite. The whole process is manifestly a divine-human, or theandric operation. And yet, through it all, the human spirit retains its normal consciousness and knows the vision is divine.

The same things appear also in the visions of Daniel. He be-
Other examples
of Ecstasy. holds the prophetic symbols, he hears the words of the angel interpreter Gabriel, and he too falls upon his face, overwhelmed with the deep sleep that stupifies the active powers of the mind, and puts him in full possession of the revealing angel (Dan. viii, 17, 18). The touch of the angel lifts him into the ecstasy in which he sees and hears the heavenly word. This

¹ Heb. *וָיָאֵלָהּ הַקּוֹל*, *coming came*, the Hebrew idiomatic way of giving emphasis to a thought by repeating the verb, and using its absolute infinitive form.

peculiar form of prophetic ecstasy appears to have differed from the "dream and visions of his head upon his bed" (Dan. vii, 1), in that this latter seized him during the slumbers of the night, whereas the other came upon him during his waking consciousness, and probably while in the act of prayer (comp. chap. ix, 21). The ecstasy which came upon Peter on the housetop came in connexion with his praying and a sense of great hunger (Acts x, 9, 10). The act of prayer was a spiritual preparation, and the hunger furnished a physical and psychical condition, by means of which the form of the vision and the command to slay and eat became the more impressive. Paul's similar ecstasy in the temple at Jerusalem was preceded by prayer (Acts xxii, 17), and his experience of these "visions and revelations of God," narrated in 2 Cor. xii, 1-4, was in such a transcendent rapture of soul that he knew not whether he were in the body or out of the body. That is, he knew not whether his whole person had been rapt away in visions of God, like Ezekiel (viii, 3), or whether merely the spirit had been elevated into visional ecstasy. His consciousness in this matter seems to have been overcome by the excessive greatness (*ὑπερβολῇ*) of the revelations (ver. 7). And probably had Ezekiel been called upon to say whether his rapture to Jerusalem were in the body or out of the body, he would have answered as uncertainly as Paul.

The prophetic ecstasy, of which the above are notable examples, was evidently a spiritual sight seeing,¹ a supernatural illumination, in which the natural eye was either closed (comp. Num. xxiv, 3, 4), or suspended from its ordinary functions, and the inner senses vividly grasped the scene that was presented, or the divine word which was revealed. We need not refine so far as, with Delitzsch, to classify this divine ecstasy into three forms, as mystic, prophetic, and charismatic. All ecstasy is mystic, and charismatic ecstasy may have been prophetic; but we may still, with him, define prophetic ecstasy as consisting essentially in this, that the human spirit is seized and compassed by the Divine Spirit, which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, and seized with such uplifting energy that, being averted from its ordinary conditions of limitation in the body, it becomes altogether a seeing eye, a hearing ear, a perceiving sense, that takes most vivid cognizance of things in time or eternity, according as they are presented by the power and wisdom of God.²

The grandest form of prophetic ecstasy is that in which the vision

¹ For this reason the Old Testament prophet is often called the *seer* (רֹאֵה and חֹזֶה). He was a *beholder* of visions from the Almighty.

² Comp. Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*, p. 421.

(יהוה) and word (דבר) of Jehovah appear to have become so absorbed by the prophet's heaven-lit soul that he himself personates the Holy One, and speaks in Jehovah's name. So we understand the later chapters of Isaiah, where the person of the prophet sinks comparatively out of sight, and Jehovah announces himself as the speaker. So, too, Zechariah announces the word of Jehovah touching "the flock of slaughter" (Zech. xi, 4), but as he proceeds with the divine oracle, he seems to lose the consciousness of his own distinct personality, and to speak in the name and person of his Lord (vers. 10-14).¹

A later and mysterious manifestation of spiritual ecstasy appears in the New Testament glossolaly, or gift of speaking with tongues. Among the signs to follow those who should believe through the apostles' preaching, a speaking with "new" tongues was specified (Mark xvi, 17); and the disciples were commanded by Jesus to tarry in the city of Jerusalem until they were clothed with power from on high (Luke xxiv, 49). On the day of Pentecost "there came suddenly from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them self-distributing (*διαμεριζόμεναι*) tongues as of fire, and it sat upon each one of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts ii, 3, 4). A like display was manifest at the conversion of Cornelius (Acts x, 46), and when, after their baptism, Paul laid his hands upon the twelve disciples of John the Baptist whom he found at Ephesus (Acts xix, 6). But the most extensive treatment of the subject is found in 1 Cor. xiv, with which are to be compared also the incidental references in chaps. xii, 10, 28, and xiii, 1. From this Corinthian epistle it appears, (1) that it was a supernatural gift, a divine *χάρισμα*, that marked with a measure of novelty the first outgoings of the Gospel of Christ. (2) There were different kinds (*γένη, sorts, classes*, 1 Cor. xii, 10) of tongues. (3) The speaking with tongues was a speaking unto God rather than man (xiv, 2) and an utterance of mysteries, which edified the subjective spirit of the

¹ "The prophet himself sometimes speaks from God," observes Delitzsch, "sometimes God himself speaks from the prophet; sometimes the divine Ego asserts itself with a supreme power that absorbs all other, sometimes the human in the entire fullness of sanctified humanity; but in both cases it is the personality of the prophet, in the totality of its pneumatico-psychical powers, which becomes the more active or passive organ of God."—*Biblical Psychology*, p. 421.

² The word *καινὰς, new*, is omitted by several of the chief MS. authorities for the close of Mark's Gospel. In Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek Testament the word is placed in the margin, but omitted from the text.

speaker (ver. 4), but was unintelligible to the common understanding (*νοῦς*, ver. 14). (4) The speaking with tongues took the form of worship, and manifested itself in prayer, singing, and thanksgiving (vers. 14–16). (5) Though edifying to the speaker, it did not tend to edify the Church unless one gifted with the interpretation of tongues, either the speaker himself or another, explained what was uttered. (6) It was a sign to the unbeliever, accompanied probably with such evidences of the supernatural as, at first, to impress the hearer with a sense of awe, but calculated on the whole to lead such as had no sympathy with the Gospel to say that these speakers were either mad or filled with wine (ver. 23; comp. Acts ii, 13). (7) It was a gift for which one might thank God (ver. 18), and not to be forbidden in the Church (ver. 39), but was to be coveted less than other charisms, and, especially, less than the gift of prophesying unto the edifying of the Church (vers. 1, 5, 19); for “greater is he who prophesies than he who speaks with tongues, except he interpret.”

Such is substantially what Paul says of this remarkable gift. On the day of Pentecost it took the form of appropriating the various dialects of the hearers, so as to fill them all with amazement and wonder (Acts ii, 5–12). This, however, appears to have been an exceptional manifestation, perhaps a miraculous exhibition, for a symbolic purpose, of all the *kinds* of tongues (comp. 1 Cor. xii, 10), which on other occasions were separate and individually distinct. Certainly the speaking with tongues in the Corinthian church was accompanied by no such effect upon the hearers as on the day of Pentecost. The once prevalent notion that this glossolally was a supernatural gift, by which the first preachers of the Gospel were enabled to proclaim the word of life in the various languages of foreign nations, has little in its favour. There is no intimation, outside of the miracle of Pentecost, that this gift ever served such a purpose. And that miracle, whatever its real nature, seems rather like a symbolical sign, signifying that the confusion of tongues, which came as a curse at Babel, should be counteracted and abolished by the Gospel of the new life, then just breaking in heavenly charismatic power upon the world.¹ That evangelic word was destined to become potent in all the languages of men, and by the living voice of preachers, and through the written volume, utter its heavenly messages to the nations, until all should know the Lord.

¹ Poena linguarum dispersit homines (Gen. xi); donum linguarum dispersos in unam populum collegit (The punishment of tongues scattered men abroad; the gift of tongues gathered the dispersed into one people).—Grotius, Annotations on Acts, ii, 8.

The exact nature of the New Testament glossolaly it is probably now impossible to define. It may have been, in some instances, a soul-ecstasy, in which men worshipped strangely, and lost control of a part of their faculties. Something like this was experienced by Saul when he met the band of prophets (1 Sam. x, 9-12), and when, at a later time, he prophesied before Samuel, and fell down under the power of the Spirit of God (1 Sam. xix, 23, 24). At other times it may have been a condition of receiving visions and revelations of God, as when Paul was caught up to paradise, "and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter" (2 Cor. xii, 4). Possibly in that heavenly rapture this apostle received his conception of "the tongues of the angels" (1 Cor. xiii, 1).¹ But whatever its real nature, it was essentially an ecstatic speaking of mysteries (1 Cor. xiv, 2), involving such a divine communion with God as lifted the spirit of the rapt believer into the realm of the unseen and eternal, and produced in him an awe-inspiring sense of supernatural exaltation.²

¹ According to Stanley, the gift of tongues "was a trance or ecstasy, which, in moments of great religious fervour, especially at the moment of conversion, seized the early believers; and this fervour vented itself in expressions of thanksgiving, in fragments of psalmody or hymnody and prayer, which to the speaker himself conveyed an irresistible sense of communion with God, and to the bystander an impression of some extraordinary manifestation of power, but not necessarily any instruction or teaching, and sometimes even having the appearance of wild excitement, like that of madness or intoxication. It was the most emphatic sign to each individual believer that a power mightier than his own was come into the world; and in those who, like the Apostle Paul, possessed this gift in a high degree, 'speaking with tongues more than they all,' it would, when combined with the other more remarkable gifts which he possessed, form a fitting mood for the reception of 'God's secrets' (*μυστήρια*), and of 'unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for man to utter,' 'being caught into the third heaven,' and into 'Paradise.' And thus the nearest written example of this gift is that exhibited in the abrupt style and the strange visions of the Apocalypse, in which, almost in the words of St. Paul, the prophet is described as being 'in the Spirit on the Lord's day,' and 'hearing a voice as of a trumpet,' and seeing 'a door open in heaven,' and 'a throne set in heaven,' and 'the New Jerusalem,' 'the river of life,' and 'the tree of life.'"—Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, pp. 246, 247. London, 1876.

² See Rossteuscher, *Gabe der Sprachen* (Marb., 1850); Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie in der alten Kirche* (Lpz., 1850); Neander, *Planting and Training of the Christian Church* (New ed., New York, 1864), Book I, chap. i; Schaff, *Hist. of the Christian Church* (New ed., New York, 1882), vol. i, pp. 230-242; Stanley, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians*, Introductory Dissertation to chap. xiv; Kling on the Corinthians (in Lange's Biblework), pp. 282-301, Amer. ed., translated and enlarged by Dr. Poor; Keim, article *Zungenreden*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (vol. xviii, ed. Gotha, 1864); Plumptre's article on the Gift of Tongues in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROPHECY AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

A THOROUGH interpretation of the prophetic portions of the holy Scripture is largely dependent upon a mastery of the principles and laws of figurative language, and of types and symbols. It requires also some acquaintance with the nature of vision-seeing ecstasy and dreams. The foregoing chapters have, therefore, been a necessary preparation for an intelligent study of those more abstruse writings, which have continuously exercised the most gifted minds of the Church, and yet have been most variously interpreted.

Inspired oracles, forecasting the future, wrought out with every variety of figurative speech, and often embodied in type and symbol, are interspersed throughout the entire Scriptures, and constitute a uniting bond between the Old Testament and the New. The first great prophecy was uttered in Paradise, where man originally sinned and first felt the need of a Redeemer. It was repeated in many forms and portions as years and centuries passed. The Christ of God, the mighty Prophet, Priest, and King, was its loftiest theme; but it also dealt so copiously with all man's relations to God and to the world, with human hopes and fears, with civil governments and national responsibilities, with divine laws and purposes, that its written records are a textbook of divine counsel for all time.¹

Magnitude and
scope of Scrip-
ture Prophecy.

Prophesying, according to the Scriptures, is not primarily a prediction of future events. The Hebrew word for prophet, נָבִי, נְבִיא,

¹ The subjects of prophecy varied. Whilst it was all directed to one general design, in the evidence and support of religion, there was a diversity in the administration of the Spirit in respect of that design. In Paradise, it gave the first hope of a Redeemer. After the deluge, it established the peace of the natural world. In Abraham it founded the double covenant of Canaan and the Gospel. In the age of the law, it spoke of the second prophet, and foreshadowed, in types, the Christian doctrine, but foretold most largely the future fate of the selected people, who were placed under that preparatory dispensation. In the time of David it revealed the Gospel kingdom, with the promise of the temporal. In the days of the later prophets it presignified the changes of the Mosaic covenant, embraced the history of the chief pagan kingdoms, and completed the annunciation of the Messiah and his work of redemption. After the captivity, it gave a last and more urgent information of the approaching advent of the Gospel.—Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy*, pp. 355, 356. Oxford, 1834.

signifies one who speaks under the pressure of a divine fervour,¹ and the prophet is especially to be regarded as one who bears a divine message, and acts as the spokesman of the Almighty. Aaron was divinely appointed as the spokesman of Moses, to repeat God's word from his mouth (Exod. iv, 16), and thereby was Moses made as God to Pharaoh, and Aaron served as his prophet (נָבִיא, Exod. vii, 1). Hence the prophet is the announcer of a divine message, and that message may refer to the past, the present, or the future. It may be a revelation, a warning, a rebuke, an exhortation, a promise, or a prediction. The bearer of such a message is appropriately called a "man of God" (1 Kings xiii, 1; 2 Kings iv, 7, 9), and a "man of the Spirit" (Hos. ix, 7). It is important also to observe that a very large proportion of the Old Testament prophetic books consists of warning, expostulation, and rebuke; and there are intimations of many unwritten prophecies of this character. "The prophets," says Fairbairn, "were in a peculiar sense the spiritual watchmen of Judah and Israel, the representatives of divine truth and holiness, whose part it was to keep a wakeful and jealous eye upon the manners of the times, to detect and reprove the symptoms of defection which appeared, and by every means in their power foster and encourage the spirit of real godliness. And such pre-eminently was Elijah, who is therefore taken in the Scripture as the type of the whole prophetic order in the earlier stages of its development; a man of heroic energy of action rather than of prolific thought and elevating discourse. The words he spoke were few, but they were words spoken as from the secret place of thunder, and seemed more like decrees issuing from the presence of the Eternal than the utterances of one of like passions with those whom he addressed."²

¹ Gesenius derives the word from the root נָבַע, equivalent to נָבַע, to *boil forth*; to *gush out*; to *flow*, as a fountain. Hence the idea of one upon whom the vision-seeing ecstasy falls; or of one who is borne along and carried aloft by a supernatural inspiration (ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑψὺ φερόμενοι; 2 Pet. i, 21). "Hebrew prophecy, like the Hebrew people, stands without parallel in the history of the world. Other nations have had their oracles, diviners, augurs, soothsayers, necromancers. The Hebrews alone have possessed prophets and a prophetic literature. It is useless, therefore, to go to the manticism of the heathen to get light as to the nature of Hebrew prophecy. To follow the rabbis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is just as vain. The only reliable sources of information on the subject are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments."—M'Call, in *Aids to Faith*, p. 97. On the distinction between the prophet (נָבִיא) and the seer (רֹאֵה, and חֹזֶה) see Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ* (Bampton Lectures), pp. 68–86. Boston, 1870.

² Prophecy, viewed in respect to its Distinctive Nature, Special Functions, and Proper Interpretation, p. 37. N. Y., 1866. Philippi (Commentary on Romans xii, 6) observes that "the New Testament idea of the prophetic office is essentially identical

It is principally those portions of the prophetic Scriptures which forecast the future that call for special hermeneutics. Being exceptional in their character, they demand exceptional study and care in interpretation. Other prophecies, consisting mainly of rebuke, expostulation, or warning, are so readily apprehended by the common mind as to need no extended explanation. Avoiding, on the one side, the extreme literalistic error that the biblical predictions are "history written beforehand," and on the other, the rationalistic notions that they are either happy guesses of the probable outcome of impending events, or else a peculiar portraiture of them after they had taken place (*vaticinium post eventum*), we accept these predictions as divine oracles of events that were subsequently to come to pass, but so expressed in figure and symbol as to demand great care on the part of him who would understand and interpret them. When we deny that prophecy is a history of events before they come to pass, we mean to say that prophecy is in no proper sense history. History is the record of what has already occurred; prediction is a foretelling of what is to come, and nearly always in some form of statement or revelation that takes it outside of the line of literal narrative. There are cases, indeed, where the prediction is a specific declaration of incidents of the simplest character; as when Samuel foretold to Saul the particular events that would befall him on his return to Gibeah (1 Sam. x, 3-6); but it is misleading to call even such predictions a *history* of future events, for it is a confusion of the proper usage of words. There is an element of mystery about all predictions, and those of greatest moment in the Scriptures are clothed in a symbolic drapery.¹

with that of the Old Testament. Prophets are men who, inspired by the Spirit of God, and impelled to theopneustic discourse, partly remove the veil from the future (Rev. i, 8; xxii, 7, 10; John xi, 51; Acts xi, 27, 28; xxi, 10, 11. Comp. 1 Pet. i, 10)—partly make known concealed facts of the present, either in discovering the secret counsel and will of God (Luke i, 67; Acts xiii, 1; Eph. iii, 5), or in disclosing the hidden thoughts of man (1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25), and dragging into light his unknown deeds (Matt. xxvi, 68; Mark xiv, 65; Luke xxii, 64; John iv, 19)—partly dispense to their hearers instruction, comfort, exhortation, in animated, powerfully impassioned language, going far beyond the wonted limits of the capacity for teaching, which, although spiritual, still confines itself within the forms of reason (Matt. vii, 28, 29; Luke xxiv, 19; John vii, 40; Acts xv, 32; 1 Cor. xiv, 8, 4, 31)."

¹ Fairbairn has an able chapter on "The place of prophecy in history, and the organic connexion of the one with the other" (Prophecy, pp. 33-53). He traces the beginning and growth of prophecy in the sacred history, showing how "it appears somewhat like a river, small in its beginnings, and though still proceeding, yet often losing itself for ages under ground, then bursting forth anew with increased volume, and at last rising into a swollen stream—greatest by far when it has come within

In order to a proper interpretation of prophecy three things are to be particularly studied, (1) the organic relations and inter-dependence of the principal predictions on record; (2) the usage and import of figures and symbols; and (3) analysis and comparison of similar prophecies, especially such as have been divinely interpreted, and such as have been clearly fulfilled.

1. ORGANIC RELATIONS OF PROPHECY.

In studying the general structure and organic relations of the great prophecies, it will be seen that they are first presented in broad and bold outline, and subsequently expanded in their minor details. Thus the first great prophecy on record (Gen. iii, 15) is a brief but far-reaching announcement of the long conflict between good and evil, as these opposing principles, with all their forces, connect themselves with the Promised Seed of the woman on the one side, and the old serpent, the devil, on the other. It may be said that all other prophecies of the Christ and the kingdom of God are comprehended in the *protevangelium* as in a germ. From this point onward through the Scripture revelations the successive prophecies sustain a noticeably progressive character. Varying ideas of the Promised Seed appear in the prophecy of Noah (Gen. ix, 26, 27), and the repeated promises to Abraham (Gen. xii, 3; xvii, 2-8; xviii, 18). These Messianic predictions became more definite as they were repeatedly confirmed to Isaac, to Jacob, to Judah, and to the house of David. They constitute the noblest psalms and the grandest portions of the Greater and the Lesser Prophets. Taken separately, these different predictions are of a fragmentary character; each prophet

prospect of its termination" (p. 33). He observes further (p. 43): "Prophecy, therefore, being from the very first inseparably linked with the plan of grace unfolded in Scripture, is, at the same time, the necessary concomitant of sacred history. The two mutually act and react on each other. Prophecy gives birth to the history; the history, in turn, as it moves onward to its destined completion, at once fulfils prophecies already given, and calls forth further revelations. And so far from possessing the character of an excrescence, or existing merely as an anomaly in the procedure of God toward men, prophecy cannot even be rightly understood unless viewed in the relation to the order of the divine dispensations, and its actual place in history. . . . However closely related the two are to each other, they still have their own distinctive characteristics and, through these, their respective ends to serve. History is the *occasion* of prophecy, but not its *measure*; for prophecy rises above history, borne aloft by wings which carry it far above the present, and which it derives, not from the past occurrences of which history takes cognizance, but from Him to whom the future and the past are alike known. It is the communication of so much of his own supernatural light as he sees fit to let down upon the dark movements of history, to show whither they are conducting."

knew or caught glimpses of the Messianic future only in part, and he prophesied in part (1 Cor. xiii, 9); but when the Christ himself appeared, and fulfilled the prophecies, then all these fragmentary parts were seen to form a glôrious harmony.¹

The oracle of Balaam touching Moab, Edom, Amalek, the Kenites, Asshur, and the power from the side of Chittim (Num. xxiv, 17-24), is the prophetic germ of many later oracles against these and similar enemies of the chosen people. Amos long after takes up the prophetic word, and speaks more fully against Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab, and does not except even Judah and Israel (Amos i and ii). Compare also Isaiah's burden-prophecies (נִבְיָא) against Babylon, Moab, Damascus, Ethiopia, Egypt, Media, Edom, Arabia, and Tyre (Isa. xiii-xxiii), in which we observe the minatory sentence uttered against these heathen powers in great detail. And as Balaam noticed the affliction of Eber, (i. e., Israel) in connexion with his last-named hostile power from Chittim (Num. xxiv, 24), so Isaiah introduces the "burden of the valley of vision" (Isa. xxii, 1) just before announcing the overthrow of Tyre (Isa. xxiii, 1). Jeremiah devotes chapters xli to li to the announcement of judgments upon Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, Elam, and Babylon, and amid these utterances of coming wrath are intimations of Israel's dispersion and sorrow (comp. chap. i, 17-20, 33; li, 5, 6, 45). Compare also Ezekiel's seven oracles against Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt (Ezek. xxv to xxxii).

Repetitions of oracles against heathen powers.

In noticeable analogy with the repetition of similar prophecies by different prophets, is the repetition of the same prophecy by one and the same prophet.

The vision of the four great beasts, in Dan. vii, is essentially a repetition of the vision of the great image in chapter ii. The same four great world-powers are denoted in these prophecies; but, as has often been observed, the imagery is varied according to the relative standpoint of the king and the prophet. "As presented to the view of Nebuchadnezzar, the worldly power was seen only in its *external* aspect, under the form of a colossal image possessing the likeness of a man, and in its more

Daniel's two great prophecies (chaps. ii and vii) compared.

¹ In the redemptive system of the Old Testament we see the unfolding germ whose flower and fruit appear under the New Covenant. The child Israel is trained by the pedagogy of prophecy for the manhood of Messianic times. The redemption of the law and the prophets is realized in him who came to fulfil the law and the prophets. And thus the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament may be regarded as the New Testament in the Old.—Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 63. New York, 1886.

conspicuous parts composed of the shining and precious metals; while the divine kingdom appeared in the meaner aspect of a stone, without ornament or beauty, with nothing, indeed, to distinguish it but its resistless energy and perpetual duration. Daniel's visions, on the other hand, direct the eye into the *interior* of things, strip the earthly kingdoms of their false glory by exhibiting them under the aspects of wild beasts and nameless monsters (such as are everywhere to be seen in the grotesque sculptures and painted entablatures of Babylon), and reserve the *human* form, in conformity with its divine, original, and true idea, to stand as the representative of the kingdom of God, which is composed of the saints of the Most High, and holds the truth that is destined to prevail over all error and ungodliness of men."¹

So, again, the impressive vision of the ram and the he-goat, in Dan. viii, is but a repetition from another standpoint (Shushar, in Elam, a chief seat of the Medo-Persian monarchy) of the previous vision of the third and fourth beasts. Differences in detail appear according to the analogy of all such repeated prophecies, but these minor differences should not be allowed to obscure and obliterate the great fundamental analogies. Few expositors of any note have doubted that the little horn of Dan. viii, 9, denoted Antiochus Epiphanes, the bitter persecutor of the Jews, who "spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months."² The first and most natural presumption is that the little horn of chap. vii, 8, denotes the same impious and violent persecutor. The fact that one prophecy delineates the impiety and violence of this enemy more fully than another is no evidence that two different persons are intended. Otherwise the still fuller delineation of this monster of iniquity, given in chap. xi, must on this sole ground be referred to yet another person. The statements that the little horn of chap. vii, 8 came up between the ten horns, and rooted up three of them, and that of chap. viii, 9 came out from one of the four horns of the he-goat, can have no force in disproving the identity of the little horns in both passages unless it is assumed that the four horns of chap. viii, 8 are identical with the ten horns of chap. vii, 7—an assumption which no one will allow. These are but the minor variations called for by the different positions occupied by the prophet in the different visions. If we understand the ten horns of chap. vii, 7 as a round number denoting the kings more fully

The little horn of Dan. vii, 8, and viii, 9, the same power under different prophetic aspects.

¹ Fairbairn on Prophecy, p. 122.

² Josephus, Wars, i, 1. Comp. Ant., xii, 5, 4, and 1 Maccabees i.

described in chap. xi, and the four conspicuous horns of chap. viii, 8 as the four notable successors of Alexander, the harmony of the two visions will be readily apparent. From one point of view the great horn (Alexander) was succeeded by ten horns, and also a little horn more notable in some respects than any of the ten; from another standpoint the great horn was seen to be followed by four notable horns (the famous Diadochoi), from the stump of one of which (Seleucus) came forth Antiochus Epiphanes. Only a failure to note the repetition of prophecies under various forms, and from different points of view, occasions the trouble which some have found in identifying prophecies of essentially the same great events.¹

According to the principle here illustrated the still more minute prophecy of the later period of the Græco-Macedonian Empire, in Dan. xi, is seen to travel over much of the same field as those of chapters vii and viii. In the same manner we should naturally presume that the seven vials of the seven last plagues in Rev. xvi are intended to correspond with the seven woes-trumpets of chapters viii-xi. The striking resemblances between the two are such as to force a conviction that the terrible woes

¹ Pusey's discussion of this subject (*Lectures on Daniel*, Oxford, 1868) is an illustration of the dogmatic way in which a writer may magnify and mystify the merely formal and structural differences of visions. He affirms (p. 91): "The four-horned he-goat cannot agree with the fourth empire, whose division into ten is marked by the ten horns of the terrible beast and the ten toes of the image. Nor can the heavy ram, with its two horns, be identified with the superhuman swiftness of the four-headed leopard." But, according to Pusey, the two-horned ram of chap. viii, 3, 4, corresponds with the bear of chap. vii, 5, and the he-goat corresponds with the four-winged and four-headed leopard of chap. vii, 6. If, then, a ram with two horns "pushing westward, and northward, and southward, etc." (viii, 4), agrees with a bear having no horns at all, and, so far from pushing in any direction, is merely "raised up on one side ready to use the arm in which its chief strength lies," and "lifts itself up heavily, in contrast with the winged rapidity of the Chaldean conquests" (Pusey, p. 72), and holds three ribs in its teeth—with what consistency can it be claimed that the differences in the descriptions of the little horns of chaps. vii and viii must be fundamental? Pusey has no difficulty in harmonizing a he-goat having one notable horn, and then four horns in its place, and one little horn branching out of one of the four, with a leopard having four wings and four heads; but he pronounces it impossible for a goat which at one stage has one horn, and at another four, to agree with a terrible beast which at one period had ten horns! It is, forsooth, easy to harmonize an animal having one horn and four horns, with an animal having four heads and four wings, and no horns at all; but impossible to believe that a goat having one horn, and afterward four horns, can agree with a beast having ten horns! Such inconsistency cannot be based upon sound hermeneutical principles. See Zöckler on Daniel in loco, translated and annotated by Strong in the American edition of Lange's *Biblework*.

denoted by the trumpets are substantially identical with the plagues denoted by the vials of wrath. A contrary opinion would make the case a remarkable exception to the analogy of prophecy, and should not be accepted without the most convincing reasons.

2. FIGURATIVE AND SYMBOLICAL STYLE OF PROPHECY.

The fact already observed, that the word of prophecy was received by visions and dreams, and in a state of ecstasy, accounts largely for the further fact that so great a portion of the prophetic Scriptures is set forth in figurative language and in symbol.¹ This important fact is too often overlooked in prophetic interpretation, and hence has arisen the misleading doctrine that prophecy is "history written beforehand." Accepting such an idea, one is prone to press the literal meaning of all passages which may, by any possibility, admit of such a construction; and hence the endless controversies and vagaries in the exposition of the prophetic Scriptures. But observe for a moment the style and diction of the great predictions. The first one on record announces a standing enmity between the serpent and the woman and their progeny; and, addressing the serpent, God says: "He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (Gen. iii, 15). There have not been wanting literalists who have applied the prophecy to the enmity between men and serpents, and who declare that it is fulfilled whenever a serpent bites a man, or whenever a man crushes a serpent's head. But such an interpretation of the passage has never been able to command any general acceptance. Its deeper import respecting the children of light and the children of darkness, and

¹ The fundamental reason of the figurative style, which is so prominent a characteristic of prophecy, must be sought in the mode of revelation by vision. In the higher species of prophecy, which was connected with no ecstatic elevation on the part of the writer, but with his ordinary frame of mind; that, namely, of which the most eminent examples are to be found in Moses and Christ; the language employed does not, in general, differ from the style of ordinary discourse. But prophecy, in the more special and peculiar sense, having been not only framed on purpose to veil while it announced the future, but also communicated in vision to the prophets, must have largely consisted of figurative representations; for, as in vision it is the imaginative faculty that is more immediately called into play, images were necessary to make on it the fitting impressions, and these impressions could only be conveyed to others by means of figurative representations. Hence the two, prophetic visions and figurative representations, are coupled together by the prophet Hosea (xii, 10) as the proper correlatives of each other: "I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions and used similitudes by the ministry of the prophets."—Fairbairn on Prophecy, p. 147.

their respective heads (Messiah and Satan), has been universally recognized by the best interpreters. "It is a sign and witness," says Fairbairn, "set up at the very threshold of the prophetic territory, showing how much prophecy, in the general form of its announcements, might be expected to take its hue and aspect from the occasion and circumstances that gave rise to it; how it would serve itself of things seen and present as a symbolical cover under which to exhibit a perspective of things which were to be hereafter; and how, even when there might be a certain fulfilment of what was written according to the letter, the terms of the prediction might yet be such as to make it evident that something of a higher kind was required properly to verify its meaning. Such plainly was the case with respect to the prediction at the fall; and in proof that it must be so read and understood, some of the later intimations of prophecy, which are founded upon the address to the serpent, vary the precise form of the representation which they give of the ultimate termination of the conflict. Thus Isaiah, when descanting on the peace and blessedness of Messiah's kingdom, tells us not of the serpent's head being bruised, but of his power to hurt being destroyed; of dust being his meat, and of the child playing upon his hole (chapters xi, 8, 9; lxxv, 25). It is the same truth again that appears at the close of the Apocalypse under the still different form of chaining the old serpent, and casting him into the bottomless pit, that he might not deceive the nations any more (Rev. xx, 2, 3); his power to deceive in the one case corresponding to his liberty to bruise the heel in the other, and his being chained and imprisoned in the bottomless pit to the threatened bruising of his head."¹

In like manner we note that Jacob's dying prophecy (Gen. xlix) is written in the highest style of poetic fervour and of figurative speech. All the events of the patriarch's life and the storied fulness of the future moved his soul, and gave emotion to his words. The oracles of Balaam and the songs of Moses are of the same high order. The Messianic psalms abound with simile and metaphor, drawn from the heavens, the earth, and the seas. The prophetic books are mostly written in the forms and spirit of Hebrew poetry, and, in predictions of notable events, the language often rises to forms of statement, which, to an occidental critic, might seem a hyperbolical extravagance. Take, for example, the following "burden of Babylon" which Isaiah saw (יִבְרִי), and note the excessive emotion and the boldness of figures (Isa. xliii, 2-13):

¹ Fairbairn on Prophecy, p. 102.

- 2 On a mountain bare set up a signal;
Lift up a voice to them; wave a hand,
And they shall enter gates of nobles.
- 3 Also I have called my mighty ones for my anger—
Those that exult proudly in my glory.
- 4 Voice of a multitude in the mountains, as of much people;
Voice of a tumult of kingdoms of nations assembled,
Jehovah of hosts mustering a host of battle;
- 5 Coming from a land afar,
From the end of the heavens—
Jehovah and the instruments of his fury,
To lay waste all the land.
- 6 Howl ye! For near is the day of Jehovah;
As a destruction from Shaddai shall it come.
- 7 Therefore shall all hands become slack,
And every heart of man shall melt.
- 8 And they shall be in trepidation;
Writhings and throes shall seize them;
As the travailing woman shall they twist in pain.
Each at his neighbour they shall look astonished,
Their faces, faces of flames.
- 9 Behold, the day of Jehovah comes;
Cruel—and wrath, and burning of anger,
To make the land a desolation,
And her sinners will be destroyed out of her.
- 10 For the stars of the heavens and their constellations
Shall not shed forth their light;
Dark has the sun become in his going forth,
And the moon will not cause her light to shine.
- 11 And I will visit upon the world evil,
And upon the wicked their iniquity.
And I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease,
And the haughtiness of the lawless I bring low.
- 12 I will make men rarer than refined gold,
And mankind than the gold of Ophir.
- 13 Therefore I will make heaven tremble,
And the land shall shake from her place,
In the overflowing wrath of Jehovah of hosts,
And in the day of the burning of his anger.

It has never been questioned by the best interpreters that the above passage refers to the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes. The heading of the chapter, and the specific statements that follow (verses 17, 19), put this beyond all doubt. And yet it is done, according to the prophet, by Jehovah, who musters his host of mighty heroes from the end of the heavens, causes a tumultuous noise of kingdoms of nations, fills human

hearts with trembling, and despair, and throes of agony, shakes heaven and earth, and blots out sun, and moon, and stars. This fearful judgment of Babylon is called "the day of Jehovah," "the day of the burning of his anger." Standing in the forefront of Isaiah's oracles against the heathen world-powers, it is a classic passage of the kind, and its style and imagery would naturally be followed by other prophets when announcing similar judgments.¹

Such highly emotional and figurative passages are common to all the prophetic writers, but in the so-called apocalyptic prophets we note a peculiar prominence of symbolism. Prominence of symbols in the apocalyptic books. In its earlier and yet undeveloped form it first strikes our attention in the Book of Joel, which may be called the oldest apocalypse. But its fuller development appears among the later prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, and its perfected structure in the New Testament Apocalypse of John. In the exposition, therefore, of this class of prophecies it is of the first importance to apply with judgment and skill the hermeneutical principles of biblical symbolism. This process requires, especially, three Three hermeneutical principles to be observed. things: (1) That we be able clearly to discriminate and determine what are symbols and what are not; (2) that the symbols be contemplated in their broad and striking aspects rather than their incidental points of resemblance; and (3) that they be amply compared as to their general import and usage, so that a uniform and self-consistent method be followed in their interpretation. A failure to observe the first of these will lead to endless confusion of the symbolical and the literal. A failure in the second tends to magnify minute and unimportant points to the obscuring of the greater lessons, and to the misapprehension, oft-times, of the scope and import of the whole. Not a few interpreters have put great stress upon the import of the ten toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image (Dan. ii, 41, 42), and have searched to find ten kings to correspond; whereas, from aught that appears to the contrary, the image may have had twelve toes, like the giant of Gath

¹ "Such passages," says Fairbairn, "are not to be regarded simply as highly wrought descriptions in the peculiar style of oriental poetry, possessing but a slender foundation of nature to rest upon. On the contrary they have their correspondence in the literature of all nations, and their justification in the natural workings of the human mind; we mean its workings when under circumstances which tend to bring the faculty of imagination into vigorous play, much as it was acted on with the prophets when, in ecstasy, they received divine revelations. For it is the characteristic of this faculty when possessed in great strength, and operated upon by stirring events such as mighty revolutions and distressing calamities, that it fuses every object by its intense radiation, and brings them into harmony with its own prevailing passion or feeling."—*Prophecy*, p. 158.

(2 Sam. xxi, 20). A care to observe the third rule will enable one to note the differences as well as the likeness of similar symbols, and save him from the error of supposing that the same symbol, when employed by two different writers, must denote the same power, person, or event.

3. ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF SIMILAR PROPHECIES.

Not only are the same, or like figures and symbols, employed by different prophets, but also many whole prophecies are so like one another in their general form and import as to require of the interpreter a minute comparison. Thus only can he distinguish things which are alike and things which differ.

First we observe numerous instances in which one prophet appears to quote from another. Isa. ii, 1-4 is almost identical with Micah iv, 1-3, and it has been a problem of critics to determine whether Isaiah quoted from Micah, or Micah from Isaiah, or both of them from an older prophet now unknown. Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom (xlix, 7-22) is appropriated largely from Obadiah. The Epistle of Jude and the second chapter of Peter's Second Epistle furnish a similar analogy. A comparison of the oracles against the heathen nations by Balaam, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as already indicated, shows many verbal parallels. From all which it appears that these sacred writers freely appropriated forms of expression from each other as from a common treasure house.¹ The word of God, once uttered by an inspired man, became the common property of the chosen people, and was used by them as times and occasions served.

The twofold presentation of prophetic revelations, both of visions and of dreams, demands particular attention. It is first brought to our attention in the dreams of Joseph and of Pharaoh, and as we have seen above (pp. 306, 307), the double dream was, in its significance, but one, and the repetition under different symbols was the divine method of intensifying the impression, and indicating the certainty of the things revealed. "As to the doubling of the dream to Pharaoh twice, it is because the word (הִדְבָּר) this particular revelation) from God is established, and God is hastening to accomplish it" (Gen. xli, 32). A principle of prophetic interpretation so explicitly enunciated in the earliest records of divine revelation deserves to be made

¹ "Such verbal repetitions," says Hengstenberg, "must not be, by any means, considered as unintentional reminiscences. They served to exhibit that the prophets acknowledged one another as the organs of the Holy Spirit."—Christology, vol. i, p. 291.

prominent.¹ It serves as a key to the explanation of many of the most difficult questions involved in the apocalyptic Scriptures. We shall have occasion to illustrate this principle more fully in treating the visions of Daniel and John.

It is important, furthermore, to study the analogies of imagery in the apocalyptic portions of prophecy. Isaiah's vision of the Seraphim (Isa. vi, 1-8), Ezekiel's vision of the Living Creatures (Ezek. i and x), and John's vision of the throne in heaven (Rev. iv), have manifest relations to one another which no interpreter can fail to observe. The scope and bearing of each can, however, be apprehended only as we study them from the standpoint of each individual prophet. Daniel's vision of the four beasts out of the sea (Dan. vii) furnishes the imagery by which John depicts his one beast out of the sea (Rev. xiii, 1-2), and we note that the one beast of the latter, being a nameless monster, combines also the other main features (leopard, bear, lion) of the four beasts of the former. John's second beast out of the earth, with two horns like a lamb (Rev. xiii, 11), combines much of the imagery of both the ram and the he-goat of Daniel (viii, 1-12). Zechariah's vision of the four chariots, drawn by different coloured horses (vi, 1-7), forms the basis of the symbolism of the first four seals (Rev. vi, 1-8), and John's glowing picture of the New Jerusalem, the new heavens and the new land (xxi, xxii), is a manifest counterpart of the closing chapters of Ezekiel. The most noticeable difference, perhaps, is that Ezekiel has a long and minute description of a temple and its service (xl-xliv), while no temple appears in the vision of John, but rather the city itself becomes all temple, nay, a Holy of Holies, being filled with the glory of God and of the Lamb (Rev. xxi, 3, 22, 23).

It will be evident from the above-mentioned analogies that no proper interpretation of any one of these similar prophecies can be given without a clear analysis and careful comparison of all. We are not to assume, however, that by the use of the same or similar imagery one prophet must needs refer to the same subject as the other. The two olive trees of Rev. xi, 4 are not necessarily the same as those of Zech. iv, 3, 14. The beasts of John's Apocalypse are not necessarily identical with those of Daniel. John's vision of the new heaven, and the new land, and the golden city, is doubtless a fuller revelation of redeemed Israel than Ezekiel's corresponding vision. But one of these visions cannot be fully expounded without the other, and each should

¹ For many valuable suggestions on what he calls the "Double Allegory," see Cochran, *The Revelation of John its Own Interpreter*, New York, 1860.

be subjected to a minute analysis, and studied from its own historical or visional standpoint.

From these considerations it will also be seen that, while duly appreciating the peculiarities of prophecy, we nevertheless must employ in its interpretation essentially the same great principles as in the interpretation of other ancient writings. First, we should ascertain the historical position of the prophet; next the scope and plan of his book; then the usage and import of his words and symbols; and, finally, ample and discriminating comparison of the parallel Scriptures should be made.

It is, moreover, of the first importance that the interpreter of the prophetic Scriptures keep in mind the following considerations:

1. Old Testament prophecy is but a part of the Old Testament revelation of God, and should ever be studied in the light of the entire Hebrew dispensation. It should also be repeatedly emphasized that history, law, psalm, proverb, and prophecy are so many parts of a series of divine communications given at sundry times, and constituting an organic whole. In the construction of every large building, single parts, when seen alone and separate from the rest, may appear unpleasant to the eye and offensive to the cultured taste, but, when studied in their relation to the entire structure, they are seen to be essential to the support and relief of all. In a like manner should we regard various portions of the composite elements of the Old Testament revelation.

2. Prophecy deals mainly with the persons and events of the times in which it was first uttered. The prophet was a power of God, a living messenger to kings, and peoples, and nations. He voiced God's message for the time, and hence we find the language of Old Testament prophecy full of allusions to contemporary events. Hence also the necessity of extensive and accurate historical knowledge in order to understand and explain the written productions of the ancient seers.

3. The Hebrew prophets also spoke and wrote in the deep consciousness of being oracles of Jehovah, "the Holy One of Israel." They were impelled by the divine Spirit, and rose above the fear of men. And yet they never lost their self-consciousness as human beings, and the divine truths which were given them to communicate to men took outward form in accord with the mental and psychological qualities of each individual prophet. Hence the interpreter should note the personal qualities and characteristic style of each prophet as well as the organic entirety of the Old Testament prophetic literature.

CHAPTER XV.

MESSIANIC PROPHECY.

MESSIANIC prophecy has for its great object the glorious reign of God among men, the consequent overthrow of evil, and the exaltation and blessedness of his people who obey him and love righteousness. This kind of prophecy constitutes a special feature of the Old Testament prophetic revelation, and appears under two forms : first, an impersonal portraiture of a coming kingdom of power and righteousness, in which humanity attains its highest good, and, second, the announcement of a person, the Anointed One, with whom all the triumph and glory are connected. Accordingly we have Messianic prophecies in which the person of Christ receives no mention, and others in which he is emphatically named and represented as the efficient cause of all the glory.

Messianic prophecy should be studied on its divine and human sides. Viewed as a part of the divine purpose and plan of redemption, it appears in the course of sacred history as a progressive series of special revelations, gradually unfolding into greater clearness as the ages pass along. We recognize it in the *protangelium* (Gen. iii, 15), in the promises to Abraham (Gen. xii, 3; xvii, 6; xviii, 18; xxii, 18), in the poetic words of Jacob (Gen. xlix, 10), and the promise of a prophet like Moses (Deut. xviii, 15, 18). It took a more specific form in connection with Nathan's words to David (2 Sam. vii, 12-16), and thereafter the king and the kingdom of righteousness become prominent in the Psalms and the Prophets.¹

In the interpretation of Messianic prophecies we meet with two schools of extremists. One insists on a literal interpretation of nearly every passage, and accordingly drifts, as by logical necessity, to the teaching of a future temporal restoration of the Jews at Jerusalem, a rebuilding of the temple, and

¹ On the Messianic prophecies see J. Pye Smith, *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 3 vols. (Lond., 1829); Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*, 4 vols. (Eng. trans. by Meyer, Edinb., 1863); Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, pp. 146-189 (Gotha, 1860); Leathes, *Witness of the Old Testament to Christ* (Boyle, Lectures for 1868); Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy* (Eng. trans., Edinb., 1876); Gloag, *The Messianic Prophecies*, pp. 98-208 (Baird Lecture, Edinb., 1879); Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy* (New York, 1886); Elliott, *Old Testament Prophecy, Part Third*, pp. 186-279 (New York, 1889).

renewal of Hebrew ritual and worship. The other spiritualizes all forms of prophetic teaching to an extent that scarcely allows any true historical interpretation. In order to a faithful and satisfactory exposition, we must learn to distinguish, with reasonable clearness, between the forms of speech and the great underlying thought, between the imagery of historical and metaphorical allusion and the essential contents of a prophecy.

What in each prophecy is mere form, and what is the essential idea, may be best seen by a full collation and comparison of a number of similar prophecies. This is true alike of Messianic and of other great predictions. Our principles may be sufficiently illustrated by attention to the five notable Messianic prophecies which appear in the first twelve chapters of Isaiah. The chronological order of these and other prophecies of the son of Amoz seem to have been made subject to a certain logical order, as if the editing and arranging of the several oracles were governed by the purpose of exhibiting an organic series. In this single series we discover a marked progress of thought from what is at first broad and comparatively indefinite to what is more specific and personal.

Five Messianic prophecies adduced for illustration.

THE MOUNTAIN OF JEHOVAH'S HOUSE.

The first in order is the prophecy of the mountain of Jehovah's house (Isa. ii, 2-4). This passage is identical with Micah iv, 1-3, but whether Isaiah quoted it from Micah (Gesenius, Henderson), or Micah from Isaiah (Vitrina, Lowth), or both from an older writer now unknown (Rosenmüller, Knobel), cannot be positively determined. Hitzig and Ewald think that it was taken by both prophets from a lost work of Joel; but this is a pure conjecture. Isaiah seems to have cited it as a text on which to base an appeal to the house of Jacob (comp. ii, 5-iv, 6), first announcing the glorious future in the language of another, and then proceeding to show that Judah and Jerusalem must be purged with burning blasts of judgment, so that only a chosen remnant will attain the golden age (comp. iv, 2-6). We render the passage as follows:

- 2 And it shall come to pass in the end of days,
The mountain of Jehovah's house shall be
Established in the summit of the mountains,
And it shall be exalted from the hills,
And unto it shall all the nations flow.
- 3 And many peoples shall go there and say :
Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah,
Unto the house of the God of Jacob ;
And he will teach us of his ways,

And let us go on in his paths,
 For out of Zion shall go forth a law
 And the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.
 4 And he will judge between the nations,
 And unto many peoples give rebuke ;
 And into plowshares they will beat their swords,
 And their spears into pruning-knives ;
 Nation toward nation will not lift a sword,
 And they no longer will be learning war.

According to the rules already enunciated we should first endeavour to distinguish that which is essential from that which is merely formal. A literal interpretation would here evidently involve insuperable difficulties, not to say absurdities. Who will urge that Mount Zion or Moriah is yet to be heaved up to a natural elevation higher than all other mountains of the earth, and that all the nations of men are as such to flow upward to it? Or who will insist that in order to the true fulfilment of this prophecy swords and spears must be literally and actually converted into other implements as here described? The true interpretation must be sought by a rational elimination of the main thoughts from the ideal forms of their Jewish imagery. The author was a Jew, and associated the highest hopes of his nation with a glorification of the holy mountain of Jehovah's temple. We should not, however, spiritualize all these Jewish forms of conception, and run into fanciful allegorical interpretations of particular words. In the very drapery of his thought we recognize the natural limitations of the prophet and trace the historical realism of the Old Testament religion.

Let us now inquire after the essential contents and the corresponding essential prophetic thoughts of this passage. Beyond question the four main ideas are (1) the temple-mountain (including Zion) is to be exalted into prominence above all other hills; (2) there will be a confluence of all nations thither; (3) Jerusalem will be the source of law and revelation; (4) universal peace is to be effected by divine judgment among the nations. These essential contents furnish a clear prediction of four great corresponding facts, which are fulfilled in the origin and propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They may be thus formulated: (1) Jerusalem occupies a conspicuous historical, geographical, and religious position in the origin and development of the kingdom of God on earth; (2) the Gospel is a republication and enlargement of the law and word of Jehovah, having issued from Jerusalem as a geographical and historical starting point (comp. Luke xxiv, 47); (3) the nations will acknowledge and accept the truths and excellencies of this new

and higher revelation; (4) the ultimate result will be universal peace among the nations. By this method of interpretation we show due regard to the language and thought of the writer, avoid the unnatural extremes of literalism, allow no fanciful allegorizing, and obtain a result which is at once simple, clear, self-evidencing as a truthful exposition, and confirmed by manifest New Testament fulfilment.

THE BRANCH OF JEHOVAH.

The prophecy of the Branch of Jehovah in Isa. iv, 2-6 is a counterpart of that of chap. ii, 2-4. The one opens, the other closes, the appeal to the house of Jacob. The one presents an outward historical picture, the other an inner view of the redemption of the true Israel. The one should be compared with the parable of the mustard seed, the other with the parable of the leaven (Matt. xiii, 31-33).

- 2 In that day shall the Branch of Jehovah become a splendour and a glory,
And the fruit of the land a majesty and a beauty to the escaped of Israel;
- 3 And he that is left in Zion and he that remains¹ in Jerusalem
Shall be called holy to him—all who are written for life in Jerusalem.
- 4 When the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion,
And the blood-drops of Jerusalem he will cleanse away from her midst,
By the blast of judgment and by the blast of burning,
- 5 Then will Jehovah create over the whole site of Mount Zion, and over her assembly,
A cloud by day and the brightness of a fire-flame by night²
For over all the glory (there will be) a covering,
- 6 And a booth³ shall become a shade by day from heat,
And a refuge and shelter from storm and from rain.

The "Branch of Jehovah" and the "fruit of the land" are explained by Ewald, Cheyne and others as the natural wealth and produce of Israel's land; that is, immense and glorious harvests to be given as blessings from Jehovah. This, indeed, might furnish a worthy prophetic picture of the Messianic age and be explained like the similar imagery of chap. xxxv, 1, 2. Gesenius understands by

¹ Observe the three different words here used to denote the surviving remnant, בְּלִיטָה, *one who escapes*, or that which escapes destruction; נִשְׁאָר; *one who is left over*, a survivor; נֹתָר, *one who remains*, or is left behind.

² Observe the allusion to the pillar of cloud and fire which accompanied Israel in the desert (Exod. xiii, 21).

³ Comp. Rev. vii, 15: "He that sitteth on the throne shall spread his tabernacle over them."

the branch the chosen remnant, the new growth of Israel after the chastening judgments; but this confuses things which the sacred writer distinguishes in the immediate context. We prefer with most interpreters to understand an individual, as in Jer. xxiii, 5; xxxiii, 15; Zech. iii, 8; vi, 12, where the same word (נֹחַם) is employed. This Branch is here represented as at once a sprout of Jehovah and a growth of the land of Israel, a somewhat dim but very suggestive intimation of the Christ who was at once divine and human.

The essential elements of this prophecy may be presented in four propositions: (1) The filth and crimes of the Jewish people must be put away by burning blasts of judgment; (2) there will be a surviving remnant, known as holy and written unto life; (3) they will enjoy divine protection and care as truly as did God's chosen people at the time of the exodus from Egypt; (4) all this honour, glory, majesty, and beauty will be brought about by, or in some way be most intimately associated with, a remarkable person or power here called a Branch of Jehovah. We need not insist on the personality of this branch, for that is not made prominent in the prophecy, nor should we put forward the twofold allusion in verse 2 as a dogmatic proof-text of the double nature of the Messiah. The entire passage is, accordingly, seen to be a striking prophecy of the judgment, redemption, and glorification of Israel.¹

IMMANUEL.

The prophecy of Immanuel in Isa. vii, 14-16 is probably the most difficult and enigmatical of all the Messianic prophecies. This is partly owing to the fact that several expressions in it are capable of more than one interpretation. We translate as follows :

- 14 Therefore the Lord himself gives you a sign :
Behold, the virgin has conceived,
And is about to bear a son,
And call his name Immanuel.
- 15 Milk-curd and honey he shall eat,
Till he knows ² to shun evil and choose good.

¹ "This prediction," says Briggs, "is of great importance. It really opens up two new phases of the Messianic idea. It lays stress upon the discipline of the people of God themselves, and also upon a holy remnant to be redeemed from the fiery trials about to destroy the nation as a whole. A new line is opened for the doctrine of the advent of Jehovah. There is a judgment, not upon the nations as in Joel, but upon perverse Israel after the manner of Hosea. Israel is disciplined and then restored. The restoration is through a fiery trial."—*Messianic Prophecy*, p. 194.

² יָדָע, *to his knowing*, is best explained as meaning up to the time when he first comes to know enough to distinguish between good and evil. His eating curds and

16 Because before the child shall know
 To shun the evil and to choose the good,
 Forsaken will that land become,
 Before whose two kings thou art filled with fear.

The great questions here are, who is the virgin and who is Immanuel? It must be conceded that the word *עַלְמָה*, commonly rendered *virgin*, denotes a *young woman* of marriageable age, without determining whether she is married or unmarried. If the virginity of the person designated were intended to be made prominent, it is difficult to conceive why *הַטַּהוֹרָה*, the specific word for *virgin*, was not employed. Without pausing to examine the non-messianic interpretations,¹ we notice first the view of Ewald and Cheyne, that the prophet expected Messiah's advent within a few years, and uttered this oracle more for the benefit of his own disciples than for Ahaz, who was already judicially hardened. The virgin was, accordingly, the mother of the Messiah, but unmarried and, indeed, unknown. This view, however, which maintains that Isaiah's hope and prophecy were not fulfilled, empties the Scripture of all worthy significance, and will always be unsatisfactory to evangelical believers. It is out of harmony with the solemn and emphatic manner in which the prophet uttered the divine word. Others (Junius, Calvin) have maintained that two different children are to be understood, and that verse 14 refers to the Messiah and verse 16 to the prophet's son Shearjashub, or to some other child then living. This, however, involves a most unnatural violence. Such a sudden change of reference to another child would have required a more specific form of statement. The most common Messianic interpretation maintains that the prophecy was fulfilled first and only by the birth of Jesus, and is so regarded in Matt. i, 22, 23. It is affirmed that the prediction concerning the forsaking of the land was truly fulfilled in the time of Ahaz, and the birth of Immanuel was a sign only in a sense in which something occurring long after may be called a sign. This, however, is the weak point in the current Messianic explanation. No expositor has succeeded in showing

honey up to that time denotes that until then the land will not be cultivated, but used only for pasturing cattle, and the food will consist only of milk-curd and wild honey, though these may be abundant. This is seen more fully from what is said in verses 21-25.

¹ These are at least five in number: (1) The virgin was Ahaz' wife, and the son Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii, 2); (2) Isaiah's wife (Hitzig, Gesenius, Knobel); (3) a princess of Ahaz' court and family, unmarried but with child (Nägelsbach); (4) the Jewish people considered as the bride of Jehovah (Hofmann, Weir, Köler); (5) an ideal person—hypothetical case of any young woman who was about to become a mother (Eichhorn, Michaelis, W. R. Smith).

how an event destined to occur centuries later could serve as a sign to Ahaz or to any one living at that period; nor can such a theory be reconciled with a sound belief in the sacred truthfulness of prophecy. The case of Moses (Exod. iii, 12), often cited, is by no means parallel, for Moses had already witnessed the sign of the burning bush, and he led the people out of Egypt, and served God upon that mountain within a short time after the assurance had been given him. But for Israel to have come to Sinai for the first time some seven hundred years afterward could have been no sign to Moses. Moreover, the language of Isa. vii, 14-16 cannot without flagrant violence be explained as referring to an event of the far future. He says that the virgin is about to bear a son, and before the child shall grow up to years of moral accountability the land of Syria and Ephraim (comp. verses 4-9), before whose two kings Ahaz was filled with trembling, should be abandoned. To suppose in the face of this statement that the land was indeed forsaken within the specified time, but that the child was not born until seven centuries later, is exceedingly unnatural, not to say preposterous.

It remains, therefore, that we understand the prophecy to have been truly fulfilled in the time of Ahaz and Isaiah by the birth of a child who was a type of the Messiah. This does not involve the doctrine of a double sense in the Scripture. The language has no double or occult meaning. Its application to Christ in Matt. i, 23 is to be explained typically, just as we explain the passage cited from Hosea in Matt. ii, 15. The most simple explanation is that which identifies the virgin with the prophet's young wife, called in chap. viii, 3 *the prophetess*, and the child Immanuel is no other than Maher-shalal-hash-baz, whose name and birth were so solemnly attested (see chap. viii, 1-3). We understand this latter as but another symbolical name of the child Immanuel, for the same great sign is to be at once a proof that God is with his people, and that he also HASTENS THE SPOILIATION of the two kingdoms of which Ahaz was so much afraid. In less than three years from the beginning of Ahaz' reign, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, broke the power of Damascus, and spoiled the cities of Ephraim as described in 2 Kings xv, 29; xvi, 9. The language of Isa. viii, 4, when compared with Isa. vii, 16, confirms this interpretation, for it shows that the significant sign, which the child Immanuel was to be to the house of David, was also to be fulfilled in Maher-shalal-hash-baz. This is still further incidentally confirmed by the repetition in Isa. viii, 8 and 10 of the name Immanuel. It may further be shown that the whole passage, beginning with Isa. vi, 1 and ending with

ix, 7 is an apocalypse of symbolical names, in which the prophet's children figure as "signs and portents in Israel" (Isa. viii, 18). The difficulties which some have felt in the way of this exposition, owing to the change of names and appellatives, is obviated when we see that the prophet, in chap. viii, 1-4, following the manner of apocalyptic repetitions, presents the Immanuel revelation of chap. vii, 14-16, from another point of view, and in connection with another symbolical name.

THE GALILEAN KING.

The apocalyptic passage beginning with Isa. vi, 1 concludes most magnificently with a prophecy of the Prince of Peace, destined to reign forever (Isa. ix, 1-7; Heb. text, viii, 23—ix, 6). In contrast with the gloom and anguish sure to come on such as reject the "law and testimony" of divine revelation (viii, 20), and resort unto heathen oracles, the light and joy of the true Israel are portrayed. We thus translate :

- 1 But there shall be no gloom to her who was in straits.
As the former time despised the land of Zebulun and Naphtali,
The latter honours the way of the sea beyond the Jordan,
The circle¹ of the nations.
- 2 The people who walked in darkness saw great light,
Dwelling in a land of death-shade, light beamed on them.
- 3 Thou hast increased the nation and magnified its joy,
They have rejoiced before thee like joy in harvest time,
- 4 Even as men exult when they distribute spoil.
For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder,
The rod of his oppressor thou hast broken as the day of Midian.²
- 5 For every boot of warrior in the fray, and garment rolled in blood,
Even it shall be for burning, food of fire.
- 6 For a child is born to us, a son is given to us,
And the dominion is upon his shoulder,
And his name is called Pele-yo'ets-'el-gibbor-abi-ad-sar-shalom.³
- 7 Great⁴ the dominion, and for peace no end;

¹ Commonly rendered *Galilee*, but, strictly, any circuit of country surrounded by hills; here it is applied to the tribe territory of Zebulun and Naphtali, and afterward to the entire northern section of the Holy Land.

² As when Gideon so signally overthrew the hosts of Midian (Judg. vii, 19-25 comp. Psa. lxxxiii, 9; Isa. x, 26).

³ Consistency of translation and interpretation requires that this symbolical name be retained in the same manner as Immanuel and Maher-shalal-hash-baz in chap. vii, 14; viii, 1, 3. The interpreter is to show that as one means *God with us*, and another, *hasten-spoil, speed-prey*, so this means *wonderful-counsellor, God-hero, father-eternal, prince of peace*.

⁴ For למרבה at the beginning of this verse read רבה. The letters למ have every appearance of a copyist's repetition from the close of the preceding verse.

Over the throne of David and over his kingdom,—
 To confirm it and to strengthen it in righteousness and judgment,
 Henceforward even unto eternity.
 The zeal of Jehovah of hosts will perform this.

In this passage the prophet's eye sweeps far beyond his own time, and contemplates the Messianic future as a perfected triumph.¹ The essential contents may be stated in seven propositions: (1) The Galilean region, formerly despised, shall in the latter time be greatly honoured (comp. Matt. iv, 14–16); (2) the people formerly in darkness shall see great light; (3) the nation shall be increased and made joyful; (4) their yoke of oppression shall be thrown off as triumphantly as when Gideon defeated Midian; (5) military clothing will be needed no more and be fit only for burning; (6) the Messiah is announced as if already born and bearing a name of manifold significance; (7) he is destined to reign as if over David's throne in righteousness forever. Here we observe how both the kingdom and person of the Messiah are made prominent, and the Christian expositor has no difficulty in showing that the prophecy is wonderfully fulfilled in the birth of Jesus Christ, and his enthronement to reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet (1 Cor. xv, 25).

THE SHOOT OF JESSE AND THE FINAL EXODUS.

The Messianic prophecy and song which occupy Isa. xi and xii are too long for full citation here. We have space only for a statement of the principal Messianic ideals which form the essential prophetic thoughts of the entire passage. (1) The Messiah is a shoot² from the stock of Jesse; (2) he is endued with the wise and holy spirit of Jehovah; (3) he is a righteous and holy judge; (4) he is to effect a universal peace like that of Eden; (5) this peace will be accompanied by a universal knowledge of Jehovah; (6) nations and peoples will seek his glorious rest; (7) the result will involve a redemption more glorious than that of the exodus from Egypt; (8) the redeemed people shall triumph over their enemies; (9) all old tribal rivalry and disputes will cease; (10) the song in chap. xii is an ideal Messianic ode of triumph, designed to be analogous to that which Israel sang on the shore of the Egyptian sea after their deliverance from the house of bondage (Exod. xv, 1–19), and should also be compared with the song of Moses and of the Lamb by the glassy sea, in Rev. xv, 2, 3.

¹ Hence the use of the prophetic *perfect* so noticeable in this passage. See Gesenius, Heb. Gram., § 128, 4.

² Hebrew שֹׁמֵר and נֶצֶר, Comp. צֶמַח in chap. iv, 2.

The student of prophecy should not fail to notice how largely this last oracle of the five now cited corresponds with the first one (in chap. ii, 2-4), and is a fuller elaboration of its main ideals. It should also be observed that these five Messianic prophecies as here arranged constitute a progressive series, beginning with the comparatively indefinite but comprehensive one of the exaltation of the temple-mountain, and ending with this full and glowing picture of ultimate redemption to be realized in the Son of David's everlasting reign. This organic structure of Messianic prophecy may be exhibited on a broader scale by a collation and comparison of all the Old Testament oracles belonging to this class.

Messianic prophecy seems to have been often prompted by the wrongs and discouragements of the times, and was wont to soar above the evils which the prophet saw about him, and idealize a future golden age, in which all such wrongs should be abolished. Accordingly, in portraying the Messianic future, each prophet was naturally limited by his historical position and outlook, and the great events of his own time would give a tone and colour to his language. Thus Isaiah, in chaps. vii-xii, seems to connect the glorification of Israel with the fall of Assyria, as if it were to follow immediately after the next great political catastrophe and commotion among the nations. So the "day of the Lord" is near in the prophets' visions, and out of its darkness and terrors dawns the triumphant reign of the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom is everlasting.

We observe further how Messianic prophecy appropriates the facts and forms of Old Testament history and theocratic conceptions, and makes them serve the purpose of metaphorical allusion. The Messiah himself is a branch, a shoot, an ensign, a prince, a governor, a king, a judge, a conqueror, a priest, a prophet, etc., and his rule is associated with what is great and noble in Jewish thought. In the foregoing examples we have the Gospel age predicted under the imagery of the temple-mountain exalted above all others, and Zion as the starting-place of a new revelation (chap. ii, 2-4). A chosen remnant is to be the nucleus of the Messianic kingdom (x, 22; xi, 16). The ultimate restoration of the true Israel and their blessedness and glory are set forth under the imagery of the miracles of the exodus (iv, 5, 6; xi, 15, 16). So, too, in other similar Scriptures the ultimate glory is portrayed as a recreation of Jerusalem, and a perfect keeping of new moons and Sabbaths, and, in short, as a new land and heavens (Isa. lxxv, 17, 18; lxxvi, 22, 23; comp. Ezek. xl-xlvi). It is also noticeable that immortality

and heavenly life are implied rather than expressly announced. Even the new heavens and the new land are an earthly, human picture, and such profound spiritual conceptions as "drawing water from the fountains of salvation" (Isa. xii, 3) are associated with the thought of dwelling in the midst of Zion.

Finally, we may affirm that the formal elements of the great Messianic prophecies are such as to admonish us not to expect their literal fulfilment. It is a morbid and prodigy-loving tendency which searches human history to find minute fulfilments of ancient predictions. One might well infer from the expositions of some writers that the sole essence and value of some Messianic prophecies were dependent on the minute fulfilment of certain details of imagery, which are at most only incidental to the great idea of the prophecy. Thus the entry of our Lord into Jerusalem, meekly riding upon an ass, was truly a fulfilling of the words of Zech. ix, 9, and is so declared by the evangelists (Matt. xxi, 1-9; John xii, 12-16). But to find all or the chief part of the import of Zechariah's prophecy fulfilled in that particular event is to miss the great lesson of the prophet's words, and of Christ's symbolic act. The passage cited by the evangelists is only an incidental part of the composite picture presented by Zechariah, and by no means exhausts its meaning, which is to be found rather in the incarnation, humility, and ultimate triumph of the Christ, of which the incident of his riding into Jerusalem on an ass was itself only a symbol.¹ Not literal but substantial fulfilment of the great ideals of prophecy is therefore to be looked for. It is the lowest and least important kind of prophecy that deals with minute details. Such was Samuel's prediction of what should occur to Saul on his way home after the search for his father's asses (1 Sam. x, 2-7), and its method borders closely on the popular conceptions of fortunetelling. Messianic and apocalyptic prophecy moves in a higher realm of thought.

¹ "That triumphal procession," says Wright, "was not in the main the fact which the prophecy was designed to depict. The prophecy would have been as truly and really fulfilled if the triumphant procession of Palm Sunday had never taken place. That single incident in the life of our Lord is not the point which the prophet had in view. It was rather the whole of the Saviour's life, the entire series of events connected with Christ's first advent, that was presented in one striking picture."—Zechariah and his prophecies, p. 239. Similarly Lowe: "The prophecy was fulfilled by our Lord, when he rode into Jerusalem. But he fulfilled it more in spirit than to the letter; . . . generally, by his own life of humility, and in particular by illustrating to friends and foes, by his symbolical act of riding on an ass, that his kingdom is not of this world."—Hebrew Students' Commentary on Zechariah, p. 89. London, 1882. Comp. Hengstenberg, as quoted, p. 237 above.

CHAPTER XVI.

OLD TESTAMENT APOCALYPTICS.

APOCALYPTICS is a theological term of recent origin employed in biblical literature to designate a class of prophetic writings which refer to impending or future judgments, and the final glory of the Messianic kingdom. According to Lücke¹ biblical apocalypics includes "the sum total of the eschatological revelations of the Old and the New Testament." The great theme of all these Scriptures is the holy kingdom of God in its conflict with the godless and persecuting powers of the world—a conflict in which the ultimate triumph of righteousness is assured. This form of prophecy may, accordingly, include such Messianic predictions as we have treated in the preceding chapter, but it takes a wider range. Exhibiting a view of the world of man which one living above the world, and forecasting the future, may be supposed to hold, it emphasizes the divine interposition in all the affairs of men and nations, and hence it has had a peculiar fascination for minds anxious to find in the word of God detailed events of history written beforehand.²

In 1 Cor. xiv, 6 the apostle distinguishes between apocalypse and prophecy. One may speak "either in (or by way of) apocalypse, or in knowledge, or in prophesying, or in teaching." The apocalypse

¹ Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes, p. 25. Second ed., Bonn, 1852. See his whole chapter entitled *Erörterung des Begriffs oder Theorie der Apokalypik*, pp. 17–39; and compare Hilgenfeld, *Die jüdische Apokalypik*, Einleitung, pp. 1–16 (Jena, 1857); Düsterdieck, *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis*, pp. 35–46 (Göttingen, 1877); Lange, *The Revelation of John*, pp. 1–6. American ed., New York, 1874.

² The amount of apocryphal apocalypitical literature still extant is very large, and may be divided into Jewish and Christian apocalypics. Comp. Lücke, pp. 223–230. Much of it may be properly called Jewish-Christian; but, altogether, it is of little value in the elucidation of scriptural prophecy, which holds an incomparable elevation above it. Lücke and Stuart devote a considerable part of their works on the Apocalypse to an account of these pseudepigraphal books. Hilgenfeld (*Jüdische Apokalypik*, pp. 5–8) disregards entirely the distinction between canonical and apocryphal apocalypics, and treats the books of Daniel, Enoch, Pseudo-Ezra, and the Sibylline Oracles as a precursory history (*Vorgeschichte*) of Christianity. But most, if not all, of the apocryphal Apocalypses (at least in their present form) are posterior to the Christian Scriptures.

is to be understood especially of the heavenly revelation, in the reception of which the man is passive; prophecy, on the other hand, denotes rather the inspired human activity, the uttering forth of God's truth (see above p. 314). "In prophecy," says Auberlen, "the Spirit of God finds his immediate expression in words; in the apocalypse human language disappears, for the reason given by the apostle (2 Cor. xii, 4): he 'heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' A new element appears here which corresponds to the subjective element of seeing, the vision. The prophet's eye is opened to look into the unseen world; he has intercourse with angels; and as he thus beholds the unseen, he beholds also the future, which appears to him embodied in plastic symbolic shapes as in a dream, only that these images are not the children of his own fancy, but the product of divine revelation adapting itself essentially to our human horizon."¹

Biblical apocalypics comprehends that entire series of biblical revelations which accord with the idea of a divine apocalypse as defined above. Its scope is therefore Scope of biblical apocalyp-
tics. very extensive. From the earliest period of God's revelation of himself to man, apocalyptic disclosures of the divine purposes of righteous judgment and abounding grace served to cheer the hearts of the godly, and to comfort them in times of trial. They were given in many portions and under manifold forms, and helped by their impressive visions to strengthen faith in God. The inspired seer was permitted to look above and beyond the evils of his own time, behold the crucial day of the Lord on the near horizon, and depict an approaching age in which all wrongs should be duly recompensed, and righteousness, glory, and joy become the abiding portion of the people of God.

Aside from their wealth of tropes and symbols, which they exhibit more than any other class of writings, the apoc- Formal ele-
ments. lyptic prophecies are notable for their highly-wrought artistic arrangement and finish. There appears constantly the double vision of judgment and salvation, and the natural divisions and subdivisions of the principal apocalypses frequently fall into fours and sevens. The double picture of judgment and glory is seen in the two symbols which were placed at the gate of the garden of Eden (Gen. iii, 24). The sword of flame represented the divine justice which demands the punishment of sin, and the cherubim, symbols of endless Edenic life, convey to fallen man the blessed hope of a restored paradise. The communications of God to Noah and

¹ The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John viewed in their mutual Relation, pp. 83, 84. Edinb., 1856.

to Abraham are a series of revelations of judgment and of love. Considerable portions of Isaiah, Amos, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah are cast in apocalyptic form. The book of Joel is perhaps the oldest entire book of this character, and its two main divisions are devoted respectively to the impending judgments and coming glory of Jehovah. It is also noticeable that the successive writers freely appropriate both the language and symbols of their predecessors, and modify or change them to suit the particular revelation each would make known. Isaiah imitates some passages of Joel; Ezekiel draws from both; Zechariah makes much use of Daniel and Ezekiel; and there is scarcely a figure or symbol employed in John's apocalypse which is not appropriated from the Old Testament books.

The hermeneutical principles to be observed in the interpretation of apocalypics are, in the main, the same as those which we apply to all predictive prophecy. But probably no rule or admonition needs more emphasis than that the student closely attend to the formal elements referred to above, and learn to distinguish them from the great thoughts or truths which they serve to embody. The confusing of form and substance has too often loaded the divine revelation with a burden it was never designed to bear, and such a habit is certain to draw a veil over the mind so as to prevent a truthful understanding of important sections of both the Old Testament and the New (comp. 2 Cor. iii, 14). The great apocalypses should be compared with each other, their formal elements carefully noted, and their methods of enunciating great judgments and great triumphs should be made familiar to the mind. We can illustrate these principles only by a discriminating application of them to such books and parts of books as may best serve the purpose of examples. We, accordingly, proceed to examine in this chapter the structure and import of several of the most important apocalyptic portions of the Old Testament, and reserve for a separate chapter the great apocalypse of the New Testament.

THE REVELATION OF JOEL.

We first direct attention to the apocalyptic form and method of the Book of Joel. His prophecy is arranged in two leading divisions. The first part consists of a twofold revelation of judgment, each revelation being accompanied by words of divine counsel and promise (chapters i, 1-ii, 27); the second part goes over a portion of the same field again, but delineates more clearly the blessings and triumphs which shall accompany the day of Jehovah (chapters ii, 28-iii, 21; Hebrew text, chapters iii and iv). These two parts may be properly entitled: (1) *Jehovah's impending*

Analysis of Joel's prophecy.

judgments; (2) *Jehovah's coming triumph and glory*. The first may again be subdivided into four sections, the second into three, as follows:

1. Chap. i, 1-12. After the manner of Moses, in Exod. x, 1-6, Joel is commissioned to announce a fourfold plague of locusts. What one swarm leaves behind them another devours (verse 4), until all vegetation is destroyed, and the whole land is left in mourning. This fourfold scourge, as a beginning of sorrows in the impending day of Jehovah, should be compared with the four riders on different coloured horses, and the four horns of Zech. i, 8, 18, the four war chariots of Zech. vi, 1-8, the wars, famines, pestilences, and earthquakes of Matt. xxiv, 7; Luke, xxi, 10, 11, and the four horses of Rev. vi, 1-8. It is thus a habit of apocalypics to represent punitive judgments in a fourfold manner.

2. Chap. i, 13-20. After the manner of Jehoshaphat, when the combined forces of Moab, Ammon, and Seir were marching against him (2 Chron. xx, 1-13), the prophet calls upon the priests to lament, and proclaim a fast, and gather the people in solemn assembly to bewail the awful day that is coming as a destruction from Shaddai. Under this head other features of the calamity are incidentally mentioned, as the distress of beasts, cattle, and flock, and the ravages of fire (verses 18-20.)

3. Chap. ii, 1-11. In this section the prophet proclaims the day of Jehovah in still more fearful aspects. Under the blended imagery of darkness, devouring fire, numberless locusts, and rushing armies (all which are represented in a plague of locusts),¹ the earth and the heavens are shaken, and sun, moon, and stars withhold their light. The formal elements of this terrible apocalyptic picture deserve special examination. There are few more sublime descriptions to be found in the literature of the world.

¹ An eyewitness of a plague of locusts, which visited Palestine in 1866, says: "From early morning till near sunset the locusts passed over the city in countless hosts, as though all the swarms in the world were let loose, and the whirl of their wings was as the sound of chariots. At times they appeared in the air like some great snowdrift, obscuring the sun, and casting a shadow upon the earth. Men stood in the streets and looked up, and their faces gathered blackness. At intervals those which were tired or hungry descended on the little gardens in the city, and in an incredibly short time all that was green disappeared. They ran up the walls, they sought out every blade of grass or weed growing between the stones, and after eating to satiety, they gathered in their ranks along the ground, or on the tops of the houses. It is no marvel that as Pharaoh looked at them he called them 'this death' (Exod. x, 17). . . . One locust has been found near Bethlehem measuring more than five inches in length. It is covered with a hard shell, and has a tail like a scorpion."—*Journal of Sacred Literature* for 1866, p. 89. Compare the same *Journal* for 1865, pp. 235-237.

4. Chap. ii, 12-27. The second portrayal of the great and terrible day is in turn followed by another call to penitence, fasting, and prayer, and also the promise of deliverance and glorious recompense. So the double proclamation of judgment has for each announcement a corresponding word of counsel and hope.

The second part of the prophecy is distinguished by the words, "And it shall come to pass afterward" (וְהָיָה אַחֲרָיו), a formula which simply indicates the indefinite future.

1. Chap. ii, 28-32 (Hebrew text, chap. iii). In accordance with the prayer of Moses (Num. xi, 29), Jehovah promises a great outpouring of his Spirit upon all the people, so that all will become prophets. This token of grace is followed by wonders in heaven and earth (מוֹפְתִים, *prodigious signs*, like the plagues of Egypt):

And I will give wonders in the heavens and in the land,
 Blood, and fire, and columns of smoke;
 The sun shall be turned to darkness,
 And the moon to blood,
 Before the coming of the day of Jehovah—
 The great and the terrible.
 And it shall come to pass that all who call upon the name
 of Jehovah shall be saved.
 For in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance,
 As Jehovah has said,
 And in the remnant whom Jehovah calls.

2. Chap. iii, 1-17 (Heb. iv, 1-17). The great day of Jehovah will issue in a judgment of all nations (comp. Matt. xxv, 31-46). Like the combined armies of Moab, Ammon, and Seir, which came against Judah and Jerusalem in the time of Jehoshaphat, the hostile nations shall be brought down into "a valley of Jehoshaphat" (verses 2, 12), and there be recompensed according as they had recompensed Jehovah and his people (comp. Matt. xxv, 41-46).

Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of judgment!
 For near is the day of Jehovah,
 In the valley of judgment (verse 14).

Jehovah, who dwells in Zion, will make that valley—a valley of judgment to his enemies—like another valley of blessings to his people. Comp. 2 Chron. xx, 20-26.

3. Chap. iii, 18-21 (Heb. iv, 18-21). The judgment of the nations shall be followed by a perpetual peace and glory like the composure and rest which God gave the realm of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx, 30). The figures of great plenty, the flowing waters, the fountain proceeding from the house of Jehovah, Judah and

Jerusalem abiding forever, and "Jehovah dwelling in Zion," are in substance equivalent to the closing chapters of Ezekiel and John.

Thus this oldest Apocalypse virtually assumes a sevenfold structure, and repeats its revelations in various forms. The first four sections refer to a day of Jehovah near at hand, an impending judgment, of which the locust scourge had, perhaps, already appeared as the beginning of sorrows; the last three stand out in the more distant future (afterward — the last days, Acts ii, 17). The allusions of the book to events of the reign of Jehoshaphat have led most critics to believe that Joel prophesied soon after the days of that monarch, but beyond those allusions this ancient prophet is unknown. The absence of any thing to determine his historical standpoint, and the far-reaching import of his words, render his oracles a kind of generic prophecy capable of manifold applications.

EZEKIEL'S VISIONS.

The numerous parallels between the Book of Ezekiel and the Revelation of John have arrested the attention of all readers.¹ But the number and extent of Ezekiel's prophecies carry him over a broader field than that of any other apocalyptic seer, so that he combines vision, symbolico-typical action, parable, allegory, and formal prophesying. "Ezekiel's style of prophetic representation," says Keil, "has many peculiarities. In the first place the clothing of symbol and allegory prevails in him to a greater degree than in all the other prophets; and his symbolism and allegory are not confined to general outlines and pictures, but elaborated in the minutest details, so as to present figures of a boldness surpassing reality, and ideal representations which produce an impression of imposing grandeur and exuberant fulness."

Ezekiel's prophecies, like Joel's, may be divided into two parts; the first (chapters i-xxxii) announcing Jehovah's judgments upon Israel and the heathen nations; the second (chapters xxxiii-xlvi) announcing the restoration and final glorification of Israel. The first part, however, is not without gracious words of promise (xi, 13-20; xvii, 22-24), and the second contains the fearful judgment of God (xxxvii, xxxviii) after the manner of the judgment of all nations described in the second part of Joel (iii, 2-14). Our space will permit us only to notice here the closing section of this great apocalypse, which is comprised in chap-

¹ See a list of parallels between Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and John, in the Speaker's Commentary on Ezekiel, pp. 12-16.

² Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, vol. i, p. 9. Edinb., 1876.

ters xl-xlviii, and contains an elaborate vision of the kingdom of God, and is the Old Testament counterpart of the new heaven and new land portrayed in Rev. xxi and xxii. Ezekiel is carried in the visions of God to a very high mountain in the land of Israel (xl, 2 ; comp. Rev. xxi, 10) and sees a new temple, new ordinances of worship, a river of waters of life, new land and new tribal divisions, and a new city named JEHOVAH-SHAMMAH. The minuteness of detail is characteristic of Ezekiel, and no one would so naturally have portrayed the Messianic times under the imagery of a glorified Judaism as a prophet who was himself a priest. From his historical standpoint, as an exile by the rivers of Babylon, smitten with grief as he remembered Zion, and the ruined city and temple, and the desolated land of Canaan (comp. Psa. cxxxvii), no ideal of restoration and glory could be more attractive and pleasing than that of a perfect temple, a continual service, a holy priesthood, a restored city, and a land completely occupied, and watered by a never-failing river that would make the deserts blossom as the rose.

Three different interpretations of these closing chapters of Ezekiel have been maintained. (1) The first regards this description of the temple as a model of the temple of Solomon which was destroyed by the Chaldeans. The advocates of this view suppose that the prophet designed this pattern to serve in the rebuilding of the house of God after the return of the Jews from their exile. (2) Another class of interpreters hold that this whole passage is a literal prophecy of the final restoration of the Jews. At the second coming of Christ all Israel will be gathered out from among the nations, become established in their ancient land of promise, rebuild their temple after this glorious model, and dwell in tribal divisions according to the literal statements of this prophecy. (3) That exposition which has been maintained probably by the majority of evangelical divines may be called the figurative or symbolico-typical. The vision is a Levitico-prophetic picture of the New Testament Church or kingdom of God. Its general import is thus set forth by Keil: "The tribes of Israel which receive Canaan for a perpetual possession are not the Jewish people converted to Christ, but the Israel of God; i. e., the people of God of the new covenant gathered from among both Jews and Gentiles; and that Canaan in which they are to dwell is not the earthly Canaan or Palestine between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, but the New Testament Canaan, the territory of the kingdom of God, whose boundaries reach from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. And the temple upon a very

Interpretation
of the closing
vision of Eze-
kiel.

high mountain in the midst of this Canaan in which the Lord is enthroned, and causes the river of the water of life to flow down from his throne over his kingdom, so that the earth produces the tree of life with leaves as medicine for men, and the Dead Sea is filled with fishes and living creatures, is a figurative representation and type of the gracious presence of the Lord in his Church, which is realized, in the present period of the early development of the kingdom of heaven, in the form of the Christian Church, in a spiritual and invisible manner, in the indwelling of the Father and the Son through the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, and in a spiritual and invisible operation in the Church, but which will eventually manifest itself when our Lord shall appear in the glory of the Father to translate his Church into the kingdom of glory in such a manner that we shall see the Almighty God and the Lamb with the eyes of our glorified body, and worship before his throne."¹

This symbolico-typical interpretation recognizes a harmony of Ezekiel's method and style with other apocalyptic representations of the kingdom of heaven, and finds in this fact a strong argument in its favour. The measurements recorded, the ideal character of the tribe divisions, and especially the river of healing waters flowing from the threshold of the temple into the eastern sea, are insuperable difficulties in the way of any literal exposition of the vision. The modern chiliastic notion of a future return of the Jews to Palestine, and a revival of the Old Testament sacrificial worship, is opposed to the entire genius and spirit of the Gospel dispensation.²

REVELATION OF DANIEL.

All interpreters agree that the empires or world-powers denoted by the various parts of the great image in Dan. ii, 31-45, and by the four beasts from the sea (Dan. vii), are the same. The prophecy is repeated under different symbols, but the interpretation is one. This double revelation, then, will be of special value in illustrating the hermeneutical principles already enunciated. But in no portion of Scripture do we need to exercise greater discrimination and care. These prophecies, in their details, have been variously understood, and the most able and accomplished exegetes have differed widely in their explanations. And not only in matters of minor detail, but there prevails, even to this day, a notable divergence of opinion in regard

Principles illustrated by Daniel's double revelation of empires.

¹ Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, vol. ii, p. 425. Edinb., 1876.

² For extended arguments in favour of the symbolico-typical, and against the literal, interpretation of Ezek. xl-xlviii, see the commentaries on this prophet by Fairbairn, Schroeder, Cowles, and Currey.

to three out of the four great kingdoms which occupy so prominent a position in the recorded visions and dreams.

A critical study of the current English literature of Daniel's prophecies begets the conviction that three serious errors have had much to do in vitiating the process pursued by a large number of expositors. (1) There appears with many an obvious desire to make the book itself a contribution to apologetics. When the interpretation of any writing is made subservient to such an ulterior polemical purpose, there is usually more than a probability that the interpreter will be too much governed by considerations outside the purpose of pure exegesis. (2) Some writers, observing a remarkable resemblance between the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John, rush to the conclusion that the similar symbols of both books must refer to the same great events in the history of the world. This fact of similarity has been construed as if it were in itself a proof that the fourth beast of Dan. vii, is identical with the first beast of Rev. xiii, 1-10, and the little horn of Dan. vii, and the second beast of Rev. xiii, 11-18 are both alike symbols of the papacy of Rome. (3) There is, further, a singularly persistent presumption that the Book of Daniel, and also the Apocalypse of John, may reasonably be expected to contain an outline history of European politics, and the chronicles of ancient, mediæval, and modern times have been ransacked, and even tortured, to find the ten kings referred to by the prophet. One is amazed at the amount of imperious dogmatism which often appears in the works of some who follow these erroneous methods.

It must be conceded, therefore, that a faithful exposition of Daniel requires the most painstaking care. All dogmatism must be set aside, and we should endeavour to place ourselves in the very position of the prophet, and study with minute attention his language and his symbols. Where such wide differences of opinion have prevailed we cannot for a moment allow any *a priori* assumptions of what ought to be found in these prophecies, or of what ought not to be found there.¹ All such assumptions are fatal to

¹ The Roman Empire, the papacy, the Momammedans, the Goths and Vandals, the French Revolution, the Crimean War, the United States of America, and our late civil war between the North and the South, have all been assumed to have such an importance in the history of humanity and of the Gospel that we should expect to find some notice of them somewhere in the prophets of the Bible. Daniel and the Revelation of John, abounding as they do in vision and symbol, have been searched more than other prophecies with such an expectation. We find even Barnes writing as follows: "The Roman Empire was in itself too important, and performed too important an agency in preparing the world for the kingdom of the Redeemer, to be omitted in such an enumeration."—Notes on Dan. ii, 40, p. 147. On the same principle we

sound interpretation. The prophet should be permitted, as far as possible, to explain himself; and the interpreter should not be so full of ideas drawn from profane history, or from remote ages and peoples, as to desire to find in Daniel what is not manifestly there. Especially when it is a notable fact that profane history knows nothing of Belshazzar,¹ or of Darius the Mede, should we be cautious how far we allow our interpretation of other parts of Daniel to be controlled by such history.

Three different interpretations of Daniel's vision of the four world-powers have long prevailed. According to the ^{Three different} first and oldest of these, the fourth kingdom is the ^{interpretations.} Roman Empire; another identifies it with the mixed dominion of Alexander's successors, and a third makes it include Alexander and his successors.² Those who adopt this last view regard the Median rule of Darius at Babylon (Dan. v, 31) as a distinct dynasty. The four kingdoms, according to these several expositions, may be seen in the following outline:

1st.	2d.	3d.
1. Babylonian.	1. Babylonian.	1. Babylonian.
2. Medo-Persian.	2. Medo-Persian.	2. Median.
3. Græco-Macedonian.	3. Alexander.	3. Persian.
4. Roman.	4. Alexander's successors.	4. Græco-Macedonian.

Any one of these views will suffice to bring out the great ethical and religious lessons of the prophecy. No doctrine, therefore, is affected, might insist that the Chinese Empire, with its great dynasties, and countless millions of people, and also those of India and Japan, should also have some kind of notice. We have no right to assume in advance what Daniel's vision or Nebuchadnezzar's dream should contain.

¹ This fact greatly puzzled all expositors until an inscription discovered on a cylinder at Mugheir showed that a *Bel-shar-uzur* was associated with his father as co-regent at Babylon. See Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 70. New York, 1871.

² The first of these views is ably defended by Barnes, Pusey, and Keil, and is the one held, probably, by most evangelical divines. The second has its ablest advocates in Bertholdt, Stuart, and Cowles. The third is maintained by Eichhorn, Lengerke, Maurer, Bleek, De Wette, Hilgenfeld, Kranichfeld, Delitzsch, and Westcott. It is quite possible that the prevalence among English expositors of the first theory is largely, if not mainly, due to the fact that the arguments in its favour have been scattered broadcast by the popular commentaries, and the able expositions of the other theories have been quite generally inaccessible to English readers. Many have accepted the current exposition because they never had a better one clearly set before them. It is almost amusing to hear some of the advocates of the Roman theory saying, with Luther: "In this interpretation and opinion all the world are agreed, and history and fact abundantly establish it" (see Keil, p. 245). Desprez is equally interesting when he says: "The almost unanimous opinion of modern criticism is in favour of a separate Median kingdom, distinct from the united Medo-Persian Empire under Cyrus."—Daniel and John, p. 50.

whichever interpretation we adopt. The question at issue is purely one of exegetical accuracy and self-consistency: Which view best satisfies all the conditions of prophet, language, and symbol?

Great stress has been laid by the advocates of the Roman theory upon three considerations: (1) First they urge that Rome was too important to be left out of sight in such a vision of world-empire. "The Roman kingdom," says Keil, "was the first universal monarchy in the full sense. Along with the three earlier world-kingsdoms, the nations of the world-historical future remained still unsubdued."¹ But such presumptions cannot properly be allowed to weigh at all. It matters not in the least how great Rome was, or how important a place it occupies in universal history. The sole question with the interpreter of Daniel must be, What world-powers, great or small, fell within his circle of prophetic vision? This presumption in favour of Rome is more than offset by the consideration that geographically and politically that later empire had its seat and centre of influence far aside from the territory of the Asiatic kingdoms. But the Græco-Macedonian Empire, in all its relations to Israel, and, indeed, in its principal component elements, was an Asiatic, not a European, world-power. The prophet, moreover, makes repeated allusion to kings of Greece (Ἰν, *Javan*), but never mentions Rome.

(2) It is further argued that the strong and terrible character of the fourth kingdom is best fulfilled in Rome. No previous dominion, it is said, was of such an iron nature, breaking all things in pieces.² Here again we must insist that the question is not so much whether the imagery fits Rome, but whether it may not also appropriately depict some other kingdom. The description of iron strength and violence is, no doubt, appropriate to Rome, but for any one to aver that the conquests and rule of Alexander and his successors did not "break in pieces and bruise" (Dan. ii, 40), and trample with terrible violence the kingdoms of many nations, is to exhibit a marvellous obtuseness in reading the facts of history. The Græco-Macedonian power broke up the older civilizations, and trampled in pieces the various elements of the Asiatic

¹ Biblical Commentary on Daniel, p. 267. English translation. Edinburgh, 1872.

² "Neither the monarchy of Alexander," says Keil (p. 252), "nor the Javanic world-kingdom accords with the iron nature of the fourth kingdom, represented by the legs of iron, breaking all things in pieces, nor with the internal division of this kingdom, represented by the feet consisting partly of iron and partly of clay, nor finally with the ten toes formed of iron and clay mixed." Such an assertion from a commentator usually so guarded and trustworthy inclines one to believe that its author was here labouring under the blinding effects of a foregone conclusion.

monarchies more completely than had ever been done before. Rome never had any such triumph in the Orient, and, indeed, no great Asiatic world-power, comparable for magnitude and power with that of Alexander, ever succeeded his. If now we keep in mind this utter overthrow and destruction of the older dynasties by Alexander, and then observe what seems especially to have affected Daniel, namely, the wrath and violence of the "little horn," and note how, in different forms, this bitter and relentless persecutor is made prominent in this book (chapters viii and xi), we may safely say that the conquests of Alexander, and the blasphemous fury of Antiochus Epiphanes, in his violence against the chosen people, amply fulfilled the prophecies of the fourth kingdom.

(3) It is also claimed that the Roman theory is favoured by the statement, in chap. ii, 44, that the kingdom of God should be set up "in the days of those kings." For the Roman Empire, it is urged, ruled Palestine when Christ appeared, and all the other great monarchies had passed away. But on what ground can it be quietly assumed that "these kings" are Roman kings? If we say that they are kings denoted by the toes of the image, inasmuch as the stone smote the image on the feet (ii, 34), we involve ourselves in serious confusion. The Christ appeared when Rome was in the meridian of her power and glory. It was three hundred years later when the empire was divided, and much later still when broken in pieces and made to pass away. But the stone smote not the legs of iron, but the feet, which were partly of iron and partly of clay (ii, 33, 34). When, therefore, it is argued that the Græco-Macedonian power had fallen before the Christ was born, it may on the other hand be replied with greater force that a much longer time elapsed after the coming of Christ before the power of Rome was broken in pieces.

Evidently, therefore, no satisfactory conclusion can be reached as long as we allow ourselves to be governed by subjective notions of the import of minor features of the symbols, or by assumptions of what the prophet ought to have seen. The advocates of the Roman theory are continually laying stress upon the supposed import of the *two* arms, and *two* legs, and *ten* toes of the image; whereas these are merely the natural parts of a human image, and necessary to complete a coherent outline. The prophet lays no stress upon them in his exposition, and it is nowhere said that the image had *ten* toes. We must appeal to a closer view of the prophet's historical standpoint and his outlying field of vision; and especially should we study his visions in the

Subjective pre-
sumptions must
be set aside.

light of his own explanations and historical statements, rather than from the narratives of the Greek historians.

Applying principles already sufficiently emphasized, we first attend to Daniel's historical position. At his first vision Nebuchadnezzar was reigning in great splendour (Dan. ii, 37, 38). At his second, Belshazzar occupied the throne of Babylon (vii, 1). This monarch, unknown to the Greek historians, fills an important place in the Book of Daniel. He was slain in the night on which Babylon was taken, and the kingdom passed into the hand of Darius the Mede (v, 30, 31). Whatever we may think or say, Daniel recognizes Darius as the representative of a new dynasty upon the throne of Babylon (ix, 1). The prophet held a high position in his government (vi, 2, 3), and during his reign was miraculously delivered from the den of lions. Darius the Mede was a

monarch with authority to issue proclamations "to all people, nations, and languages that dwelt in all the land" (vi, 25). From Daniel's point of view, therefore, the Median domination of Babylon was no such insignificant thing as many expositors, looking more to profane history than to the Bible itself, are wont to pronounce it. Isaiah had foretold that Babylon should fall by the power of the Medes (Isa. xiii, 17; xxi, 2), and Jeremiah had repeated the prophecy (Jer. li, 11, 28). Daniel lived to see the kingdom pass into the hands of Cyrus the Persian, and in the third year of his reign received the minute revelation of chapters x and xi touching the kings of Persia and of Greece. Already, in the reign of Belshazzar, had he received specific revelations of the kings of Greece who were to succeed the kings of Media and Persia (viii, 1, 21). But no mention of any world-power later than Greece is to be found in the Book of Daniel. The prophetic standpoint of chap. viii is Shushan, the throne-centre of the Medo-Persian dominion, and long after the Medes had ceased to hold precedence in the kingdom. All these things, bearing on the historical position of this prophet, are to be constantly kept in view.

Having vividly apprehended the historical standpoint of the writer, we should next take up the prophecies which he has himself most clearly explained, and reason from what is clear to what is not clear. In the explanation of the great image (ii, 36-45), and of the four beasts (vii, 17-27), we find no mention of any of the world-powers by name, except Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar (ii, 38). But the description and explanation of the fourth beast, in vii, 17-27, correspond so fully with those of the he-goat in chap. viii as scarcely to leave any rea-

Daniel's historical standpoint.

Prominence of the Medes in Scripture.

The varied but parallel descriptions.

sonable ground to doubt that they are but varied portraitures of the same great world-power, and that power is declared in the latter chapter to be the Grecian (viii, 21). In chap. xi, 3 the Grecian power is again taken up, its partly strong and partly brittle character (comp. Dan. ii, 42) is exhibited, together with the attempts of the rival kings to strengthen themselves by intermarriage (comp. ii, 43 and xi, 6), and also the conflicts of these kings, especially those between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. At verse 21 is introduced the "vile person" (נִפְלֵא, *despised* or *despicable* one), and the description through the rest of the chapter of his deceit and cunning, his violence and his sacrilegious impiety, is but a more fully detailed picture of the king denoted by the little horn of chapters vii and viii. As the repetition of Joseph's and Pharaoh's dreams served to impress them the more intensely, and to show that the things were established by God (Gen. xli, 32), so the repetition of these prophetic visions under different forms and imagery served to emphasize their truth and certainty. There appears to be no good ground to doubt that the little horn of chap. viii, and the vile person of chap. xi, 21, denoted Antiochus Epiphanes. We have shown above (pp. 410, 411) that the reasons commonly alleged to prove that the little horn of chap. viii denotes a different person from the little horn of chap. vii are superficial and nugatory. It follows, therefore, that the fourth kingdom described in chapters ii, 40 ff., vii, 23 ff., is the same as the Grecian kingdom symbolized by the he-goat in chap. viii. The repetitions and varied descriptions of this tremendous power are in perfect accord with other analogies of the style and structure of apocalyptic prophecy.

If we have applied our principles fairly thus far, it now follows that we must find the four kingdoms of Daniel between ^{The prophet} Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great, including ^{should be allowed to explain himself.} these two monarchs. Reasoning and searching from Daniel's position, and by the light of his own interpretations, we are obliged to adopt the third view named above, according to which the four kingdoms are, respectively, the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Græco-Macedonian. We have been able to find but two real arguments against this view, namely, (1) the assumption that the Median rule of Babylon was too insignificant to be thus mentioned, and (2) the statement of chap. viii, 20 that the ram denoted the kings of Media and Persia. The first argument should have no force with those who allow Daniel to explain himself. He clearly recognizes Darius the Mede as the successor of Belshazzar on the throne of Babylon (v, 31). This Darius was "the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes"

(ix, 1), and though he reigned but two years, that reign was, from the prophet's standpoint, as truly a new world-power at Babylon as if he had reigned fifty years. Whatever his relation to Cyrus the Persian, he set a hundred and twenty princes over his kingdom (vi, 1), and assumed to issue decrees for "all people, nations, and languages" (vi, 25, 26). Most writers have seemed strangely unwilling to allow Daniel's statements as much weight as those of the Greek historians, who are notably confused and unsatisfactory in their accounts of Cyrus and of his relations to the Medes.

The other argument, namely, that in chap. viii, 20, the two-horned ram denotes "the kings of Media and Persia," is very properly supposed to show that Daniel himself recognised Medes and Persians as constituting one monarchy. But this argument is set aside by the fact that the position of the prophet in chap. viii is Shushan (ver. 2), the royal residence and capital of the later Medo-Persian monarchy (Neh. i, 1; Esther i, 2). The standpoint of the vision is manifestly in the last period of the Persian rule, and long after the Median power at Babylon had ceased to exist. The Book of Esther, written during this later period, uses the expression "Persia and Media" (Esther i, 3, 14, 18, 19), thus implying that Persia then held the supremacy. The facts, then, according to Daniel, are that a Median world-power succeeded the Babylonian; but that, under Cyrus the Persian, it subsequently lost its earlier precedence, and Media became thoroughly consolidated with Persia into the one great empire known in other history as the Medo-Persian.

With this view all the prophecies of Daniel readily harmonize. According to chap. ii, 39, the second kingdom was inferior to that of Nebuchadnezzar, and in vii, 5, it is represented by a bear raised up on one side, and holding three ribs between his teeth. It has no prominence in the interpretation given by the prophet, and nothing could more fitly symbolize the Median rule at Babylon than the image of a bear, sluggish, grasping, and devouring what it has, but getting nothing more than its three ribs, though loudly called on to "arise and devour much flesh." No ingenuity of critics has ever been able to make these representations of the second kingdom tally with the facts of the Medo-Persian monarchy. Except in golden splendour this latter was in no sense inferior to the Babylonian,¹ for its dominion was

¹ Calvin, Auberlen, and others think the Medo-Persian was inferior in *moral condition* to the Babylonian. But surely the Persian monotheism was far higher in point of moral and religious worth than the polytheism of Babylon. Keil and others find the inferiority of the Medo-Persian monarchy in its *want of inner unity*, the combina-

every way broader and mightier. It was well represented by the fleet leopard with the four wings and four heads which, like the third kingdom of brass, acquired wide dominion over all the earth (comp. ii, 39, and vii, 6), but not by the sluggish, half-reclining bear, which merely grasped and held the ribs put in its mouth, but seemed indisposed to arise and seek more prey.

Those interpreters who adopt the second view above named, and, distinguishing between Alexander and his successors, ^{The Diadochoi} make these latter constitute the fourth kingdom, have ^{theory.} brought most weighty and controlling arguments against the first or Roman theory,¹ showing that chronologically, geographically, politically, and in relation to the Jewish people, the Roman Empire is excluded from the range of Daniel's prophecies. "The Roman Empire," says Cowles, "came into no important relations to the Jews until the Christian era, and never disturbed their repose effectually until A. D. 70. . . . Rome never was Asiatic, never was oriental; never, therefore, was a legitimate successor of the first three of these great empires. . . . Rome had the seat of her power and the masses of her population in another and remote part of the world."²

But this second theory is unable to show any sufficient reason for dividing the dominion of Alexander and his successors into two distinct monarchies. According to every proper analogy and implication, the fourth beast with its ten horns and one little horn of chap. vii, and the he-goat with its one great horn and its four succeeding ones, and the little horn out of one of these—as presented in chap. viii, 8, 9, 21-23—all represent but one world-power. From Daniel's point of vision these could not be separated, as the Median domination at Babylon was separated from the Chaldean on the one side, and the later Medo-Persian on the other. It would be an unwarrantable confusion of symbols to make the horns of a beast represent a different kingdom from that denoted by the beast itself. The two horns of the Medo-Persian ram are not to be so understood, for the Median and Persian elements are, according to chap. viii, 20, symbolized by the whole body, not exclusively by the horns of the ram, and the vision of the prophet is from a standpoint where the Median ^{Dominion of Alexander and his successors not two different world-powers.} tion of Medes and Persians being an element of weakness. But, from all that appears in history, this combination of two great peoples was an element of might and majesty rather than of weakness or of inferiority.

¹ See Stuart's "Excursus on the Fourth Beast" in his Commentary on Daniel, pp. 205-210. Cowles' Notes on Daniel, pp. 354-371, and Zöckler on Daniel ii and vii in Lange's Biblework, translated and annotated by Strong.

² Notes on Daniel vii, 28, p. 355.

and Persian powers have become fully consolidated into one great empire. If, in chap. viii, 8, 9, we regard the goat and his first horn as denoting one world-power, and the four succeeding horns another and distinct world-power, analogy requires that we should also make the ten horns of the fourth beast (vii, 7, 8, 24) denote a kingdom different from the beast itself. Then, again, what a confusion of symbols would be introduced in these parallel visions if we make a leopard with four wings and four heads in one vision (vii, 6) correspond with the one horn of a he-goat in another, and the terrible fourth beast of chap. vii, 7, horns and all, correspond merely with the horns of the goat!

From every point of view, therefore, we are driven by our hermeneutical principles to hold that view of Daniel's four symbolic beasts which makes them represent, respectively, the Babylonian, the Median, the Medo-Persian, and the Grecian domination of Western Asia. But the "Ancient of days" (vii, 9-12) brought them into judgment, and took away their dominion before he enthroned the Son of man in his everlasting kingdom. The penal judgment is represented as a great assize, the books are opened, and countless thousands attend the bidding of the Judge. The blasphemous beast is slain, his body is destroyed and given to burning flames, and his dominion is rent from him, and consumed by a gradual destruction (verses 10, 11, 26).

The prophecy of the seventy weeks (Dan. ix, 24-27) affords a remarkable side light to the other revelations of this book.

It was a special communication to the prophet in answer to his intercession for Jerusalem "the holy mountain," "thy sanctuary," "thy city," and "thy people" (verses 16, 17, 19), and would, therefore, presumably contain some revelation of God's purpose respecting the city and sanctuary which had at that time lain desolate about seventy years. The language of the angel is noticeably enigmatical, and several of the expressions have never been satisfactorily explained; but the obvious import of the passage, taken as a whole, is that both city and sanctuary are to be rebuilt, and yet ultimately to be overwhelmed by a fearful desolation. Moreover, a Messianic Prince is to appear and be cut off, and the outcome of all is "a finishing of the transgression, a completing of sins, an expiation for iniquity, a bringing in of everlasting righteousness, a sealing up of vision and prophet, and the anointing of a Holy of holies." All this strikingly accords with the coming and kingdom of Jesus Christ, the consummation of the Old Testament economy and the introduction of the New. The seventy weeks are a symbolical number (see page 296 above), conceived as broken into three portions of seven,

sixty-two, and one ($7+62+1=70$). The first seems to refer to the time of rebuilding the city, the second to the period intervening between the restoration and the appearance of Messiah, and the third is the last decisive heptad, in the midst of which a new covenant is confirmed with many, but the end of which is the ruin of city and sanctuary with an unspeakable desolation. The labour of expositors to fix the precise date of the "going forth of a word to return and to build Jerusalem" (verse 25) has failed thus far to reach any result which commands general confidence. The proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra i, 1-4), the decree of Artaxerxes given to Ezra (Ezra vii, 11-26), and that given to Nehemiah (Neh. ii, 5-8) all sufficiently supply the "word to return and build," but no one of these so signally fulfils the prophecy as to establish its claim to be the only one intended by the angel. There is little probability of ever reaching a satisfactory interpretation so long as we insist on finding mathematical precision in the use of symbolical numbers. If the seventy names in Jacob's family record are not to be understood with rigid exactness (see on pp. 406-409), much less are the symbolical numbers which make up these seventy weeks.

The final revelation, contained in Dan. xi, 2-xii, 3, is a fuller delineation of that of chapter viii, but the deliverance of God's people is there shown to include a resurrection ^{Revelation of} ^{xi, 2-xii, 3.} from the dead and heavenly beatification. As Isaiah connected the Messianic glorification of Israel with the fall of Assyria (see above, p. 336), overlooking intervening events as if they were hidden between two lofty mountains to which his vision turned, so Daniel makes no note of what other things might follow the fall of the great oppressor, but is told that out of an unspeakable trouble his people shall be delivered, "every one who is found written in the book." With the coming and kingdom of the Son of man, to which all his visions reached, he sees as in one field of view whatever that kingdom assures to the saints of the Most High.

Thus the comparative study of the five great prophecies of the Book of Daniel discloses a harmony of scope and general outline, an internal self-consistency, and a profound conception of the kingdom and glory of God. These facts not only illustrate the methods of apocalypics, but also confirm the title of this book to a high place among the biblical revelations.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.

No portion of the Holy Scriptures has been the subject of so much controversy and of so many varying interpretations as the Apocalypse of John. The principal systems of exposition may, however, be reduced to three, which are commonly known as the Preterist, the Continuous-Historical, and the Futurist. The Preterists hold that the larger part of the prophecy of this book was fulfilled in the overthrow of Jerusalem and pagan Rome. The Continuous-Historical school of interpreters find most of these prophecies fulfilled in the history of the Roman Empire and of modern Europe. The Futurists maintain that the book relates mainly to events which are yet to come, and which must be literally fulfilled at the end of the world. Any attempt to discuss these systems in detail, and examine their numerous divergent methods, as carried out by individual expositors, would require a very large volume. Our plan is simply to seek the historical position of the writer, and trace the scope and plan of his book in the light of the hermeneutical principles already set forth. Especially are we to regard the analogy of the apocalyptic scriptures and the general principles of biblical symbolism.

The writer addresses the book of his prophecy to the churches of seven well-known cities of western Asia, and expressly declares in the opening verses that his revelation is of "things which must shortly come to pass." At the close (chap. xxii, 12, 20) the Alpha and the Omega, who himself testifies all these things, and manifestly aims to make the thought of their imminence emphatic, says: "Behold, I come quickly;" "Yea, I come quickly." The prophet, moreover, is admonished not to seal "the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is near at hand" (xxii, 10). Surely, if words have any meaning, and thoughts are capable of emphatic statement, the events contemplated were impending in the near future at the time this book was written.¹ The

¹ The plea of Alford and others that the *ἐν τάχει*, *shortly*, of this book is "a measure by which, not our judgment of its contents, but our estimate of worldly events and their duration, should be corrected," and that the word "confessedly contains, among other periods, a period of a thousand years" (Greek Testament, Proleg. to Rev., chap. viii, §§ 4, 10), is a singular proposition. He might as well have said that

import of all these expressions is in noticeable harmony with our Lord's repeated declaration: "This generation shall not pass away until all these things be accomplished." But when John wrote, the things contemplated were much nearer at hand than when Jesus addressed his disciples on the Mount of Olives.¹

After the manner of other apocalypses this book is divisible into two principal parts, which may be appropriately designated, (1) *The Revelation of Christ, the Lamb* (chaps. i-xi), and (2) *The Revelation of the Bride, the Wife of the Lamb* (chaps. xii-xxii). These two parts, after the manner of Daniel's repeated visions, traverse the same field of view, and each terminates in the fall of a great city, and the establishment of the kingdom of God. But each of these parts is divisible again into smaller sections, the first into three, the second into seven. The whole will be apparent in the following outline:

I. REVELATION OF THE LAMB.

1. In the Epistles to the Seven Churches, i-iii.
2. By the Opening of the Seven Seals, iv-vii.
3. By the Sounding of the Seven Trumpets, viii-xi.

II. REVELATION OF THE BRIDE.

1. Vision of the Woman and the Dragon, xii.
2. Vision of the Two Beasts, xiii.
3. Vision of the Mount Zion, xiv.
4. Vision of the Seven Last Plagues, xv, xvi.
5. Vision of the Mystic Babylon, xvii, xviii.
6. Vision of Parousia, Millennium, and Judgment, xix, xx.
7. Vision of the New Jerusalem, xxi, xxii.

It should be observed that John's Apocalypse is, in its artificial arrangement and finish, the most perfect of all the prophecies. Its

it confessedly contains the "for ever and ever" of chap. xxii, 5. Manifestly the thousand years of chap. xx, 2, like the ages of ages in chaps. xi, 15 and xxii, 5, is a statement that runs far beyond the great catastrophes of the book, and is too exceptional in its nature to be included among the things which were to come to pass quickly.

¹ On the early date of the Apocalypse see Glasgow, *The Apocalypse Translated and Expounded*, pp. 9-54 (Edinb., 1872); Farrar, *The Early Days of Christianity*, chap. xxvii (Lond., 1882); and Schaff's new edition of his *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 834-836. We have already discussed at some length the time of this prophecy (see pp. 135-140), and have shown good reasons for believing that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. The preponderance of the best modern criticism is in favour of this view. If now, in harmony with such date, we find the structure and import of the book, as studied in the light of biblical apocalypses, a self-consistent whole, and meeting signal fulfilment in the ruin of Judaism and the rise of Christianity, the interpretation itself becomes a controlling argument in favour of the early date.

outline and the correlation of its several parts evince that its imagery was most carefully chosen, and yet there is scarcely a figure or symbol that is not appropriated from the Old Testament. The books of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah are especially made use of. The number seven is notably prominent—as seven spirits, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, seven heads, seven eyes, seven horns, seven plagues. The numbers three, four, ten, and twelve are also used in a significant way,¹ and where symbolical numbers are so frequently used we should at least hesitate about insisting on the literal import of any particular number. Constant reference, therefore, should be had, in the interpretation of this book, to the analogous prophecies of the Old Testament.

Immediately after the opening statements, and the salutation and doxology of verses 4–6, the great theme of the book is announced in this truly Hebraic and emotional style: “Behold he is coming with the clouds, and every eye shall see him,” and they who pierced him, and all the tribes of the land,² shall wail over him” (chap. i, 7). Let it be particularly noted that these words are appropriated substantially from our Lord’s discourse (Matt. xxiv, 30): “Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then shall all the tribes of the land wail, and they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and much glory.” The words “they who pierced him” are from Zech. xii, 10, and should here be understood not so much of the soldiers

¹ See Stuart on the “Numerosity of the Apocalypse” in his Commentary, vol. i, pp. 130–149. Comp. Trench, Com. on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, pp. 83–91.

² To press the literal import of these words, and insist that Christ is to come on a material cloud, and be visible to every person living at one time on the habitable globe, involves manifest absurdities. No person or phenomenon in the clouds of heaven could be visible, at one and the same time, to all the inhabitants of the world. That every one shall at some time see the Son of man is unmistakable doctrine, as is also the statement of 2 Cor. v, 10, that “we must all be manifest before the judgment seat of Christ;” but in an apocalyptic passage like that above, the language is to be understood in general harmony with the temporal and geographical limitations of the prophecy. The statement is no more to be explained literally than that concerning the trembling of the idols of Egypt in Isa. xix, 1, a passage closely parallel with this:

Behold Jehovah riding on a swift cloud, and coming into Egypt,
And the idols of Egypt tremble before him,
And the heart of the Egyptians melt within them.

³ The common English Version, “all kindreds of the earth,” appears to have misled not only many common readers, but even learned commentators. No Hellenist of our Lord’s day would have understood *πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* as equivalent to all nations of the habitable globe. The phrase is traceable to Zech. xii, 12, where all the families of the land of Judah are represented as mourning.

who nailed him to the cross, and pierced his side, as of the Jews, upon whom Peter charged the crime (Acts ii, 23, 36; v, 30), and who had cried, "His blood be upon us and upon our children" (Matt. xxvii, 25). To these Jesus himself had said: "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi, 64).

Having announced his great theme, the writer proceeds to record his vision of the Alpha and the Omega, the first and ^{words to the} the last—an expression taken from Isa. xli, 4; xliv, 6; ^{Seven Churches.} xlviii, 12. The description of the Son of man is mainly in the language by which Daniel describes the Ancient of days (Dan. vii, 9) and the Son of man (x, 5, 6), but it also appropriates expressions from other prophets (Isa. xi, 4; xlix, 2; Ezek. i, 26, 28; xliii, 2). The seven golden candlesticks remind us of Zechariah's one golden candlestick with its seven lamps (Zech. iv, 2). The meaning of the symbols is given by the Lord himself, and the whole forms an impressive introduction to the seven epistles. These epistles, though written in a most regular and artificial form, are full of individual allusions, and show that there was much persecution of the faithful, and that a momentous crisis was at hand. The various characteristics of the seven Churches may be typical of varying phases of church life and character for subsequent ages, but they are nevertheless distinct portraiture of then existing facts. The mention of Nicolaitans (ii, 6), the faithful martyr Antipas (ii, 13), and the mischievous prophetess Jezebel (ii, 20), is evidence that the epistles deal with actual persons and events, though the names employed are probably symbolical. The warnings, counsels, and encouragements given to these Churches correspond in substance with those our Lord gave to his disciples in Matt. xxiv. He warned them against false prophets, told them they should have tribulation, and some would be put to death, and the love of many would wax cold, but that he who endured to the end should be saved. It is not to be supposed that in this remoteness of time we can feel the force of the personal allusions of these epistles as well as those to whom they were first addressed.

The prophecy of the seven seals is opened by a glorious vision of the throne of God (chap. iv), and its symbols are ^{The Seven Seals.} taken from the corresponding visions of Isa. vi, 1-4, and Ezek. i, 4-28. Then appears in the right hand of Him who sat on the throne a book close sealed with seven seals (v, i). The Lion of Judah, the Root of David, is the only one who can open that book, and he is revealed as "a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes." His position was "in

the midst of the throne" (v, 6). The eyes and horns, symbols of the perfection of wisdom and power, the appearance of a slain lamb, expressive of the whole mystery of redemption, and the position in the throne,¹ as suggestive of heavenly authority—all serve to extol the Christ as the great Revealer of divine mysteries. The first four seals correspond virtually with the symbols of Zech. vi, 2, 3, and denote dispensations of conquest, bloodshed, famine, and aggravated slaughter or mortality.² These rapidly successive and commingling judgments correspond strikingly with our Lord's prediction of wars and rumours of wars, falling by the edge of the sword, famines, pestilences, terrors, days of vengeance, and unheard of horrors. The pages of Josephus, descriptive of the unparalleled woes which culminated in the utter ruin of Jerusalem, furnish an ample commentary on these symbols and on the words of our Lord. Why should we ignore the statements of the Jewish historian, and search in the pages of Gibbon, or in the annals of modern Europe, to find the fulfilment of prophecies which were so signally fulfilled before the end of the Jewish age?

The fifth seal is a martyr-scene—the blood of souls crying from under the altar where they had been slain for the Word of God (vi, 9, 10). This corresponds with the Lord's announcement that his followers should be put to death (Matt. xxiv, 9; Luke xxi, 16). The white robes and the comfort given to the martyrs answer to Jesus' pledge that in their patience they should win their souls (Luke xxi, 19), and that "whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it" (Mark viii, 35). But these souls wait only for "a little time" (ver. 11), even as Jesus declared that all the martyr-blood shed from the time of Abel should be visited in vengeance upon that generation, even upon Jerusalem the murderess of prophets (Matt. xxiii, 34–38). And then, to show how quickly the retribution comes, like the "immediately after the tribulation" of Matt. xxiv, 29, the sixth seal is opened, and exhibits the terrors of the end (verses 12–17). We need not linger to show how the symbols of this seal correspond with the language of Jesus and other prophets when describing the great and terrible day of the Lord. But we should note that before this judgment falls the elect of God are sealed,

¹ In chap. xxii, 1, it is called "the throne of God and of the Lamb." The throne belonged to the Lamb as well as to God. Comp. chap. iii, 21.

² To understand the rider on the white horse as a symbol of Christ, as many do, and the others as symbols of war, famine, etc., involves the interpretation in manifest confusion of imagery. If the first rider denote a person, so should the others; but, according to the analogy of corresponding prophecies, we have here a fourfold symbol of impending judgments. Comp. above, p. 841.

and there appear two companies, the elect of the twelve tribes (the Jewish-Christian Church—the circumcision), and an innumerable company out of all nations and tongues (the Gentile Church—the uncircumcision) who had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (chap. vii). This is the apocalyptic counterpart of Jesus' words: "He shall send forth his angels with a great trumpet-sound, and they shall gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv, 31).

The opening of the sixth seal brought us to the very verge of doom, and we might naturally suppose that the seventh ^{The Seven} would usher in the ultimate consummation. But it ^{Trumpets.} issues in the vision of the seven trumpets, which traverses a part of the same field again, and awfully portrays the signs, wonders, and horrors indicated by the symbols of the sixth seal. These trumpet woes we understand to be a highly wrought picture of the fearful sights and great signs from heaven of which Jesus spoke, the abomination of desolation, Jerusalem compassed with armies, and "signs in the sun and moon and stars; and upon the land distress of nations in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear and for expectation of the things coming on the world" (Luke xxi, 25, 26).¹ Accordingly, the first four trumpet-woes fall, respectively, on the land, the sea, the rivers and fountains of water, and the lights of heaven, and their imagery is appropriated from the account of the plagues of Egypt, and from other parts of the Old Testament. These plagues do not ruin everything, but, like Ezekiel's symbols (Ezek. v, 2), each destroys a third.

The last three trumpets are signals of direr woes (viii, 13). The tormenting locusts from the abyss, introduced by the ^{The plague} fifth trumpet, assume the form of a moving army, after ^{from the abyss.} the manner of Joel's description (Joel ii, 1-11), and are permitted to torment those men who have not the seal of God upon them. They may appropriately denote the unclean spirits of demons, which were permitted to come forth in those days of vengeance and possess and torment the men who had given themselves over to

¹ "The descriptions are of a kind," says Bleek, "that cannot be meant literally, since they cannot be shaped into intuitive ideas. But it is also inadmissible to refer them to single political events and catastrophes happening upon the earth, either at the time of the writing, so that the seer must have had them already before his eyes, or occurring later, so that these visions were fulfilled in them. Rather should we view the contents of these visions as a general poetical representation of the great revolutions of nature connected with the appearing of the Lord, or preceding it, in which Old Testament images, taken particularly from the narrative of the Egyptian plagues, lie at the foundation, and particulars should not be especially urged."—Lectures on the Apocalypse, p. 228. Lond., 1874.

all wickedness. Describing the excessive impiety of the Jewish leaders, Josephus remarks: "No age ever bred a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was from the beginning of the world." "I suppose that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overwhelmed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by; for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed."¹ Was not some fact like this before the mind of our Lord when he spoke of the unclean spirit that took seven others more wicked than himself, and returned and entered the house from which he had been cast out? "So shall it be," said he, "with this wicked generation" (Matt. xii, 43-45).²

The sixth trumpet is the signal for unloosing the armies restrained ^{The armies of} "at the great river Euphrates" (ix, 14). All proper ^{Euphrates.} names of this book appear to be symbolical. So we understand Sodom and Egypt (xi, 8), Michael (xii, 7), Zion (xiv, 1), Har-Magedon (xvi, 16), Babylon (xvii, 5), and New Jerusalem (xxi, 2). It would be contrary to all these analogies to understand the name Euphrates (in ix, 14, and xvi, 12) in a literal sense. In chap. xvii, 1 the mystic Babylon is represented as sitting upon many waters, and these waters are explained in verse 15 as symbolizing peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues.³ What more natural explanation of this symbol, then, than to understand it of the multitudinous armies, which in their appointed time came with their prowess and terror, compassed the Jewish capital about, and pressed the siege with unrelenting fury to the bitter end? The Roman army was composed of soldiers from many nations, and fitly corresponds with the abomination of desolation spoken of in our Lord's discourse (Matt. xxiv, 15). "When ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand" (Luke xxi, 20).

At this momentous point in the revelation, and when we might

¹ Whiston's Josephus; Wars, book v, chapters x, 5, and xiii, 6.

² The star fallen from heaven, to whom is given the key of the pit of the abyss, can scarcely denote any other than the Satan whom Jesus saw falling like lightning from heaven (Luke x, 18), and the names Abaddon and Apollyon are but symbolic names of Satan, the prince or chief of the demons. It should be noticed also that in chap. xviii, 2 the fallen Babylon is described as having "become a habitation of demons, and a hold of every unclean spirit, and a hold of every unclean and hateful bird."

³ That Euphrates is here to be taken as a symbolical name is ably shown by Fairbairn, Prophecy, etc., pp. 410, 411, and Appendix M.

naturally expect the seventh trumpet to sound, there is a pause, and lo, "another strong angel, coming down from the heav- The mighty en, arrayed with a cloud, and the rainbow upon his head, and his face as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire" (x, 1). Angel arrayed with cloud and rainbow. The attributes of this angel, and their correspondence with the sublime description of the Son of man in chap. i, 13-16, point him out as no other than the Lord himself,¹ and his lion-like cry, and the accompanying voices of the seven thunders, remind us of Paul's prophecy that "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with voice of archangel, and with trump of God" (1 Thess. iv, 16). This is no other than "the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory," which Jesus himself foretold as destined to come to pass in that generation (Matt. xxiv, 30-34). His glorious appearance seems like a prelude to the sound of the last trumpet, but the delay is not to defer the catastrophe, but to furnish an opportunity to say that with the voice of the seventh angel the mystery of God is to be finished (verses 6 and 7). The prophet also takes a book from the angel's hand and eats it (8-11) after the manner of Ezekiel (ii, 9-iii, 3), and is told that he shall "prophesy again over many peoples and nations and tongues and kings." For John survived that terrible catastrophe, and lived long after to make known the testimony of God. It was more than a suggestion that that disciple should tarry till the coming of the Lord (comp. John xxi, 21-24). The measurement of the temple, altar, and worshippers (xi, 1), and the treading under foot of the holy city forty-two months (three years and a half—a time, times, and a half a time), signify that the whole will be given over to desolation. This, again, corresponds with our Lord's words (Luke xxi, 24): "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Judging from the analogy of the language of Daniel, the "times of the

¹ It is in accord with the habit of repetition common to apocalyptic prophecies that the Son of man should appear in this book under various forms. First the glorious Christophany of chap. i, then as the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes (v, 6), then as the mighty, rainbow-encircled Angel of this passage (x, 1), then as Michael (xii, 7), and again as a Lamb (xiv, 1), and as the Son of man on a cloud (xiv, 14), then as the rider on the white horse (xix, 11), and finally as the Judge sitting on a great white throne (xx, 11). Thus the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ fittingly reveals him in manifold aspects of his character and glory. So, also, on the other hand, the arch-enemy, or antichrist, appears under various forms of manifestation, as Abaddon, or Apollyon, the angel of the abyss (ix, 11), the great red dragon (xii, 3), the beast out of the sea and out of the land (xiii, 1, 11), the scarlet-coloured beast on which the harlot is sitting (xvii, 3), the beast out of the abyss (xvii, 8; comp. xi, 7), and even the mystic Babylon considered as a habitation of devils (xviii, 2).

Gentiles" (*καίροι*; comp. Luke xxi, 24, with the Septuagint and Theodotion of Dan. vii, 25; xii, 7) are the "time, times, and half a time" during which the destructive siege was to continue, and the city be trodden without and within. During a corresponding period the two witnesses prophecy. These are, perhaps, best understood as a symbolic portraiture of the martyrs who perished by Jewish persecution, here conceived as two witnesses (comp. Deut. xvii, 6; xix, 15; Matt. xviii, 16; 2 Cor. xiii, 1) attested by such signs as proved Moses and Elijah to be true prophets, but perishing in the city where also their Lord was crucified after he had performed miracles "to-day and to-morrow and the third," and declared that it was "not allowable for a prophet to perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii, 33).

With this revelation, which stands as an episode between the sixth and seventh trumpets, we are the more fully prepared to feel the tremendous significance of the last trumpet. In that lingering hour of the sixth trumpet—an awful pause before the final blast—"There was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell." It would not be difficult to cite from the pages of Josephus an almost literal fulfilment of these words.¹ The imagery has allusion to the trumpet signaled fall of Jericho.

¹ See Josephus, Wars, book iv, chap. iv, 5, and chap. v. 1. If any one would see the fanciful and arbitrary hermeneutical methods into which some of the continuous-historical interpreters of the Revelation unconsciously involve themselves, let him note the following from Faber: "The great city (mystic Babylon) is said to comprehend ten different parts, or streets, which answer to the ten horns of the first apocalyptic wild beast, and which denote the ten kingdoms of the divided Roman Empire; for, since one tenth part of the great city is thrown down by an earthquake at the close of the second woe, such language necessarily implies a division into ten parts. The same great city is viewed also under two different aspects, according to its wider and its narrower extent. As a literal city may, at one time, comprehend within its walls a much larger tract of land than it does at another time, whence a district which was formerly within it may be subsequently without it; so the allegorical great city is variously spoken of, according as in point of geography it is variously contemplated. On this principle the platform of the ten streets, though it constituted the whole city when viewed in reference to the ecclesiastical authority exercised from its palace or centre, constituted but a part of it when viewed in reference to the wide dominions of the Roman Cæsars; and on the same principle, any province which lies beyond the geographical limits of the ten streets may be truly described as being either within or without the city. In this same manner, accordingly, we find the province of Judea spoken of. Our Lord is said to have been crucified *within* the great city, because he was crucified in the province of Judea, at that time within the limits of the Roman Empire [so was Britain! Surely a remarkable way of telling *where* the Lord was crucified]; yet is that identical province described as being *without* the great city (Rev. xi, 8; xiv, 20), because it lies without the platform of the ten streets which constitute the proper Western Empire, or Latin Patriarchate."—The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy (3 vols., Lond., 1828), vol. i, pp. 31, 32. Comp. other specimens in Farrar, The Early Days of Christianity, pp. 434, 435.

Next and "quickly" (xi, 14) the last trumpet sounds, and great voices in the heaven say "The kingdom of the world is become our Lord's and his Christ's, and he shall reign unto the ages of the ages" (ver. 15). The old æon has passed, the new one has begun, and the heavenly host shout a pæan of triumph. The blood of the souls that cried from under the altar (vi, 10) is now avenged, and those prophets and saints receive their reward (xi, 18). The old temple disappears, and the temple of God which is in heaven opens, and reveals the long-lost ark of the covenant (ver. 19), henceforth accessible to all who are washed in the blood of the Lamb.

The second part of the Apocalypse (chaps. xii-xxii) is not a chronological sequel to the first, but travels over the same ground again. The two parts have a relation to each other somewhat like the dream of the great image and the vision of the four beasts in the Book of Daniel. They cover the same field of vision, but view things under different aspects. The first part exhibits the terrible vengeance of the Lamb upon his enemies, as if contemplating everything from the idea of the king "who sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city" (Matt. xxii, 7). The second part presents a vivid outline of the struggling Church passing her first crisis, and rising through persecution and danger to triumph and glory. The same great struggles and the same fearful catastrophe appear in each part, though under different symbols.

The second part of the Apocalypse a repetition of the first under other symbols.

By the woman, in chap. xii, 1, we understand the apostolic Church; the man-child (ver. 5) represents her children, the adherents and faithful devotees of the Gospel. The imagery is taken from Isa. lxvi, 7, 8. These are the children of "the Jerusalem which is above," and which Paul calls "our mother" (Gal. iv, 26). The statement that this child was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and be caught up to the throne of God, has led many to suppose that Christ is designated. But the language of the promise to the church of Thyatira (chap. ii, 26, 27), and the vision of the martyrs who live and reign with Christ a thousand years (chap. xx, 4-6), show that Christ's faithful martyrs, whose blood was the seed of the Church, are associated with him in the authority and administration of his Messianic rule. The dragon is the old serpent, the devil, and his standing ready to devour the child as soon as born is an image appropriated from Pharaoh's attitude toward the infant Israelites (Exod. i, 16). Michael and his angels are but symbolic names of Christ and his apostles. The war in heaven was fought in the same element where the woman appeared, and the casting out of demons by Christ and his apostles

The woman and the Dragon.

was the reality to which these symbols point (comp. Luke x, 18; John xii, 31). The soul-conflicts of the Christian are of like character.¹ The flight of the woman into the wilderness was the scattering of the Church by reason of bitter persecutions (comp. Acts viii, 1), but especially that flight of the church in Judea which Jesus authorized when his disciples should see the signs of the end (Matt. xxiv, 16; Luke xxi, 21).

Being cast down from the heavenly places, the dragon stood upon the sand of the sea, and next revealed himself in a wild beast, which is seen coming up out of the sea (xiii, 1).

The Beasts from the sea and from the land. He combines various features of a leopard, a bear, and a lion, the first three beasts of Daniel's vision (Dan. vii, 4, 6), and the power which the dragon gives him imparts to him all the malignity, blasphemy, and persecuting violence which characterized Daniel's fourth beast at the appearance of the little horn. This beast we understand to be the Roman Empire, especially as represented in Nero, under whom the Jewish war began, and by whom the woman's seed, the saints (comp. xii, 17, and xiii, 7), were most bitterly persecuted. He was the veriest incarnation of wickedness, a signal revelation of antichrist, and corresponds in every essential feature with the man of sin, the son of perdition, of whom Paul wrote to the Thessalonians (2 Thess. ii, 3-10).² At the same time another beast is seen coming up out of the land (xiii, 11), having two horns like a lamb. But he is only the satellite, the *alter ego* and representative of the first beast, and exercises his authority. This second beast is a proper symbol of the Roman government of Judea by procurators, and if we seek for the meaning of the two horns, we may find it in the two procurators specially noted for their tyranny and oppression, Albinus and Gessius Florus.³ It is a well-known fact that the Christians of this period were required to worship the image of the emperor or die, and the procurators were the emperor's agents to enforce this measure.⁴ Thus the second beast

¹ Paul fully recognized the spiritual and demoniacal character of the Christian's struggle when he wrote: "Our wrestling is not against blood and flesh, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph. vi, 12). Such conflict was a war in heaven.

² Comp. Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, chap. xxviii, section v.

³ See Josephus, *Ant.*, book xx, chap. ix, 1, and chap. xi, 1. Wars, book ii, chaps. xiv. and xv.

⁴ Alford, after quoting in evidence from Pliny's letter to Trajan, observes: "If it be said, as an objection to this, that it is not an image of the emperor, but of the beast itself, which is spoken of, the answer is very simple, that as the seer himself in chap. xvii, 11 does not hesitate to identify one of the *seven kings* with the beast itself, so

is appropriately called "the false prophet" (chaps. xvi, 13; xix, 20), for his great work was to turn men to a blasphemous idolatry. The mystic number of the beast (xiii, 18) would then be represented both by the Greek *Λατρευος*, and the Hebrew *קסר נרן*, the numerical value of each being 666. For the beast was both the *Latin* kingdom, and its representative and head, *Nero Caesar*.

The vision of Mount Zion in chap. xiv is a glorious contrast to the preceding revelations of antichrist. It presents the Vision of Mount Zion. heavenly side of this period of persecution and trial, and sets it forth in seven exhibitions: (1) First is seen the Lamb on Mount Zion (the heavenly Zion), and with him are the thousands of his redeemed Israel in great glory (verses 1-5). These are no other than the woman's seed who have been caught up to the throne of God (xii, 5), but are now seen from another point of view. (2) Next follows the vision of the flying angel bearing eternal good tidings to every nation (verses 6, 7). This is done in spite of the dragon and his agents. While the dragon, wielding the forces of empire, seeks to annihilate the Church of God, the true children of the heavenly Jerusalem are caught up to be with Christ in glory; but the Gospel is still preached in all the world, accompanied by warning and promise. Thus the saints triumph "on account of the blood of the Lamb, and on account of the word of their testimony" (chap. xii, 11). (3) Then an angel, as by anticipation, announces the fall of Babylon the great (ver. 8), and is followed (4) by another who warns men against the worship of the beast and his image (verses 9-12). (5) Then a voice from heaven pronounces them blessed who die in the Lord *from henceforth* (ver. 13); as if from that eventful epoch the dead in Christ should enter at once into a rest

we may fairly assume that the image of the beast for the time being would be the image of the reigning emperor."—Greek Test. on Rev. xiii, 15. It is strange that learned critics will turn, with an air of contempt, away from an explanation of the "image of the beast" so natural and simple as that given above, and find satisfaction in such fancies as that this image denotes the images of saints set up in papal churches (Faber); or the pope considered as the idol of the Roman Church (Newton, Daubuz); or the temporal power of the pope, and the patrimony granted by Pepin in A. D. 754 (Glasgow); or the papal kingdom or hierarchy which the priesthood established (Lord); or the empire of Charlemagne, regarded as the image of the old heathen Roman Empire (Mede); or the pope's decretals (Oslander); or the Inquisition (Vitringa); or the papal General Councils of Western Europe (Elliott). Writers so full of visions of modern Europe and the fortunes of the papacy that they quickly discern apocalyptic epochs in such events as the battle of Sadowa, July 3, 1866, the pope's bull of July, 1868, the insurrection in Spain under Prim, and the revolution in France consequent upon the battle of Sedan, 1870, can scarcely be expected to view any prophecy from the historical standpoint of the sacred writer. Comp. Elliott, *Horæ Apocalyptice*, 5th ed., Lond., 1872; Preface and Postscript.

which the dead of the previous æon could not know. (6) The sixth scene is that of the Son of man represented as wearing a golden crown, holding a sharp sickle in his hand, and attended by an angel (verses 14-16); and with these soon appears another angel having a sharp sickle, and the land was reaped, and the winepress, trodden without the city, spread rivers of blood that seemed to deluge all the land. This is but another picture of the same great catastrophe, seen from another point of view.

The vision of the seven vials (*φιάλας, bowls*) full of the wrath of God, which are also called the seven last plagues (chapters xv, xvi), is but another symbolization of the seven trumpet-woes (of chapters viii-xi), with which they minutely correspond. The duplicate vision of these terrible judgments (one judgment of sevenfold fury, comp. Dan. iii, 19) is analogous to other repetitions of the same subject under different imagery (see above, pp. 317-319, and 324, 325). This double vision of wrath, like the double dream of Pharaoh, served to show that these things were established by the Almighty, and that he would shortly bring them to pass (Gen. xli, 32).¹

The vision of Babylon the great (chapters xvii, xviii) is a highly wrought apocalyptic picture of the apostate Church of the old covenant (comp. above, p. 299). The then existing Jerusalem, in bondage with her children (Gal. iv, 25), is portrayed as a harlot, and the language and imagery are appropriated largely from Ezekiel's allegory of the same city (Ezek. xvi; comp. Ezek. xxiv).² It is that murderess of prophets against whom Jesus uttered the terrible words of Matt. xxiii, 34-36. From the beginning of the Roman Empire Jerusalem sought and maintained a heathenish complicity with the Cæsars, and the empire became, politically, her dependence and support. There was constant strife among ambitious rulers to obtain the so-called "kingdom of Judea." Jerusalem was the chief city of that province, and is, therefore, properly said to "reign over the kings (not of the *earth*, and not over *emperors* and *monarchs* of the *world*, but) of the land" (chap.

¹ "The repetition of the vision of judgment in various forms," says Farrar, "is one of the recognized Hebrew methods of expressing their certainty. The same general calamities are indicated by diverse symbols." He cites from the ancient Commentary of Victorinus the statement that the seven vials are but another symbol of the same judgments as those denoted by the trumpets, and adds: "There is fair reason to suppose that Victorinus derived this valuable and by no means obvious principle of interpretation from early, and perhaps from apostolic, tradition."—The Early Days of Christianity, chap. xxviii, p. 450. London, 1882.

² Comp. Isa. i, 21: "How has the once faithful city become a harlot!" Comp. also Jer. ii, 2, 20; iii, 3-6; iv, 30; xiii, 27.

xvii, 18). It is the same land (γῆ), the tribes of which mourn over the coming of the Son of man (chap. i, 7).¹ We, accordingly, take the mystic Babylon to be identical with the great city which, in chap. xi, 8, is called Sodom and Egypt, where the Lord was crucified.²

The explanation of the mystery of the woman and the beast, given in chap. xvii, 7-18, has puzzled all interpreters. It is noticeably a composite explanation, and avowedly applies partly to the woman and partly to the beast which carries her. The mystery requires for its solution "the mind which hath wisdom" (ver. 9), and it may have had a meaning and force for John's contemporaries which we of a long subsequent age cannot so easily feel. "The beast which was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go away into destruction" (ver. 8), is an expression of cautious reserve, which is notably like Paul's guarded language about the man of sin (2 Thess. ii, 5-7). The beast with seven heads and ten horns is usually identified with the wild beast from the sea (chap. xiii, 1), and may be understood of Rome and her allied and tributary princes who took part in the war against Judea and Jerusalem. The great harlot city, whose

Mystery of
woman and
beast.

¹ "The kings of the land," who, in Psa. ii, 2, set themselves against Jehovah and his Christ, are declared by the Apostle Peter to be such kings as Herod and Pontius Pilate (Acts iv, 27). These, he declares, "were gathered together with Gentiles and peoples of Israel." Josephus says: "The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle (of the land), on which account some have called that city the navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come by the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais. It was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country as the head does over the body."—Wars of the Jews, book iii, iii, 5.

² It deserves notice that there is a title which, in the Apocalypse, is applied to one particular city *par excellence*. It is the title "that great city" [ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη]. It is clear that it is always the same city which is so designated, unless another be expressly specified. Now, the city in which the witnesses are slain is expressly called by this title, "that great city;" and the names Sodom and Egypt are applied to it; and it is furthermore particularly identified as the city "where also our Lord was crucified" (chap. xi, 8). There can be no reasonable doubt that this refers to ancient Jerusalem. If, then, "the great city" of chap. xi, 8, means ancient Jerusalem, it follows that "the great city" of chap. xiv, 8, styled also Babylon, and "the great city" of chap. xvi, 19, must equally signify Jerusalem. By parity of reasoning, "that great city" [ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη] in chap. xvii, 18, and elsewhere, must refer also to Jerusalem. It is a mere assumption to say, as Dean Alford does, that Jerusalem is never called by this name. There is no unfitness, but the contrary, in such a distinctive title being applied to Jerusalem. It was to an Israelite the royal city, by far the greatest in the land, the only city which could properly be so designated; and it ought never to be forgotten that the visions of the Apocalypse are to be regarded from a Jewish point of view.—The Parousia, pp. 486, 487.

holy temple had been made a place of merchandise and a den of thieves (Matt. xxi, 13; John ii, 15), was carried for a hundred years by Rome, and at last hated and destroyed by the very kings with whom she had maintained her heathenish traffic. Jerusalem's relation to Rome and her tributary princes was well voiced in that Jewish appeal to Pilate: "If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend. . . . We have no king but Cæsar" (John xix, 12, 15).

But while the relations of Jerusalem and Rome are thus outlined, the beast from the abyss. (πάρεσται, *shall be present*, ver. 8), may symbolize a deeper mystery. He is not a combination of the lion, the leopard, and the bear, nor does he "come up out of the sea" like the beast of chap. xiii, 1, but he is a "scarlet-coloured beast," and "comes up out of the abyss." May he not, therefore, be more properly regarded as a special manifestation of the "great red dragon" of chap. xii, 3? The seven heads and ten horns of the dragon indicate seats of power and regal and princely agents through whom the kingly "angel of the abyss" (chap. ix, 11) accomplishes his satanic purposes. We need not, therefore, look to the seven hills of Rome,¹ or to ten particular kings, for the solution of the mystery of the scarlet-coloured beast. The language of the angel interpreter, even when ostensibly explaining the mystery, is manifestly enigmatical. Just as when, in chap. xiii, 18, he that has understanding is called upon to "count the number of the beast," so here the clue to the mystery of the seven heads and ten horns is itself a riddle. "The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman is sitting" (ver. 9). This may indeed refer literally to seven mountains, either of Jerusalem or Rome, for both these cities covered seven heights; but it is as likely to refer, enigmatically, to manifold political supports or alliances, considered as so many seats of power or consolidated kingdoms, and called seven because of covenanted arrangements.² The words which follow

¹ The seven mountains on which the woman sitteth (ver. 9) may be the mountains of Jerusalem as well as the seven hills of Rome. There were Zion, Moriah, Acra, and Bezetha, and the three fortified heights, Millo, Ophel, and the rock, seventy-five feet high, on which the Castle of Antonia was built. See Edersheim, *The Temple*, pp. 11, 13. Boston, 1881. The notion that the *septem colles* of Latin writers were familiar to John and his Greek and Hebrew readers, and, necessarily to be understood here, is as fanciful as that the eagles of Matt. xxiv, 28, are the Roman eagles. The number seven, in this allusion to the mountains, need not be pressed into fuller significance than the seven horns and seven eyes of the Lamb in chap. vi, 6, where no one insists on a literal significance of the number seven.

² "The mountains," says Glasgow, "are, like other terms, to be understood

should be rendered: "And seven kings there are," not necessarily, as commonly translated, "*they* are seven kings," that is, the mountains represent seven kings. We are not satisfied with any solution of the riddle of these seven kings which we have yet seen, and will not presume to add another to the legion of guesses which have been put forth.¹ But we venture to suggest that the beast "which was, and is not, and shall come," may be understood primarily of Satan himself, under his different and successive manifestations, in the persons of bitter persecutors of the Church. It was the beast from the abyss by whom the two witnesses were slain (chap. xi, 7; comp. chap. xx, 7). Cast out by the death of one imperial persecutor he goes into the abyss (comp. Luke viii, 31), and, anon, comes up again out of the abyss, and appropriates the blasphemy and forces and diadems of the empire to make war upon the Lamb and his faithful followers. As the Elijah, who was to come before the great and notable day of Jehovah (Mal. iv, 5), appeared in the person of John the Baptist (Matt. xi, 14), and was so called because he represented the spirit and power of Elijah (Luke i, 17), so the beast "which was, and is not, is himself also an eighth," and

symbolically. If the woman is not literal, why should the mountains be so thought? And to call the woman a literal city, built on seven hills, is equally gratuitous, whether a Protestant says it of Rome or a Romanist of Constantinople."—The Apocalypse Translated and Expounded, p. 439.

¹ The explanations of the seven kings may be divided into three classes: I. Those which regard them as so many different historical phases of world-power, as (1) Egypt, (2) Assyria, (3) Babylon, (4) Persia, (5) Greece, (6) Rome, (7) Germanic-Slavonic Empire (Auberlen); or (1) Babylonian, (2) Medo-Persian, (3) Greek, (4) Syrian, (5) Egyptian, (6) Roman, (7) German Empire (Wordsworth). II. Those which make them represent so many different classes of rulers, as (1) kings, (2) consuls, (3) decemvirs, (4) military tribunes, (5) dictators, (6) emperors, (7) popes (Vitranga); or (1) kings, (2) consuls, (3) dictators, (4) decemvirs, (5) military tribunes, (6) the wreath-crowned (*στέφανος*) emperors, (7) the diadem (*διάδημα*) emperors (Elliott). III. Those which understand seven individual kings, as the first seven Cæsars, (1) Julius, (2) Augustus, (3) Tiberius, (4) Caligula, (5) Claudius, (6) Nero, (7) Galba (Stuart). Others begin the seven with Augustus; Grotius begins with Claudius; Düsterdieck throws out of the number the three usurpers, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and makes the seventh head Vespasian. Züllig understands the seven kings to be (1) Herod the Great, (2) Archelaus, (3) Philip, (4) Antipas, (5) Agrippa, (6) Herod of Chalcis, (7) Agrippa II., considered as antitypes of the seven Edomite kings mentioned in Gen. xxxvi, 33-38. The author of The Parousia (Lond., 1878) identifies them with the seven procurators of Judea, (1) Cuspius Fadus, (2) Tiberius Alexander, (3) Ventidius Cumanus, (4) Antonius Felix, (5) Porcius Festus, (6) Albinus, (7) Gessius Florus. The above by no means exhausts the various explanations. Surely he who would presume to determine an important question of apocalyptic interpretation upon any theory of the seven kings builds upon a very uncertain foundation.

² According to Gebhardt "the eighth king is identical with the beast (comp. Cowles on the Revelation, in loco), whose seven heads are seven kings. As individual

is of the seven [of the same spirit and power], and goes away into destruction" (ver. 11). It is not at all impossible that the widespread rumour that Nero was to appear again grew out of a misapprehension of this riddle, just as some modern interpreters still insist (see Alford on Matt. xi, 14) that the real Elijah is yet literally to come. The early Chiliasts, like their modern followers, often insisted on the literal interpretation even of riddles.

The fall of Babylon the great is portrayed in glowing colours in chap. xviii, 1-xix, 10, and the language and imagery Fall of the mystic Babylon. are appropriated almost wholly from the Old Testament prophetic pictures of the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre.¹ The vision is fourfold: First (1) an angel proclaims the

forms of world-power appear to the seer to culminate and unite in an empire which he calls *the beast*, so he sees again the particular stages of the development of this empire, the individual rulers of the same culminate in one prince, which he also describes as *the beast*. As the leopard, the bear, and the lion are contained in the beast, so are the seven heads of the beast contained in the one head. We may say that as he sees in an individual king the nature of a definite empire, uniting in itself all earlier empires, personified, so also he sees unfolded in this empire the nature of that individual king: this king is to him the empire in person; this empire is to him the king in the form of a kingdom. It is also evidently much easier in the one place to think of an individual king, and in the other of an empire, and it is therefore ever to be maintained that the seer so thought; the empire of which this is the king, the king whose is the empire."—The Doctrine of the Apocalypse, English translation, p. 221. Edinb., 1878.

¹ How notably strange it is that learned exegetes, who can see striking fulfilments of this prophecy in comparatively unimportant events of the politics and feuds of modern Europe and the papacy, are forgetful of such events as the following, which is only one of many similar pictures of woe given us by the Jewish historian. Describing the destruction of the temple, Josephus says: "While the holy house was on fire everything was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children and old men, and profane persons and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine anything either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill; and, besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again: Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city], and

awful ruin (xviii, 1-3). He repeats the words already used in chap. xiv, 8, but which were used of old by Isaiah (xxi, 9) and Jeremiah (li, 8) in foretelling the ruin of the Chaldean capital. (2) Then another heavenly voice is heard, like the words of Jesus in Matt. xxiv, 16, and like the prophetic word which long before had called the chosen people to "flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul" (Jer. li, 8; comp. i, 8; Isa. xlviii, 20; Zech. ii, 6, 7), and this call is followed by a woeful dirge over the sudden ruin of the great city (xviii, 4-20). This oracle of doom should be closely compared with that of Isaiah and Jeremiah over ancient Babylon (Isa. xiii, 19-22; Jer. i, li), and that of Ezekiel over the fall of Tyre (Ezek. xxvi-xxviii). (3) The violence of the catastrophe is next illustrated by the symbol of a mighty angel hurling a millstone into the sea, and the consequent cessation of all her former activity and noise (xviii, 21-24). (4) After these things there is heard a psalm of victory in the heavens—notable contrast to the voice of the harpers and minstrels of the fallen Babylon, and all the servants of God are admonished to prepare for the marriage supper of the Lamb.

After the fall of the great Babylon there follows a sevenfold vision of the coming and kingdom of the Christ (chap. The Parousia and Kingdom of the Son of man. xix, 11-xxi, 8). As, in Matt. xxiv, 29, "immediately after the tribulation of those days" the sign of the Son of man appears in heaven, so, immediately after the horrors of the woe-smitten city, the seer of Patmos beholds the heaven opened, and the glorious King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to judge the nations and avenge his own elect. This great apocalyptic picture contains: (1) The parousia of the Son of man in his glory (xix, 11-16). (2) The destruction of the beast and the false prophet with all their impious forces (verses 17-21). This overthrow is portrayed in noticeable harmony with that of the lawless one in 2 Thess. ii, 8, "whom the Lord Jesus shall take off with the breath of his mouth, and bring to naught with the manifestation of his coming;" and the beastly agents of Satan, like those of Daniel's visions (Dan. vii, 11), are given to the burning flame. (3) The destruction of these beasts, to whom the dragon gave his power and

augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them; for the ground did nowhere appear visible for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of these bodies as they ran upon such as fled from them."—Wars of the Jews, book vi, chap. v, 1.

authority (chap. xiii, 2, 11, 12), is appropriately followed by the binding and imprisonment of the old dragon himself (chap. xx, 1-3). The symbols employed to set forth all these triumphs are surely not to be understood literally of a warfare carried on with carnal weapons (comp. 2 Cor. x, 4; Eph. vi, 11-17), but they vividly express momentous facts forever to be associated with the consummation of that age, and crisis of ages, when Judaism fell, and Christianity opened upon the world. From that period onward no well-authenticated instance of demoniacal possession can be shown.¹

The Millennium. With that shutting up of Satan the millennium begins, a long indefinite period, as the symbolical number

most naturally suggests (see above, p. 298), but a period of ample fulness for the universal diffusion and triumph of the Gospel (verses 4-6). "The first resurrection" takes place at the beginning of this period, and is chiefly conspicuous as a resurrection of martyrs; a bliss of which not all the dead appear to have been "accounted worthy" (*καταξιωθέντες*, Luke xx, 35), but which Paul was anxious to attain (Phil. iii, 11). For it is written, "Blessed and holy is he who has a part in the first resurrection; over these the second death has no authority," for of such Jesus said, "neither can they die any more" (Luke xx, 36). Moreover, they sit upon thrones, and judgment is given to them (comp. Dan. vii, 22; Matt. xix, 28; Luke xxii, 28-30; 1 Cor. vi, 2), and they are made "priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him the thousand years." The language of verse 4, however, intimates that others besides the martyrs may sit upon thrones and exercise judgment with the Christ (comp. chap. ii, 26, 27; iii, 21).

The Chiliastic interpretation. Of other things which may occur during the millennium no mention is here made, and yet all manner of fancies have been built upon this brief passage of the Apocalypse. The Chiliasts assume that this millennium is to be a visible reign of Christ and his saints upon the earth, and with this reign they associate a most literal conception of other prophecies. The following, from Justin Martyr, is one of the earliest expressions of this view: "I, and others," he says, "who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the

¹ "We conclude," says the author of *The Parousia*, "that at the end of the age a marked and decisive check was given to the power of Satan; which check is symbolically represented in the Apocalypse by the chaining and imprisoning of the dragon in the abyss. It does not follow from this that error and evil were banished from the earth. It is enough to show that this was, as Schlegel says, 'the decisive crisis between ancient and modern times,' and that the introduction of Christianity 'has changed and regenerated, not only government and science, but the whole system of human life.'"—*Parousia*, p. 518.

dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare. . . . And, further, there was a certain man with us whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the general and, in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men would likewise take place.”¹ This Ebionite conception, having gained an early prominence, has infected apocalyptic interpretation with a disturbing leaven even until now, and there is little hope of a better exegesis until all dogmatic notions are set aside and we fearlessly accept what the Scripture says, and no more.

The old Chiliastic ideas of a restoration of all Israel at Jerusalem, and of Christ and his glorified saints literally sitting on thrones and reigning in visible material glory on the earth, are without warrant in this Scripture. Chiliastic interpretation without sufficient warrant. Nothing is here said about Jerusalem, or the Jews, or the Gentiles. An indefinite number sit upon thrones and receive judgment. Among them those who had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus have a most conspicuous place, and thus they receive the reward promised in chap. vi, 9-11. These now live and reign with Christ, not on the earth, but where the throne of his kingdom is, namely, in the heavens. This accords with Paul's words in 2 Tim. ii, 11: “If we died with him (i. e., by martyrdom; comp. Phil. iii, 10) we shall also live with him; if we endure suffering we shall also reign with him.” A resurrection of martyrs, to take place at the beginning of the millennial era appears to be the most natural and obvious import of Rev. xx, 4-6, and nothing is gained by reading into the language another meaning. “I do not see,” says Stuart, “how we can, on the ground of exegesis, fairly avoid the conclusion that John has taught in the passage before us that there will be a resurrection of the martyr-saints at the commencement of the period after Satan shall have been shut up in the dungeon of the great abyss.”²

¹ Dialogue with Trypho, lxxx, lxxxi. “The Book of Revelation,” says Hagenbach, “in its twentieth chapter, gave currency to the idea of a millennial kingdom, together with that of a second resurrection; and the imagination of those who dwelt fondly upon sensuous impressions delineated these millennial hopes in the most glowing terms. This was the case, not only with the Judaizing Ebionites and Cerinthus, but also with several orthodox fathers, such as Papias, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian.”—History of Doctrines, Translated by Smith, vol. i, p. 213. New York, 1861.

² Commentary on the Apocalypse, vol. ii, p. 476. Similarly Alford: “No legitimate treatment of this text will extort from it what is known as the spiritual interpretation, now in fashion. If, in a passage where two resurrections are mentioned, where

(5) At the end of the millennial period there is to be a loosing of Satan, a rising of hostile forces, symbolized by Gog and Magog (comp. Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix), and a fearful catastrophe, resulting in the final and everlasting overthrow of the devil—the culmination of the prophecy of Gen. iii, 15. This last conflict, belonging to a distant future, is rapidly passed over by the seer, and its details are not made known (verses 7–10). (6) The last great judgment is next portrayed (verses 11–15), and may well be regarded as the culmination and completion of that continual judgment (depicted in Matt. xxv, 31–46) which began with the parousia and continues until the Son of man delivers over the kingdom to the Father (1 Cor. xv, 24). (7) The last picture in this wonderful apocalyptic series is that of the new heavens and new land, and the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem (xxi, 1–8). It corresponds with Matt. xxv, 34, where the king says to those on his right hand: “Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” As there the glory of the righteous is put in striking contrast with the curse and doom of the wicked, and, it is finally said, “These shall go away into eternal punishment” (Matt. xxv, 46), so here, after the glory of the redeemed is outlined, it is added, as the issue of an eternal judgment: “But as for the fearful, and unbelieving, and abominable, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, their part is in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone (comp. ‘the eternal fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,’ Matt. xxv, 41), which is the second death.”

It should be noticed how this last sevenfold apocalyptic vision

certain *souls lived* at the first, and *the rest of the dead lived* only at the end of a specified period after the first—if in such a passage the first resurrection may be understood to mean *spiritual* rising with Christ, while the second means *literal* rising from the grave; then there is an end of all significance in language, and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to any thing.”—Greek Testament, in loco. This argument holds equally good against all theories of the “first resurrection,” which allow that the first is figurative and the other literal. Brown’s nine famous arguments against the literal, and in favour of a figurative explanation of the first resurrection (Christ’s Second Coming, pp. 231–258, New York, 1866), are all aimed against the sensuous Chiliastic notion that it is the simultaneous resurrection of *all* the righteous dead—a view which we repudiate as unscriptural. But Brown himself fairly overthrows the notion of Scott and others that John saw a resurrection of *souls*, and not of *bodies*. “This is to mistake what the apostle saw in the vision. He did not see a *resurrection of souls*. He saw ‘the souls of them that were slain;’ that is, he had a vision of the martyrs themselves in the state of the dead—after they were dead, and just before their resurrection. Then he saw them rise: ‘They lived’—not their souls, but *themselves*. All figurative resurrections in Scripture are couched in the language of literal ones; and why should this be any exception?”—Christ’s Second Coming, p. 229.

(chap. xix, 11-xxi, 8) covers the entire field of biblical eschatology. The whole is rapidly sketched, for details would have transcended the purpose of "the prophecy of this book" (xxii, 10), which was to make known things which were shortly to come to pass (chap. i, 1-3). But like the last section of our Lord's discourse (Matt. xxv, 31-46), which introduces things running far beyond the time-limits of that prophecy, but which were to commence "when the Son of man should come in his glory;" so this sevenfold vision begins with the parousia (chap. xix, 11), and sketches in brief outline the mighty triumphs and eternal issues of the Messiah's reign.¹

These visions introduce what transcends the time-limits of the book.

We understand that the millennium of Rev. xx, 1-6, is now in progress. It dates from the consummation of the Jewish age. It is a round definite number used symbolically for an indefinite æon. It is the period of the Messianic reign, and the kingdom of the heavens, like the mustard seed and the leaven (Matt. xiii, 31-33), is passing through its gradual development. It may require a million years. The impatient Chiliast will not be satisfied with this slow Messianic order, and refuses to see that the powers of darkness have been repressed, and the progress of human civilization has been more marked since the end of that age than ever before. But others see and know that since the dawn of Christianity, idolatry has been well nigh abolished, and every element of righteousness and truth has been gaining prominence and control in the laws of nations.² It is not in accord

The Millennium is the Gospel dispensation.

¹ Lange suggestively but somewhat fancifully observes: "The entire æon is to be conceived of as an æon of separations and eliminations in an ethical and a cosmical sense, separations and eliminations such as are necessary to make manifest and to complete the ideal regulations of life. Of judgments of damnation between the judgment upon Antichrist and the judgment upon Satan there can be no question; the reference can be only to a critical government and management preparatory to the final consummation. The whole æon is a crisis which occasions the visible appearance of the heaven on earth. The whole æon is the great last day. We may even conceive of the mutiny which finally breaks out as a result of these preparations, for a sort of protest on the part of the wicked was hinted at by Christ in his eschatological discourse (Matt. xxv, 44), and the most essential element in the curse of hell is the continuance of revolt, the gnashing of teeth."—Commentary on the Revelation of John, p. 350. American edition. New York, 1874.

² Pope represents the Catholic faith and interpretation as "content to understand figuratively the glowing representations of the ancient prophecies as applying to the present Christian Church. It takes the Apocalypse as a book of symbols, which does not give consecutive history, but continually reverts to the beginning, and exhibits in varying visions the same one great final truth. Satan was bound or cast out when our Saviour ascended; he has never since been the god and seducer of the nations as he was before, and as he will for a season be permitted to be again. The saints,

with either history or prophecy to believe that the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ will have for its historical period an æon shorter than that required for its preparation in the typical dispensations which preceded it. It is not probable that God would take four thousand years of type and shadow to prepare the world for two thousand years of light. We should not expect the earlier part of the Messianic millennium to be without any darkness, and there is nothing in the Scriptures to warrant the idea that its entire period is to be one of uniform and unclouded blessedness and glory.

There remains for our notice but one more great apocalyptic picture, the vision of the New Jerusalem. As in chap. xvi, 19, under the seventh and last plague, the fall of the great Babylon (old Jerusalem) was briefly outlined, and then, in chap. xvii-xix, 10, another and more detailed portraiture of that "mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the land" was added, going over many of the same things again, so here, having given under the last series of visions a short but vivid picture of the heavenly Jerusalem (xxi, 1-8), the apocalypticist, following his artistic style and habit of repetition, tells how one of the same seven angels (comp. xvii, 1-4, and xxi, 9-11) took him to a lofty mountain, and gave him a fuller vision of the Bride, the wife of the Lamb. This wife of the Lamb is no other than the woman of chap. xii, 1, but she is here revealed at a later stage of her history, after the dragon has been shut up in the abyss. After the land has been cleared of dragon, beast, and false prophet, the seed of the woman who fled into the wilderness, the seed caught up to the throne of God, are conceived as "coming down out of heaven from God," and all things are made new. The language and symbols used are appropriated mainly from Isaiah lxv, 17-lvi, 24, and the closing chapters of Ezekiel. The great thought is: Babylon, the bloody harlot, has fallen, and New Jerusalem, the glorious Bride, appears.

As the closing chapters of Ezekiel have been variously understood (see above, pp. 344, 345), so this vision of the New Jerusalem. New Jerusalem, which is evidently modelled after the pattern of that older Apocalypse, has been explained in different

martyrs, and others—the martyrs pre-eminently—now rule with Christ: *and hath made us a kingdom* (Rev. i, 6), they themselves sing; *and they reign upon earth* (Rev. v, 10). The apostles, and all saints, have part in the first resurrection, and in the present regeneration reign with Jesus, though the future regeneration shall be yet more abundant. The unanimous strain of prophecy concerning the glory of the Messiah's kingdom is to be interpreted as partly fulfilled in the spiritual reign of Christ in this world, which is not yet fully manifested as it will be; and partly as the earthly figure of a heavenly reality hereafter."—Compendium of Christian Theology, vol. iii, pp. 400, 401. N. Y., 1881.

ways. (1) According to one class of interpreters, the future restoration of the Jews to Palestine, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem on a magnificent scale, are here predicted.¹ (2) According to others, the new heaven, new land, and new Jerusalem are but a symbolic recapitulation of the visions of chap. xx, for the purpose of fuller detail, and are to be understood as synchronizing with the period of the thousand years. (3) But most interpreters regard the prophecy as post-millennial, and descriptive of the final heavenly state of the glorified saints of God. Rejecting the first of the above named views (which represents the sensuous Ebionite conception of the kingdom of heaven, and magnifies the letter to the quenching of the spirit of Scripture), we may blend the two other interpretations. Ezekiel's vision, as we have seen (p. 345), symbolized the New Testament Church and kingdom of God; why should not the same conception enter into this parallel prophecy? But as later revelations are wont to embody fuller and more perfect outlines of the provisions of grace, so John's picture of new heaven, new land, and new city is more luminous and far reaching in its indications of what God has prepared for those who love him and keep his commandments.

The words of Haggai ii, 6, 7, are acknowledged by the best interpreters to be a Messianic prophecy: "Yet once—it is Hag. ii, 6, 7, and a little while—and I will shake the heavens, and the Heb. xii, 26-28. land, and the sea, and the desert; and I will shake all the nations, and they shall come to the delight² of all the nations, and I will

¹ Here properly belongs that exposition of the "new heaven and new earth," which finds in Isa. li, 16; lxv, 17; lxvi, 22; 2 Pet. iii, 10-13; Rev. xx, 11; xxi, 1, a literal prophecy of the destruction of the world by fire, and the creation of a new world in its place. The only question among these interpreters is whether an absolutely new creation is intended, or only a renovation (*παλιγγενεσία*, *regeneration* (Matt. xix, 28) of the materials of the old. That these texts may intimate or dimly foreshadow some such ultimate reconstruction of the physical creation, need not be denied, for we know not the possibilities of the future, nor the purposes of God respecting all things which he has created. But the contexts of these several passages do not authorize such a doctrine. Isa. li, 16, refers to the resurrection of Zion and Jerusalem, and is clearly metaphorical. The same is true of Isa. lxv, 17, and lxvi, 22, for the context in all these places confines the reference to Jerusalem and the people of God, and sets forth the same great prophetic conception of the Messianic future as the closing chapters of Ezekiel. The language of 2 Pet. iii, 10, 12, is taken mainly from Isa. xxx, 4, and is limited to the parousia, like the language of Matt. xxiv, 29. Then the Lord made "not only the land but also the heaven" to tremble (Heb. xii, 26), and removed the things that were shaken in order to establish a kingdom which cannot be moved (Heb. xii, 27, 28).

² This most simple construction of the Hebrew has been strangely ignored by a supposed necessity of making *הנחמה*, *delight*, or *desire*, the subject of the verb *הנחמה*,

fill this house with glory." This prophecy is quoted and explained, in Heb. xii, 26-28, as the removal of an earth and heaven which shall give place to an "immovable kingdom." Is there any reason for believing this immovable kingdom to be other than that of which the Lord spoke in Matt. xvi, 28: "There are some standing here who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom"? The greatest "glory of that latter house," of which Haggai (ii, 7, 9) spoke, was attained when the Lord Christ entered and taught within its courts; but the destruction of the second temple, and the shaking of "the heaven and the land" which it represented, prepared the way for the nobler temple of "his body, the fulness of him who fills all things in all" (Eph. i, 23). Of this body Christ is the head, the husband, and Saviour (Eph. v, 23), having loved her and given himself for her, "that he might sanctify her, having purified her by the laver of water in the word, that he himself might present to himself in glorious beauty the Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing" (Eph. v, 26, 27).¹ This glorious Church is manifestly the same as the Bride, the wife of the Lamb, the holy city, New Jerusalem. It was necessary that the Old Testament visible Church should be shaken and fall and pass away, for its glory had departed; but in its place comes forth "the whole assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven" (Heb. xii, 23).

If, furthermore, we allow the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to guide us to a right understanding of the New Jerusalem, we will observe that the communion and fellowship of New Testament saints are apprehended as heaven begun on earth. It is altogether probable that this epistle was

come. But *בָּרְכֵם* is plural, and has naturally for its subject the nations (*בָּרְכֵם*) just mentioned. So in Isa. xxxv, 10, "The ransomed of Jehovah shall return, and come to Zion, with shouting and everlasting joy upon their heads." When we read further, in Isa. lxv, 18, as explanatory of the new heavens and new land (ver. 17), "Behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy," we will find therein the surest explanation of the *הֵימָּוָה*, *delight*, of Hag. ii, 7. The New Jerusalem, the New Testament Church and kingdom of God, is the delight and desire of the nations, which, according to Rev. xxi, 24, walk by the light of it.

¹ "The union of Christ," says Meyer, "with his Church, at the parousia, in order to confer upon it Messianic blessedness, is conceived of by Paul (as also by Christ himself, Matt. xxv, 1; comp. Rev. xix, 7; see also John iii, 29) under the figure of the bringing home of a bride, wherein Christ appears as the bridegroom, and sets forth the bride, i. e., his Church, as a spotless virgin (the bodily purity is a representative of the ethical) before himself, after he has already in this age cleansed it by the bath of baptism, and sanctified it through his word."—Critical Com. on Ephesians, in loco.

written after the Book of Revelation,¹ and direct allusions to it are apparent in the following passage: "Ye are come (*προσεληλύθατε*, ye have already come) unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." The Christian believer, when his life becomes hidden with Christ in God, has already entered into a communion and fellowship that never ceases.² His name is enrolled in heaven. He dwells in God and God in him, and all subsequent glorification in time and in eternity is but a continuous and growing realization of the blessedness of the Church and Kingdom of God.

In the vision of the New Jerusalem we have the last New Testament revelation of the spiritual and heavenly blessedness and glory of which the Mosaic tabernacle was a material symbol. The "dwelling of the testimony" New Jerusalem the heavenly outline of what the tabernacle symbolized. (*הקדש הקדש*, Exod. xxxviii, 21) and its various vessels and services were "copies of the things in the heavens" (Heb. ix, 23), and Christ has entered into the holy places "through the greater and more perfect tabernacle" (Heb. ix, 11), thereby making it possible for all true believers to enter "with boldness into the entrance way of the holies" (Heb. x, 19). This entrance into the holy places and fellowships is realized only as "we draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and the body washed with pure water" (Heb. x, 22), and such spiritual access is possible to us now. The Alpha and the Omega, accordingly, says: "Blessed are they who wash their robes, that they may have the authority over the tree of life, and by the gates may enter into the city" (Rev. xxii, 14). This city is represented as a perfect cube in form (Rev. xxi, 16), and may therefore be regarded as the heavenly Holy of Holies, into the entrance way (*εἰσόδου*) of which we may now approach. All this accords with the voice from the throne, which said: "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will tabernacle with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them" (Rev. xxi, 3). Herein we discern the true antitype of the ancient tabernacle and temple, and hence it is that this holy city

¹ Comp. the "innumerable company of angels" (Heb. xii, 22) with Rev. v, 11; and the "assembly and church enrolled in heaven" with Rev. xiii, 8; xxi, 27; and "spirits of just men made perfect" with Rev. vii, 13-17. References and allusions as direct and explicit as these, made by any of the early Fathers to books of the New Testament, would be regarded by all critics as indisputable evidence of the pre-existence of such books. Comp. Cowles, *The Revelation of John*, p. 22; Glasgow, *The Apocalypse*, Translated and Expounded, pp. 29, 30.

² Comp. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 164-166. Edinb., 1876.

admits of no temple, and no light of sun and moon, for the Lord God, the Almighty, and the Lamb are its light and its temple (Rev. xxi, 22, 23). Moreover, no cherubim appear within this Holy of Holies, for these former symbols of redeemed humanity are now supplanted by the innumerable company of Adam's race, from whom the curse (*κατάθεμα*, Rev. xxii, 3) has been removed, and who take their places about the throne of God and of the Lamb, act as his servants there, behold his face, and have his name upon their foreheads (Rev. xxii, 3, 4).

The New Jerusalem, then, is the apocalyptic portraiture of the New Testament Church and Kingdom of God. Its symbolism exhibits the heavenly nature of the communion and fellowship of God and his people, which is entered here by faith, but which opens into unspeakable fulness of glory through ages of ages.

There is room for differences of opinion in the interpretation of particular passages and symbols in all the apocalyptic Scriptures. But attention to their general harmonies, and a careful study of the scope and outline of each prophecy as a whole, will go far to save us from the hopeless confusion and contradiction into which many by neglecting this method have fallen.

From the foregoing study of biblical apocalyptics we may legitimately derive the following conclusions:

Conclusions.

1. It is of the first importance that this class of prophecies should be studied as a whole, and be seen to constitute a well-connected and inter-dependent series of divine revelations, running through the entire Scriptures.

2. The formal elements of apocalyptics are not of a nature to allow a literal interpretation of all the language employed. In great part the various revelations are set forth in the highly wrought language of metaphor and symbolism. The task of the faithful interpreter is to grasp the great essential thought, and distinguish it from the mere drapery in which it has been clothed. One can afford to miss some incidental parts, and frankly acknowledge inability to determine the exact meaning of such a passage as that touching the "first resurrection" in Rev. xx, 6, if he but truly apprehend the great scope, plan, and import of the prophecy taken as a whole.

3. Too much stress cannot well be laid upon the habit of repetition so conspicuous in all the great apocalypses of the Bible. We believe that the failure in most of the current expositions of the apocalypse of John to note that the second half (xii-xxii) is in the main a repetition of the first (i-xi) under other symbols and from other points of view, has been a fatal hinderance to the true interpretation of this most wonderful book.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NO DOUBLE SENSE IN PROPHECY.

THE hermeneutical principles which we have now set forth necessarily exclude the doctrine that the prophecies of Scripture contain an occult or double sense. It has been alleged by some that as these oracles are heavenly and divine we should expect to find in them manifold meanings. They must needs differ from other books. Hence has arisen not only the doctrine of a double sense, but of a threefold and fourfold sense, and the rabbis went so far as to insist that there are "mountains of sense in every word of Scripture." We may readily admit that the Scriptures are capable of manifold practical applications; otherwise they would not be so useful for doctrine, correction, and instruction in righteousness (2 Tim. iii, 16). But the moment we admit the principle that portions of Scripture contain an occult or double sense we introduce an element of uncertainty in the sacred volume, and unsettle all scientific interpretation.¹ "If the Scripture has more than one meaning," says Dr. Owen, "it has no meaning at all." "I hold," says Ryle, "that the words of Scripture were intended to have one definite sense, and that our first object should be to discover that sense, and adhere rigidly to it. . . . To say that words *do* mean a thing merely because they *can* be tortured into meaning it is a most dishonourable and dangerous way of handling Scripture."² "This scheme of interpretation," says Stuart, "forsakes and sets aside the common

Theory of a double sense unsettles all sound interpretation.

¹ We count it no gentleness or fair dealing, in a man of power, to require strict and punctual obedience, and yet give out his commands ambiguously. We should think he had a plot upon us. Certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of truth is plainness and brightness; the darkness and ignorance are our own. The wisdom of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to truth, the object and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glistenings, what is that to truth? If we will but purge with sovereign eye-salve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures protesting their own plainness and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise and the learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes.—Milton, *Reformation in England*, Book i.

² *Expository Thoughts on St. Luke*, vol. i, p. 383.

laws of language. The Bible excepted, in no book, treatise, epistle, discourse, or conversation, ever written, published, or addressed by any one man to his fellow beings (unless in the way of sport, or with an intention to deceive), can a double sense be found. There are, indeed, charades, enigmas, phrases with a *double entente*, and the like, perhaps, in all languages; there have been abundance of heathen oracles which were susceptible of two interpretations; but even among all these there never has been, and there never was a design that there should be, but one sense or meaning in reality. Ambiguity of language may be, and has been, designedly resorted to in order to mislead the reader or hearer, or in order to conceal the ignorance of soothsayers, or to provide for their credit amid future exigencies; but this is quite foreign to the matter of a serious and *bona fide* double meaning of words. Nor can we for a moment, without violating the dignity and sacredness of the Scriptures, suppose that the inspired writers are to be compared to the authors of riddles, conundrums, enigmas, and ambiguous heathen oracles."¹

Some writers have confused this subject by connecting it with the doctrine of type and antitype. As many persons and events of the Old Testament were types of greater ones to come, so the language respecting them is supposed to be capable of a double sense. The second Psalm has been supposed to refer both to David and Christ, and Isa. vii, 14-16, to a child born of a virgin who lived in the time of the prophet, and also to the Messiah. Psalms xlv and lxxii have been supposed to have a double reference to Solomon and Christ, and the prophecy against Edom in Isa. xxxiv, 5-10, to comprehend also the general judgment of the last day.² But it should be seen that in the case of types the language of the Scripture has no double sense. The types themselves are such because they prefigure things to come, and this fact must be kept distinct from the question of the sense of language used in any particular passage. We reject as unsound and misleading the theory that such Messianic psalms as the second, forty-fifth and seventy-second have a double sense, and refer first to David, Solomon, or some other ruler, and secondly to Christ. If an historical reference to some great typical character can be shown, the whole case may be relegated to biblical typology, the language naturally explained of the person celebrated in the psalm, and then the person himself may be shown to be a type and illustration of a greater one to come. After this manner the

¹ Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy, p. 14. Andover, 1842.

² See Davidson's Hermeneutics, pp. 49, 50. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, pp. 172-174. Horne, Introduction, vol. ii, pp. 404-408.

great events referred to in the Immanuel prophecy of Isa. vii, 14, and the calling of Israel out of Egypt in Hos. xi, 1, were typically fulfilled in Jesus. The oracle against Edom (Isa. xxxiv, 5-10), like that against Babylon (Isa. xiii, 6-13) is simply a specimen of the highly wrought style of apocalyptic prophecy, and gives no warrant to the theory of a double sense in the word of God. The twenty-fourth of Matthew, often appealed to in support of this theory, is explicable by a much simpler method.

Some plausibility is given to the theory by adducing the suggestive fulness of some parts of the prophetic Scriptures. Such fulness is readily admitted, and ever to be extolled. The first prophecy is a good example. The enmity between the seed of the woman and that of the serpent (Gen. iii, 15) has been exhibited in a thousand forms. The precious words of promise to God's people find more or less fulfilment in every individual experience. But these facts do not sustain the theory of a double sense. The sense in every case is direct and simple; the applications and illustrations are many. Such facts give no authority for us to go into apocalyptic prophecies with the expectation of finding two or more meanings in each specific statement, and then to declare: This verse refers to an event long past, this to something yet future; this had a partial fulfilment in the ruin of Babylon, or Edom, but it awaits a grander fulfilment in the future. The judgment of Babylon, or Nineveh, or Jerusalem, may, indeed, be a type of every other similar judgment, and is a warning to all nations and ages; but this is very different from saying that the language in which that judgment was predicted was fulfilled only partially when Babylon, or Nineveh, or Jerusalem fell, and is yet awaiting its complete fulfilment.

We have already seen that the Bible has its riddles, enigmas, and dark sayings, but whenever they are given the context clearly advises us of the fact. To assume, in the absence of any hint, that we have an enigma, and in the face of explicit statements to the contrary, that any specific prophecy has a double sense, a primary and a secondary meaning, a near and a remote fulfilment, must necessarily introduce an element of uncertainty and confusion into biblical interpretation.

The same may be said about explicit designations of time. When a writer says that an event will shortly and speedily come to pass, or is about to take place, it is contrary to all propriety to declare that his statements allow us to believe the event is in the far future. It is a reprehensible abuse of language to say that the words *immediately*, or *near at hand*, mean

No misleading designations of time in prophecy.

ages hence, or after a long time. Such a treatment of the language of Scripture is even worse than the theory of a double sense. And yet interpreters have appealed to 2 Peter iii, 8 as furnishing inspired authority to disregard designations of time in prophecy. "Let not this one thing be hid from you, beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." This statement, it is urged, is made with direct reference to the time of the Lord's coming, and illustrates the arithmetic of God, in which *soon, quickly*, and similar terms may denote ages. A careful attention to this passage, however, will show that it teaches no such strange doctrine as this.

The language in question is a poetical citation from Ps. xc, 4, and is adduced to show that the lapse of time does not
A thousand years as one day. invalidate the promises of God. Whatever he has pledged will come to pass, however men may think or talk about his tardiness. Days and years and ages do not affect him. From everlasting to everlasting he is God (Ps. xc, 2). But this is very different from saying that when the everlasting God promises something *shortly*, and declares that it is *close at hand*, he may mean that it is a thousand years in the future. Whatever he has promised indefinitely he may take a thousand years or more to fulfil; but what he affirms to be at the door let no man declare to be far away. "It is surely unnecessary," says a recent writer, "to repudiate in the strongest manner such a non-natural method of interpreting the language of Scripture. It is worse than ungrammatical and unreasonable, it is immoral. It is to suggest that God has two weights and two measures in his dealings with men, and that in his mode of reckoning there is an ambiguity and variableness which makes it impossible to tell what manner of time the Spirit of Christ in the prophets may signify. It seems to imply that a day may not mean a day, nor a thousand years a thousand years, but that either may mean the other. If this were so, there could be no interpretation of prophecy possible; it would be deprived of all precision, and even of all credibility; for it is manifest that if there could be such ambiguity and uncertainty in respect to *time*, there might be no less ambiguity and uncertainty in respect to every thing else. . . . Faithfulness is one of the attributes most frequently ascribed to the covenant-keeping God, and the divine *faithfulness* is that which the apostle in this very passage affirms. To the taunt of the scoffers who impugn the faithfulness of God, and ask, 'Where is the promise of his coming?' he answers, 'the Lord is not slack concerning his promises as some men count slackness.' Long or short, a day or an age, does

not affect his faithfulness. He keepeth truth forever. But the apostle does not say that when the Lord promises a thing for *to-day* he may not fulfil his promise for a thousand years: *that would be slackness*; that would be a breach of promise. He does not say that because God is infinite and everlasting, therefore he reckons with a different arithmetic from ours, or speaks to us in a double sense, or uses two different weights and measures in his dealings with mankind. The very reverse is the truth."¹

As an illustration of the fallacious and confusing theory of a double sense, especially when applied to prophetic designations of time, witness the following from Bengel. Commenting on the words, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days," in Matt. xxiv, 29, he says: "You will say it is a great leap from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the world which is subjoined to it *immediately*. I reply, a prophecy resembles a landscape painting which represents distinctly the houses, paths, and bridges in the foreground, but brings together, into a narrow space, most widely severed valleys and mountains in the distance. Such a view should they who study prophecy have of the future to which the prophecy refers. And the eyes of the disciples, who in their question had connected the end of the temple with that of the world, are left somewhat in the dark (for it was not yet time to know, ver. 36); hence they afterward, with entire harmony, imitated the Lord's language, and declared that the end was at hand. By advancing, however, both the prophecy and the prospect continually reveal a further and still further distance. In this manner also we ought to interpret, not the clear by the obscure, but the obscure by the clear, and to reverse in its dark sayings the divine wisdom which sees all things always, but does not reveal all things at once. Afterward it was revealed that antichrist should come before the end of the world; and again Paul joined these two things closely, until the Apocalypse placed even millenniums between. On such passages there rests, as St. Anthony used to call it, a *prophetical cloudlet*. It was not yet time to reveal the whole series of future events from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the world."²

Fallacies of Bengel's theory of prophetic perspective.

Here, we may say, are almost as many fallacies, or misleading statements, as there are sentences. The figure of a landscape painting with its principles of perspective is a favourite illustration with those expositors who advo-

As many fallacies as sentences.

¹ The Parousia, pp. 221-223.

² Gnomon of the New Testament, in loco. Lewis and Vincent's translation. Philadelphia, 1860.

cate the theory of a double sense, and some, who reject such theory, employ this figure to illustrate the uncertainty of prophetic designations of time. But it is a great error to apply this illustration to *specific* designations of time. Where no particular time is indicated, or where time-limitations are kept out of view, the figure may be allowed, and is, indeed, a happy illustration. But when the Lord says that certain events are to follow *immediately after* certain other events, let no interpreter presume to say that millenniums may come between. This is not "to interpret the obscure by the clear," but to obscure the clear by a misleading fancy. To say that "the eyes of the disciples were left in the dark," and that they afterward, "imitating the Lord's language, declared that the end was at hand," is virtually equivalent to saying that Jesus misled them, and that they went forth and perpetuated the error! The notion that any portion of Scripture "reveals the whole series of events from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the world," is a fancy of modern interpreters, who would all do well, like the pious Bengel, to confess that over their forced method of explaining the statements of Christ and the apostles there truly rests an obscuring "prophetical cloudlet."

There are, indeed, manifold applications of certain prophecies which may be called generic, and some events of modern history may illustrate them, and, in a broad sense, fulfil them as truly as the events to which they had original reference. In the days of John many antichrists had appeared (1 John ii, 18; comp. Matt. xxiv, 5, 24), and the demoniacal attributes of Paul's "man of sin" (2 Thess. ii, 3-8) may appear again and again in monsters of lawlessness and crime. Antiochus and Nero are definite typical illustrations in whom great prophecies were specifically fulfilled, but other similar impersonations of wickedness may also have revealed the beast from the abyss, which was, and then, after disappearing for a time, appeared again, and then again went into perdition (Rev. xvii, 8). But such allowable applications of prophecy are not to be confounded with grammatico-historical interpretation. When Satan shall be loosed out of his prison after the millennium (Rev. xx, 7) he may, indeed, reveal himself in some man of sin more fearful and more lawless far than any Antiochus or Nero of the past.

It may, in truth, be said that a large proportion of the confusion and errors of biblical expositors has arisen from mistaken notions of the Bible itself.¹ No such confusion and diversity of views ap-

¹ This thought is made prominent in Hofman's valuable work, *Biblische Hermeneutik*. Nordlingen, 1880.

pear in the interpretation of other books. A strained and unnatural theory of divine inspiration has, doubtless, led many into the habit of assuming that somehow the Scriptures must be explained differently from other compositions. Hence, also, the assumption that in prophetic revelations God has furnished us with a detailed historical outline of particular occurrences ages in advance, so that we may properly expect to find such events as the rise of Islam, the Wars of the Roses, and the French Revolution recorded in the prophetic books. This assumption is often found attaching itself to the theory of a double or triple sense. The interpretation of the Apocalypse of John has especially suffered from this singular error. There is such a charm in the fancy that we have a New Testament prophecy of the events of all coming time—a graphic outline of the history of the Church and the world until the final judgment—that not a few have yielded to the delusion that we may reasonably search this mystic book for any character or event which we deem important in the history of human civilization.¹

Mistaken notions of the Bible itself the cause of much false exposition.

We must set aside these false assumptions touching the Bible itself, and the character and purport of its prophecies. A rational investigation of the scope and analogies of the great prophecies gives no support to such extravagant fancies as that "the whole Apocalypse of John, from chapter iv to the end, is but a development of Daniel's imperfect tense."² The Holy Scriptures have lessons for all time. God's specific revelation to one individual, age, or nation will be found to have a practical value for all men. We need no specific predictions of Napoleon, or of the Waldenses, or of the martyrdom of John Huss, or of the massacre of St. Bartholomew to confirm the faith of the Church, or to convince the infidel; else, doubtless, we should have had them in a form capable of producing conviction. It cannot be shown that such predictions would have accomplished any worthy purpose not already met by fulfilled prophecies with their practical lessons of universal application.

¹ A friend of the writer once observed: It always seemed strange to me that Babylon, and Persia, and Greece, and Rome, and European states should be noticed in the prophecies, and yet no mention of the United States of America. He, accordingly, set himself to work to find something on the subject, and by and by discovered the great North American Republic in the fifth kingdom of Daniel—the stone cut out of the mountain without hands. Further research in the same line soon enabled him to see that the "war in heaven" between Michael and the dragon (Rev. xii, 7) was a specific prophecy of the late civil war between the Northern and Southern States, which resulted in the abolition of American slavery.

² Pre-Millennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference, p. 326. New York, 1879.

CHAPTER XIX.

SCRIPTURE QUOTATIONS IN THE SCRIPTURES.

IN comparing Scripture with Scripture, and tracing the parallel and analogous passages of the several sacred writers, the interpreter continually meets with quotations, more or less exact, made by one writer from another. These quotations may be distributed into four classes of quotations. (1) Old Testament parallel passages and quotations made by the later writers from the earlier books; (2) New Testament quotations from the Old Testament; (3) New Testament quotations from New Testament sources; and (4) quotations from apocryphal writings and oral tradition. The verbal variations of many of these citations, the formulas and methods of quotation, and the illustrations they furnish of the purposes and uses of the Holy Scriptures, are all matters of great importance to the biblical exegete.

As examples of each of these classes of citations we mention, first, genealogical tables, as Gen. xi, 10-26, compared with 1 Chron. i, 17-27, and Gen. xvi compared with Num. xxvi. Psa. xviii is substantially identical with 2 Sam. xxii. The same is true of 2 Kings xviii-xx and Isa. xxxvi-xxxix, 2 Kings xxiv, xxv, and Jer. lii. Large portions of the Books of Samuel and Kings are appropriated in the Books of Chronicles, and there are numerous textual parallels like Psa. xlii, 7, and Jonah ii, 3. The New Testament quotations from the Old Testament are manifold in character and form. In most cases they are taken *verbatim*, or nearly so, from the Septuagint version; in some instances they are a translation of the Hebrew text, more accurate than that of the Septuagint (Matt. ii, 15, compared with Heb. and Sept. of Hos. xi, 1; Matt. viii, 17, comp. Isa. liii, 4). Some of the quotations differ notably both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, while others were apparently constructed by a use of both sources. Sometimes several passages of the Old Testament are blended together, as in 2 Cor. vi, 16-18, where use is made of Exod. xxix, 45; Lev. xxvi, 12; Isa. lii, 11; Jer. xxxi, 1, 9, 33; xxxii, 38; Ezek. xi, 20; xxxvi, 28; xxxvii, 27; Zech. viii, 8. Sometimes the Old Testament passage is merely paraphrased, or the general sentiment or substance is given, while in other cases it is merely referred to

or hinted at (comp. Prov. xviii, 4; Isa. xii, 3; xlv, 3, with John vii, 38. Isa. lx, 1-3, with Eph. v, 14. Hos. xiv, 2, with Heb. xiii, 15).¹ In the New Testament it is evident that the many parallel portions of the Gospels must have been derived from some common source, either oral or written, or both. In Acts xx, 35, Paul quotes a saying of the Lord which is to be found nowhere else. Peter evinces a knowledge of the epistles of Paul (2 Pet. iii, 15, 16), and in the second chapter of his second epistle appropriates much from the Epistle of Jude. Finally, the quotations from apocryphal and other sources, and allusions to them, both in the Old Testament and in the New, are quite numerous.

Apocryphal
and traditional
sources.

Thus, in the Old Testament we have "The Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi, 14), "The Book of Jasher" (Josh. x, 13), "The Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings xi, 41), "The Book of Shemaiah" (2 Chron. xii, 15), and numerous others quoted or referred to. Jude quotes apparently from the pseudepigraphal Book of Enoch, and also makes allusion to traditions of the fall of the angels, and the dispute of Michael and the devil over the body of Moses (Jude 6, 9, 14). St. Paul calls the magicians, who opposed Moses, Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii, 8), names which had probably been transmitted by oral tradition. Many such traditions found their way into the Targums, the Talmud, and the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal Jewish literature. Quotations from such books and allusions to such traditions give them no canonical authority. An apostle or any one else, addressing those who were familiar with such traditions, might appropriately refer to them for homiletical purposes, without thereby designing to assume or declare their verity. Similarly Paul quotes from the Greek poets Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides (Acts xvii, 28; 1 Cor. xv, 33; Titus i, 12).

The great number of parallel passages, both in the Old Testament and in the New, is evidence of a harmony and organic relation of Scripture with Scripture of a most notable kind. Once written, the oracles of God became the public and private treasure of his people. Any passage that would serve a useful purpose was used by prophet

¹ See Drusius, *Parallela Sacra*, etc., in vol. viii of the *Critici Sacri*, pp. 1261-1325; Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, chap. xi; Gough, *New Testament Quotations Collated with the Old Testament* (Lond., 1853); Horne's *Introduction* (Ayers and Tregelles' Ed.), vol. ii, pp. 113-207; and especially Turpie, *The Old Testament in the New; A Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*. Lond., 1868. This last-named work conveniently classifies and tabulates the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament according to their agreement with, or variation from, both the Hebrew text and the Septuagint version. Comp. also Scott, *Principles of New Testament Quotation established and applied to Biblical Science* (Edinb., 1875), and Boehl, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate im neuen Testament*. Wien, 1878.

or apostle as part of a common heritage. With this understanding, there is little in the matter or style of the Scripture quotations in the Scriptures to give any trouble to the interpreter. Only the O. T. quotations in the N. T. call for special hermeneutical treatment. The comparison of parallel passages is, as we have seen (pp. 119-128), a great help in exposition, and some passages become clear and forcible only when read in the light of their parallels. The alleged discrepancies between these different Scriptures will be noticed in a separate chapter; it is only the Old Testament citations in the New Testament which call for special treatment here. These, as we have said, are so manifold in character and form that we should examine (1) the sources of quotation, (2) the formulas and methods of quotation, and (3) the purposes of the several quotations.

I. It is now generally conceded that the sources from which the New Testament writers quote are the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Septuagint translation of it. Formerly it was maintained by some that the Septuagint only was used; others, feeling that such a position was disparaging to the Hebrew Scriptures, maintained as strenuously that the apostles and evangelists must have always cited from the Hebrew, and though the quotations were in the exact words of the Septuagint, it was thought that two translators might have used the same language. But calmer study has made all such discussions obsolete. It is well known that the Septuagint version was in current use among the Hellenistic Jews. The New Testament writers follow it in some passages where it differs widely from the Hebrew. A critical comparison of all the New Testament citations from the Old shows beyond a question that in the great majority of cases the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew text was the source from which the writers quoted.¹

But it is noticeable that the New Testament writers do not uniformly follow either source. The Septuagint version of Mal. iii, 1, is an accurate translation of the Hebrew, but Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree literally in a rendering which is noticeably different.² In short, it is impossible to discover any rule that will account for all the variations between the citations and the Hebrew and Septuagint texts. Sometimes the

¹ See Horne's Introduction, vol. ii, pp. 114-178, where the Hebrew, the Septuagint version, and the New Testament citation of all the Old Testament quotations in the New, are given in the original texts, arranged in parallel columns, and each accompanied by an English version.

² Matt. xi, 10; Mark i, 10; Luke vii, 27. Matthew inserts *ἐγώ*, and Mark omits *ἐμπροσθεν σου*.

variation is merely a change of person, number, or tense; sometimes it consists of a transposition of words; sometimes in the omission or addition of words and phrases. In many cases only the general sense is given, and often the citation is but an allusion or reference, not a formal quotation at all. In view of all these facts it seems best to understand that the sacred writers followed no uniform method in quoting the older Scriptures. They were familiar both with the Hebrew text and the Septuagint. But textual accuracy had no special weight with them. From childhood the contents of the sacred writings had been publicly and privately made known to them (2 Tim. iii, 15), and they were wont to cite them in familiar discourse without any attempt at verbal accuracy. With them as with us an inaccurate quotation might become common and current on the lips of the people, and, while known by many to differ from the ancient text, was nevertheless sufficiently correct for all practical purposes. How few of us now recite the Lord's prayer accurately? So, doubtless, the inspired writers made use of Scripture, in many instances, without care to conform the quotation with the exact letter of the Hebrew text, or of the common Septuagint version. They quoted probably in most cases from memory, and the Holy Spirit preserved them from any vital error (John xiv, 26). The idea that divine inspiration must necessitate verbal uniformity among the sacred writers is an unnecessary and untenable assumption.¹ Variety marked both the portions and manner of the successive revelations of God (Heb. i, 1).

Inaccurate quotations may become current.

II. The introductory formulas by which quotations from the Old Testament are adduced are many and various, and have been thought by some to be a sort of index or key to the particular purpose of each citation. But we find different formulas used by different writers to introduce one and the

Formulas and methods of quotation.

¹ "In examining cited passages, we perceive," says Davidson, "that every mode of quotation has been employed, from the exactest to the most loose, from the strictest verbal method to the widest paraphrase. But in no case is violence done to the meaning of the original. A sentiment expressed in one connexion in the Old Testament is frequently in the New interwoven with another train of argument; but this is allowable and natural. . . . Let it be remembered, then, that the sacred writers were not bound in all cases to cite the very words of the originals; it was usually sufficient for them to exhibit the sense perspicuously. The same meaning may be conveyed by different terms. It is unreasonable to expect that the apostles should scrupulously abide by the precise words of the passage they quote. . . . In every instance we suppose them to have been directed by the superintending Spirit, who infallibly kept them from error, and guided them in selecting the most appropriate terms where their own judgments would have failed."—Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 469, 470.

same passage, so that we cannot suppose that in all cases the formula used will direct us to the special purpose of the quotation. The more common formulas are, "It is written," "Thus it is written," "According as it is written," "The Scripture says," "It was said," "According as it is said;" but many other forms are used. The same formulas are used by the Rabbinical writers.¹ Occasionally the place of a citation is indicated, as in Mark xii, 26; Acts xiii, 33; and Rom. xi, 2; but more frequently Moses, the Law, Isaiah, Jeremiah, or some other prophet is mentioned as writing or saying what is quoted. It is assumed that the persons addressed were so familiar with the holy writings that they needed no more specific reference.

"Besides the quotations introduced by these formulas there are a considerable number scattered through the writings of the apostles which are inserted in the train of their own remarks without any announcement whatever of their being cited from others. To the cursory reader the passages thus quoted appear to form a part of the apostle's own words, and it is only by intimate acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures, and a careful comparison of these with those of the New Testament, that the fact of their being quotations can be detected. In the common version every trace of quotation is in many of these passages lost, from the circumstance that the writer has closely followed the Septuagint, while our version of the Old Testament is made from the Hebrew. Thus, for instance, in 2 Cor. viii, 21, Paul says, *προνοοῦμεν γὰρ κατὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων*, which, with a change in the mood of the verb, is a citation of the Septuagint version of Prov. iii, 4. Hardly any trace of this, however, appears in the common version, where the one passage reads, 'Providing for honest things not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men;' and the other, 'So shalt thou find favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man.' So, also in 1 Peter iv, 18, the apostle quotes word for word from the Septuagint version of Prov. xi, 31, the clause *εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβής καὶ ἁματωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται*; a quotation which we should in vain endeavour to trace in the common version of the Proverbs, where the passage in question is rendered 'Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth; much more the wicked and the sinner.' Such quotations evidently show how much the minds of the New Testament writers were imbued with the sentiments and expressions of the Old Testament as exhibited in the Alexandrine version."²

¹ Many examples are given by Surenhusius, *מספר הכתובים*, sive *Biblos Kataλλαγῆς*, pp. 1-36; and by Döpke, *Hermeneutik*, pp. 60-69.

² Alexander, in Kitto's *New Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, article *Quotations*.

The New Testament writers were necessarily familiar with the current Rabbinical methods of interpreting the Old Testament, and they sometimes employed arguments and illustrations derived from the Holy Scripture which are not adapted to convince persons who have not been trained in the same way of thinking. A careful study, for example, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, will discover numerous instances in which the use made of Old Testament citations is not of a nature to influence the judgment of one unfamiliar with the discipline of the Hebrew cultus. Hence we should not study the methods of New Testament citation from the Old Testament for principles of general hermeneutics, but should always remember that the writers were acting under special conditions of mental and religious training. We recognize their profound reverence for the written word, and their divinely inspired use of it for a specific end, and yet maintain that, in many passages, the particular citation, and the argument built upon it, furnish no law of biblical exegesis suitable for universal application.

Furnish no law
of general her-
meneutics.

There appears no sufficient reason for maintaining that the reference to an Old Testament book by the name of its commonly supposed author commits the apostles, the evangelists, or Christ himself to an authoritative judgment concerning the authenticity and genuineness of the book. Such an inference is unnecessary unless it appears that the purpose of the reference was to express a judgment on that subject. If it can be shown by valid exegesis that the manner of quoting, or the use made of the quotation itself, necessarily involves a personal opinion touching the authorship of the passage, then, of course, the character of the quotation itself determines the question. But the mere allusion to a well-known book, or the mention of its supposed author according to the current opinions of the time, is obviously neither an affirmation nor a denial of the correctness of the common opinion.

Not designed
to decide ques-
tions of literary
criticism.

There is one formula, peculiar to Matthew and John, which deserves more than a passing notice. It first occurs in Matt. i, 22: "*All this has come to pass in order that* *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*. what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet *might be fulfilled.*" This is its fullest form; elsewhere it is only *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, *in order that it might be fulfilled* (Matt. ii, 15; iv, 14; xxi, 4; John xii, 38; xiii, 18; xv, 25; xvii, 12; xviii, 9, 32; xix, 24, 36), but in John's Gospel these words vary in their connexion, as, "in order that the word of Isaiah might be fulfilled;" "in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled;" in order that the word of Jesus

The formula
ἵνα πληρωθῇ.

might be fulfilled." Sometimes it is written *ὅπως πληρωθῇ* (Matt. ii, 23; viii, 17; xii, 17), and occasionally *τότε ἐπληρώθη*, *then was fulfilled*. The great question with interpreters has been to determine the force of the conjunction *ἵνα* (and *ὅπως*) in these formulas. Is it *telic*, that is, expressive of *final cause, purpose, or design*; or is it *ecbatic*, denoting merely the *outcome or result* of something? If *telic*, it should be translated *in order that*; if *ecbatic*, it should be rendered *so that*.

Bengel, commenting on the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* in Matt. i, 22, observes: "Wherever this phrase occurs we are bound to recognise the authority of the evangelists, and (however dull our own perception may be) to believe that the event they mention does not merely chance to correspond with some ancient form of speech, but was one which had been predicted, and which the divine truth was pledged to bring to pass at the commencement of the new dispensation."¹ Meyer, commenting on the same passage, observes: "*ἵνα* is never *ecbatic*, *so that*, but always *telic*, *in order that*; it presupposes here that what was done stood in the connexion of purpose with the Old Testament declaration, and consequently in the connexion of the divine necessity as an actual fact by which the prophecy was destined to be fulfilled. The divine decree, expressed in the latter, must be accomplished, and to that end *this*, namely, which is related from verse 18 onward, *came to pass*, and that, according to the whole of its contents (*δλον*)."

This view of the *telic* force of *ἵνα*, especially in the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* in connexion with prophetic statements, is maintained by many of the most eminent critics and scholars, as Fritzsche, De Wette, Olshausen, Alford, and Winer. Others, as Tittmann, Stuart, and Robinson, contend for the *ecbatic* use of *ἵνα* in this phrase as well as in many other passages.² The question can be determined only by a critical examination of the passages where the alleged *ecbatic* use of the particle occurs. In most of these cases we believe the ordinary *telic* sense of *ἵνα* has been misapprehended by a superficial view of the real import of the passage. Thus Tittmann cites Mark xi, 25, as a clear instance of the *ecbatic* use of *ἵνα*: "Whenever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one, in order that your Father also who is in the heavens may forgive you your trespasses."

¹ Gnomon of the New Testament, in loco.

² See Tittmann's essay on the "Use of the particle *ἵνα* in the New Testament," translated into English with introductory remarks by M. Stuart in the *Biblical Repository* of Jan., 1835. Also Robinson's *Lexicon of the New Testament* under the words *ἵνα* and *ὅπως*.

According to Tittmann, "the Saviour could not inculcate on his disciples the mere prudential duty of forgiving others *in order that* they themselves might obtain forgiveness, which would be quite foreign to real integrity and purity of mind; but he wished them to consider that if they cherished an implacable spirit they could have no grounds to hope for pardon from God; so that if they themselves were not ready to forgive it was impossible that they should obtain forgiveness."¹ But this reasoning would exclude everywhere the telic force of *iva*. According to the writer's own admission, the forgiving of others is an indispensable condition of pardon; why not then regard this condition, as well as any other, in the light of a means to an end? Is it possible to believe that obtaining forgiveness from God is an object and aim at all inconsistent with "real integrity and purity of mind?" Much more soundly does Meyer give the real thought of the passage: "To the exhortation to confidence in prayer Jesus links on another principal requisite of being heard—namely, the necessity of forgiving in order to obtain forgiveness."² The forgiving is presented as an indispensable means to an end.

It need not, however, be denied that in some passages the ecbatie rendering of *iva* may bring out more clearly the sense of the author. The particle may be allowed some measure of its native telic import, and yet the final cause or end may be conceived of as an accomplished result or attainment rather than an objective ideal necessary to be reached.³ Ellicott's position may be accepted as every way sound and satisfactory: "The uses of *iva* in the New Testament appear to be three: (1) *Final*, or indicative of the *end*, *purpose*, or *object* of the action—the primary and principal meaning, and never to be given up except on the most distinct counter arguments. (2) *Sub-final*, occasionally, especially after verbs of entreaty (not of command), the subject of the prayer being blended with, and even in some cases obscuring, the *purpose* of making it. (3) *Eventual*, or indicative of result, apparently in a few cases, and due, perhaps, more to what is called 'Hebrew teleology' (i. e., the reverential aspect under which the Jews regarded prophecy and its fulfilment) than grammatical depravation."⁴

The ecbatie sense of *iva* need not in all cases be denied.

¹ Biblical Repository for Jan., 1835, p. 105.

² Critical Commentary on Mark xi, 25.

³ Comp. Winer's New Testament Grammar (English translation, Andover, 1874), pp. 457-461, and Buttmann's Grammar of the New Testament Greek (English translation, Andover, 1873), pp. 235-241.

⁴ Critical and Grammatical Commentary on Ephesians i, 17.

But when the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* are used in connexion with the fulfilment of prophecy we should not hesitate to accept the telic force of *ἵνα*. The Scriptures themselves recognise a sort of divine necessity for the fulfilment of all that predicted or typified the Christ. As it was necessary (*ἔδει*) for the Christ to suffer (Luke xxiv, 26), so "it was necessary that all things which were written in the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning him should be fulfilled" (Luke xxiv, 44; comp. the *ἔδει πληρωθῆναι* of Acts i, 16). The objection that it is absurd to suppose all these things were done merely to fulfil a prophecy is based upon a misconception and misrepresentation of the evangelist. The statement that this particular divine purpose was served does not imply that no other divine purpose was accomplished. "All these things did transpire," says Whedon, "in order, among other purposes, to the fulfilment of that prophecy, inasmuch as the fulfilment of that prophecy was at the same time the accomplishment of the Incarnation of the Redeemer, and the verification of the divine prediction. Nor is there any predestinarian fatalism in all this. God predicts what he foresees that men will freely do; and then men do freely in turn fulfil what God predicts, and so unconsciously act in order to verify God's veracity. Moreover there is no fatalism in supposing that God has high plans which he does with infinite wisdom carry out through the free, unnecessitated, though foreseen wills of men. Such is his inconceivable wisdom that he can so place free agents in a free system of probation that which ever way they freely turn they will but further his great generic plans and verify his foreknowledge. So that it may, in a right sense, be true that all these things are done by free agents *in order to* so desirable an end as to fulfil the divine foresight."¹

The passage in Matt. ii, 15, has been thought by many to be a certain instance of the ecbatic usage of *ἵνα*. It is there written that Joseph arose and took the child Jesus and his mother by night and withdrew into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod, "in order that (*ἵνα πληρωθῇ*) it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt I called my son." The quotation is a literal translation of the Hebrew of Hos xi, 1, and the reference of the prophet is to Israel. The whole verse of Hos. xi, 1, reads thus: "For a child was Israel, and I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son." Here some would see a double sense of prophecy, and others an Old Testament text accommodated to a New Testament use. But the true interpretation of this quotation will recog-

Hosea xi, 1, as cited in Matt. ii, 15.

¹ Commentary on Matthew i, 22.

nise the typical character of Israel as "God's firstborn," a familiar thought of the Old Testament Scripture. Thus, in Exod. iv, 22, Jehovah is represented as saying: "My son, my firstborn, is Israel." And again in Jer. xxxi, 9: "For I have been to Israel for a father, and Ephraim is my firstborn." Compare also Isa. xlix, 3. Recognising this typical character of Israel as God's firstborn son, the evangelist readily perceived that the ancient exodus of Israel out of Egypt was a type of this event in the life of the Son of God while he was yet a child. Among the other purposes (and there were doubtless many) that were served by this going down into Egypt, and exodus therefrom, was the fulfilment of the prophecy of Hosea. This fulfilment of typical events, as we have shown above (p. 384), does not authorize the doctrine of a double sense in the language of prophecy. The words of Hosea xi, 1, have but one meaning, and announce in poetic form a fact of Israel's ancient history. That fact was a type which was fulfilled in the event recorded in Matt. ii, but the language used by the prophet had no previous fulfilment. It was not a prediction at all, but an allusion to an event which occurred six hundred years before Hosea was born.¹

III. It remains to notice the purposes for which any of the sacred writers quoted or referred to the more ancient Scriptures. Attention to this point will be an important aid in enabling us to understand and appreciate the various uses of the holy writings.

Purposes of
Scripture quo-
tation.

1. The citation of many ancient prophecies was manifestly for the purpose of showing and putting on record their fulfilment. This is true of all the prophecies which are introduced with the formula *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, in order that it might be fulfilled. And the same thought is implied in the context of quotations introduced by

¹ Lange (Commentary on Matthew ii, 15) has the following: "As the flight and the return had really taken place, the evangelist, whose attention was always directed to the fulfilment of prophecy, might very properly call attention to the fact that even this prediction of Hosea had been fulfilled. And, in truth, viewed not as a verbal but as a typical prophecy, this prediction was fulfilled by this flight into Egypt. Israel of old was called out of Egypt as the son of God, inasmuch as Israel was identified with the Son of God. But now the Son of God himself was called out of Egypt, who came out of Israel, as the kernel from the husk. When the Lord called Israel out of Egypt, it was with special reference to his Son; that is, in view of the high spiritual place which Israel was destined to occupy. In connexion with this it is also important to bear in mind the historical influence of Egypt on the world at large. Ancient Greek civilization—nay, in a certain sense, the imperial power of Rome itself—sprung from Egypt; in Egypt the science of Christian theology originated; from Egypt proceeded the last universal Conqueror; out of Egypt came the typical son of God to found the theocracy; and thence also the true Son of God to complete the theocracy."

other formulas. These facts exhibit the interdependence and organic connexion of the entire body of Holy Scripture. It is a divinely constructed whole, and the essential relations of its several parts must never be forgotten.

2. Other quotations are made for the purpose of establishing a doctrine. So Paul, in Rom. iii, 9-19, quotes the Scriptures to prove the universal depravity of man; and in Rom. iv, 3, he cites the record of Abraham's belief in God to show that a man is justified by faith rather than works, and that faith is imputed unto him for righteousness. This manner of his using the Old Testament obviously implies that the apostle and his readers regarded it as authoritative in its teachings. What was written therein, or could be confirmed thereby, was final, and must be accepted as the revelation of God.

3. Sometimes the Scripture is quoted for the purpose of confuting and rebuking opponents and unbelievers. Jesus himself appealed to his Jewish opponents on the ground of their regard for the Scriptures, and showed their inconsistency in refusing to receive him of whom the Scriptures so abundantly testified (John v, 39, 40). With those who accepted the Scripture as the word of God such argumentation was of great weight. How effectually Jesus employed it may be seen in his answers to the Sadducees and Pharisees (Matt. xxii, 29-32, 41-46). Compare John x, 34-36.

4. Finally, the Scriptures were cited or referred to in a general way as a book of divine authority, for rhetorical purposes, and for illustration. Its manifold treasures were the heritage of the people of God. Its language would be naturally appropriated to express any thought or idea which a writer or speaker might wish to clothe in sacred and venerable form. Hence the manners, references, allusions, and citations which serve mainly to enhance the force or beauty of a statement, and to illustrate some argument or appeal. "The writings of the Jewish prophets," says Horne, "which abound in fine descriptions, poetical images, and sublime diction, were the classics of the later Jews; and, in subsequent ages, all their writers affected allusions to them, borrowed their images and descriptions, and very often cited their identical words when recording any event or circumstance that happened in the history of the persons whose lives they were relating, provided it was similar and parallel to one that occurred at the times, and was described in the books, of the ancient prophets."¹

¹ Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, vol. ii, p. 191.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FALSE AND THE TRUE ACCOMMODATION.

INASMUCH as many passages of the Old Testament Scripture are appropriated by New Testament writers for the sake of illustration, or by way of special application, it has been held by many that all the Old Testament quotations, even the Messianic prophecies, have been applied in the New Testament in a sense differing more or less widely from their original import. This especially has been a position taken by many rationalists of Germany, and some have gone so far as to teach that our Lord accommodated himself to the prejudices of his age and people. His use of Scripture, they tell us, was of the nature of argument and appeal *ad hominem*; even his words and acts in regard to unclean spirits of demons, and other matters of belief among the Jews, were a falling in line with the errors and superstitions of the common people.

Such a theory of accommodation should be utterly repudiated by the sober and thoughtful exegete. It virtually teaches that Jesus Christ was a propagator of falsehood. It would convict every New Testament writer of a species of mental and religious delusion. The divine Teacher did, indeed, accommodate his teaching to the capacity of his hearers, as every wise teacher will do; or, rather, he condescended to put himself on the plane of their limited knowledge. He would speak so that men might understand, and believe, and be saved. But in those who had no disposition to search and test his truth he declared that Isaiah's words (Isa. vi, 9, 10) received a new application, and a most significant fulfilment (Matt. xiii, 14, 15). And this was strictly true. Isaiah's words were first spoken to the dull and blinded hearts of the Israel of his own day. Ezekiel repeated them with equal propriety to the Israel of a later generation (Ezek. xii, 2). And our Lord quoted and applied them to the Israel of his time as one of those homiletic Scriptures which are fulfilled again and again in human history when the faculties of spiritual perception become perversely dull to the truths of God. The prophecy in question was not the prediction of a specific event, but a general oracle of God, and of such a nature as to be capable of repeated fulfilments.

Hence such prophecies afford no proof of a double sense. The sense is in each instance simple and direct, but the language is capable of double or manifold applications.

And herein we observe a true sense in which the words of Scripture may be accommodated to particular occasions and purposes. It is found in the manifold uses and applications of which the words of divine inspiration are capable. This is not, strictly speaking, a manifold *fulfilment* of Scripture, though it may be affirmed that a forcible and legitimate application of a passage is truly a fulfilment of it. When a given passage is of such a character as to be susceptible of application to other circumstances or subjects than those to which it first applied, such secondary application should not be denied the name of a fulfilment. In such a case we do not say: The first reference was to an event near at hand, but that primary fulfilment did not exhaust the meaning; its higher fulfilment is to be seen in a future event. Much truth may attach to such a statement, but it is liable to mislead one, and to foster the idea of a hidden sense, a mystic meaning, a so-called *hyponoia* (*ὑπόνοια*). Thus the psalmist says: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old" (Psa. lxxviii, 2). This is quoted by Matthew (xiii, 35), the first sentence according to the Septuagint, the second a free rendering of the Hebrew, but following strictly neither the Hebrew nor the Septuagint. The evangelist affirms that Jesus made use of parables in order that these words might be fulfilled. And we are not at liberty to deny that this was one real purpose of Jesus in the use of parables. The words of the psalmist prophet herein found a new and higher application, but in no different sense than that in which they were first used.

The language of Jer. xxxi, 15, is quoted by Matthew (ii, 17, 18) as being fulfilled in the weeping and lamentation occasioned by Herod's slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem. In the highest strain of poetical conception the prophet Jeremiah sets forth the grief of Israel's woes and exile. It seems to him as if the affectionate Rachel—the mother of the house of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. xxx, 24; xli, 51, 52), and the mother of Benjamin (Gen. xxxv, 16–18), might be heard weeping and wailing at Ramah over the loss of her children. The prophet mentions Ephraim (Jer. xxxi, 18, 20) as the chief tribe and representative of all Israel. The tender mother's agony is over a wider woe than the exile of Judah only. It takes in Ephraim's overthrow and captivity as well. And Rachel, rather than Leah, is named because of her great desire for children (Gen. xxx, 1), and

Jer. xxxi, 15, as
cited in Matt.
ii, 17, 18.

the touching and melancholy circumstances of her death (Gen. xxxv, 18). The weeping is represented as heard at Ramah, perhaps for various reasons. That city occupied a conspicuous eminence¹ in the tribe-territory of Benjamin, whence the lamentation might be conceived as sounding far and wide through all the coasts of Benjamin and Judah.² Ramah was the home of Hannah (the mother of Samuel, 1 Sam. i, 19, 20), whose motherly yearning was so much like that of Rachel.³ It was at Ramah also where the Jewish exiles were gathered before their deportation to Babylon (Jer. xl, 1). The heart of Rachel, in the prophet's view, was large enough to feel and lament the woes of all the sons of Jacob. All this comes up to the evangelist when he pens the slaughter of the children of the coasts of Bethlehem (Matt. ii, 16). It seems to him as if the motherly heart of Rachel cried from the tomb again, and this later sorrow was but a repetition of that of the exile, the former sorrow being a type of the latter. And this was a fulfilment of that poetic prophecy, although it is not said that this sorrow of Bethlehem came to pass *in order to fulfil* the words of Jeremiah. By a true and legitimate accommodation the words of the prophet were appropriated by the evangelist as enhancing his record of that bitter woe. "By keeping in mind," says Davidson, "the close relation of type and antitype, whether the former be a person, as David, or an event, as the birth of a child, we shall not stumble at the manner in which certain quotations in the New Testament are introduced, nor have recourse to other modes of explanation which seem to be objectionable. We do not adopt, with some, the hypothesis of a double sense, to which there are weighty objections. Neither do we conceive that the principle of accommodation, in its mildest form, comes up to the truth. The passages containing typical prophecies have always a direct reference to facts or things in the history of the persons or people obviously spoken of in the context. But these facts or circumstances were typical of spiritual transactions in the history of the Saviour and his kingdom."⁴

¹ Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. i, p. 576.

² Comp. Keil, Commentary on Jeremiah xxxi, 15.

³ "The prophet goes back in spirit," says Nägelsbach, "to the time when the inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes were led away to Assyria into captivity. . . . The mother of the ruling tribe appears thus as the personification of the kingdom ruled by it. The spirit of Rachel is the genius of the kingdom of the ten tribes whom the prophet represented by a bold poetical figure as rising from her tomb by night and bewailing the misery of her children."—Commentary on Jeremiah xxxi, 15.

⁴ Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 488.

CHAPTER XXI.

ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES OF THE SCRIPTURES.

In comparing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and also in examining the statements of the different writers of either Testament, the reader's attention is occasionally arrested by what appear to be contradictions. Sometimes different passages of the same book present some noticeable inconsistency, but more frequently the statements made by different writers exhibit discrepancies which some critics have been hasty to pronounce irreconcilable. These discrepancies are found in the genealogical tables, and in various numerical, historical, doctrinal, ethical, and prophetic statements. It is the province of the interpreter of Scripture to examine these with great patience and care; he must not ignore any difficulty, but should be able to explain the apparent inconsistencies, not by dogmatic assertions or denials, but by rational methods of procedure. If he find a discrepancy or a contradiction which he is unable to explain he should not hesitate to acknowledge it. It does not follow that because he is not able to solve the problem it is therefore insoluble. The lack of sufficient data has often effectually baffled the efforts of the most able and accomplished exegetes.

A large proportion of the discrepancies of the Bible are traceable to one or more of the following causes: The errors of copyists in the manuscripts; the variety of names applied to the same person or place; different methods of reckoning times and seasons; different local and historical standpoints; and the special scope and plan of each particular book. Variations are not contradictions, and many essential variations arise from different methods of arranging a series of particular facts. The peculiarities of oriental thought and speech often involve seeming extravagance of statement and verbal inaccuracies, which are of a nature to provoke the criticism of the less impassioned writers of the West. And it is but just to add that not a few of the alleged contradictions of Scripture exist only in the imagination of sceptical writers, and are to be attributed to the perverse misunderstanding of capricious critics.

It is easy to perceive how, in the course of ages, numerous

little errors and discrepancies would be likely to find their way into the text by reason of the oversight or carelessness of transcribers. To this cause we attribute many of the variations in orthography and in numerical statements.

Discrepancies
arising from
errors of copy-
ists.

The habit of expressing numbers by letters, several of which closely resemble each other, was liable to occasion many discrepancies. Sometimes the omission of a letter or a word occasions a difficulty which cannot now be removed. Thus the only proper rendering of the present Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xiii, 1, is, "Saul was a year old (Hebrew, son of a year) when he began to reign, and two years he reigned over Israel." The writer is here evidently following the custom exhibited in 2 Sam. ii, 10; v, 4; 1 Kings xiv, 21; xxii, 42; 2 Kings viii, 26, of opening his account of a king's reign with a formal statement of his age when he became king, and of the number of years that he reigned. But the numbers have been lost from the text, and the omission is older than the Septuagint version which follows our present corrupt Hebrew text. The following form may best present the passage with its omissions: "Saul was — years old when he began to reign, and he reigned — and two years over Israel." These omissions can now be supplied only by conjecture. It is evident that Saul was more than a year old when he began to reign, and that he reigned more than two years. According to Acts xiii, 21, and Josephus (*Ant.*, vi, 14, 9) he reigned forty years, but this may include the seven years and a half assumed to have passed between the death of Saul and that of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii, 11). Ishbosheth, however, is said to have reigned but two years (2 Sam. ii, 10). The language of Paul and Josephus more likely expresses a current Jewish tradition which was not exact.

A comparison of genealogical tables often exhibits discrepancies in names and numbers. But the transcription and repetition of such records through a long period of time, and by many different scribes, would naturally expose them to numerous variations. A comparison of the family record of Jacob and his sons, the seventy souls that came into Egypt (*Gen.* xlvi), with that of the census of these families in the time of Moses (*Num.* xxvi) will serve to illustrate the peculiarities of Hebrew genealogies. We give these lists, on the adjoining page, in parallel columns, and also select from the lists in 1 Chron. ii-viii the corresponding names, so far as they appear there, that the reader may see at a glance the variations in orthography. For convenience of reference we place the corresponding names opposite each other; but the student should note the variations in the order of names as they appear in these different lists. The list

Discrepancies
in genealogi-
cal tables.

in Genesis is arranged according to the wives and concubines of Jacob's family Jacob. The first thirty-three include Jacob and the record. sons and daughter of Leah; the next sixteen are the sons of Zilpah; the next fourteen are the sons of Rachel; and the remaining seven are the sons of Bilhah. It is a manifest purpose to make the list number "seventy souls." In Num. xxvi the order of names follows no apparent plan.¹

	Gen. xvi.	Num. xxvi.	1 Chron. ii-viii.
1. JACOB.			
2. REUBEN.....	REUBEN.....	REUBEN.	REUBEN.
3. Hanoeh.....	Hanoeh.....	Hanoeh.	Hanoeh.
4. Phallua.....	Phallua.....	Phallua.	Phallua.
	(Descendants.)		
5. Hezron.....	Hezron.....	Hezron.	Hezron.
6. Carmi.....	Carmi.....	Carmi.	Carmi.
7. SIMEON.....	SIMEON.....	SIMEON.	SIMEON.
8. Jemuel.....	* Nemuel.....	* Nemuel.	* Nemuel.
9. Jamin.....	Jamin.....	Jamin.	Jamin.
10. Ohad.....	—	—	—
11. Jachin.....	Jachin.....	* Jarib.	* Jarib.
12. Zohar.....	* Zerah.....	* Zerah.	* Zerah.
13. Shaul.....	Shaul.....	Shaul.	Shaul.
14. LEVI.....	LEVI.....	LEVI.	LEVI.
15. Gershon.....	Gershon.....	* Gershom.	* Gershom.
	(Descendants.)		
16. Kohath.....	Kohath.....	Kohath.	Kohath.
17. Merari.....	Merari.....	Merari.	Merari.
	(Descendants.)		
18. JUDAH.....	JUDAH.....	JUDAH.	JUDAH.
19. Er. Hezron.....	Er. Hezron.....	Er. Hezron.	Er. Hezron.
20. Onan. Hamul.....	Onan. Hamul.....	Onan. Hamul.	Onan. Hamul.
21. Shelah.....	Shelah.....	Shelah.	Shelah.
22. Pherez.....	Pherez.....	Pherez.	Pherez.
23. Zerah.....	Zerah.....	Zerah.	Zerah.
24. ISSACHAR.....	ISSACHAR.....	ISSACHAR.	ISSACHAR.
25. Tola.....	Tola.....	Tola.	Tola.
26. Phuvah.....	Phuvah.....	* Phuah.	* Phuah.
27. Job.....	* Jashub.....	* Jashib.	* Jashib.
28. Shimron.....	Shimron.....	Shimron.	Shimron.
29. ZEBULUN.....	ZEBULUN.....	ZEBULUN.	ZEBULUN.
30. Sered.....	Sered.....		
31. Elon.....	Elon.....		
32. Jahleel.....	Jahleel.....		
33. Dinah.....	—		

¹ The names of the tribes, or tribe-fathers, are frequently written, but in no two places do they stand in the same order. Comp. Gen. xxix, 32-xxx, 24; xlix; Exod i, 1-5; Num. i, 5-15 and 20-47; xiii, 1-16; xxxiv, 17-28; Deut. xxxiii.

	Gen. xlv.	Num. xxvi.	1 Chron. ii-viii.
ZILPAH'S SONS—16.	84. GAD	GAD	GAD.
	85. Ziphion	* Zephon	} No genealogy, but see 1 Chronicles v, 11-17.
	86. Haggi	Haggi	
	87. Shuni	Shuni	
	88. Ezbon	* Ozni	
	89. Eri	Eri	
	90. Arodi	* Arod	
	91. Areli	Areli	
	92. ASHER	ASHER	ASHER.
	93. Jimnah	Jimnah	Jimnah.
	94. Jishvah	—	Jishvah.
	95. Jishvi	Jishvi	Jishvi.
	96. Beriah	Beriah	Beriah.
	97. Seruh	Serah	Serah.
RACHEL'S SONS—14.	98. Heber	Heber	Heber.
	99. Malchiel	Malchiel	Malchiel.
	100. JOSEPH	JOSEPH	JOSEPH.
	101. Manasseh	Manasseh	Manasseh.
	102. Ephraim	(Descendants.) Ephraim	Ephraim.
	103. BENJAMIN	BENJAMIN	BENJAMIN.
	104. Bela	Bela	Bela.
	105. Becher	— .. (Comp. Heb. text of 1 Chron. viii, 1.)	
	106. Ashbel	Ashbel	Ashbel.
	107. Gera	—	Gera.
	108. Naaman	Naaman	Naaman.
	109. Ehi	* Ahiram	* Aharah.
	110. Rosh	—	—
	111. Muppm	Sheshupham	Sheshupham.
BILHAH'S SONS—7.	112. Huppm	* Hupham	—
	113. Ard	Ard	* Addar.
	114. DAN	DAN	DAN.
	115. Hushim	* Shuham	—
	116. NAPHTALI	NAPHTALI	NAPHTALI.
	117. Jahzeel	Jahzeel	* Jahzeel.
	118. Guni	Guni	Guni.
	119. Jezer	Jezer	Jezer.
	120. Shillem	Shillem	* Shallum.

* The asterisk is designed to call attention to several variations in orthography; the small capitals designate the tribe-fathers; names in black letter are supposed levirate substitutions of grandchildren; and the word (descendants) stands in place of names given in the Scripture record, but for want of room not printed above.

In studying these lists of names, it is important to attend to the historical position and purpose of each writer. The Historical list of Gen. xlv was probably prepared in Egypt, some standpoint. time after the migration of Jacob and his family thither. It was

probably prepared, in the form in which it there stands, by the sanction of Jacob himself.' The aged and chastened patriarch went down into Egypt with the divine assurance that God would make him a great nation, and bring him up again (Gen. xlii, 3, 4). Great interest therefore would attach to his family register, as it was made out under his own direction. But at the time of the census of Num. xxvi, whilst the names of the heads of families are all carefully preserved, they have become differently arranged, and other names have become prominent. Numerous later descendants have become historically conspicuous, and are accordingly added under the proper family heads. The tables given in 1 Chron. i-ix show much more extensive additions and changes. The peculiar differences between the lists show that one has not been copied from the other; nor were both taken from a common source. They were evidently prepared independently, each from a different standpoint, and for a definite purpose.

We should notice also the peculiar Hebrew methods of thought and expression as exhibited in the ancient list of Gen. xlii. In Hebrew style verses 8 and 15 Jacob is included among his own sons, and usage. and the immortal thirty-three, which includes the father and one daughter, and two great-grandsons (Hezron and Hamul) probably not yet born when Jacob moved into Egypt, are desig-

¹ The following suggestive observations of Dr. Mahan, in his little work entitled "The Spiritual Point of View; An Answer to Bishop Colenso" (New York, 1863, pp. 57, 58), illustrate how many considerations and circumstances may have naturally influenced in the preparation of this genealogy. "Jacob's family-list, whether written in any way or merely committed to memory, contained before he went into Egypt precisely seventy souls; though four of these, namely, his two wives and two of the sons of Judah, were souls of the departed. Thus, arithmetically, and in a matter-of-fact way, Jacob had sixty-six in his company when he first settled in Egypt; but religiously, or, as some might say, poetically—in the spirit of the little maid of Wordsworth's ballad, who insisted so strenuously 'we are seven'—he might still count them seventy. To this fact may be added the following probabilities: When Jacob arrived in Egypt he probably gave to his list the title or heading which it still bears, namely, *The names of the children of Israel which came with him into Egypt*. And it is likely enough that he did this without troubling himself to erase, either from the tablets or his memory, the names of the dear departed souls whom the kind-hearted and faithful patriarch still regarded as 'of his company.' At a later date, however, he may have revised his list. Affectionate heads of families are apt to do such things. Their family list is the solace of their old age; and they turn it over and over as fondly as a miser counts over his hoarded money. The patriarch, then, turning his list over in this way, and counting his seventy souls which the Lord had given him, and reluctant to erase his four departed souls, availed himself of the first opportunity to substitute for them four new souls—among his great-grandchildren—whom the Lord had granted him in their place. Thus the names of the grandchildren of Judah and Asher may easily have come in. No other names were added, because no others were needed."

nated as "all the souls of his sons and his daughters." Similar usage appears in Exod. i, 5, where it is said that "all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls."¹ The writer has in mind the memorable "seventy" that came into Egypt (comp. Deut. x, 22). In Gen. xlv, 27, the two sons of Joseph, who are expressly said to have been "born to him in Egypt," are reckoned among the seventy who "came into Egypt." It is a carping and captious criticism which fastens upon peculiarities of Hebrew *usus loquendi* like these, and pronounces them "remarkable contradictions, involving such plain impossibilities that they cannot be regarded as true narratives of actual historical matters of fact."²

The probable reason for reckoning Hezron and Hamul (verse 12) among the seventy was that they were adopted by Judah in the places of the deceased Er and Onan, who died in the land of Canaan. This appears from the fact that in the later registers of Num. xxvi and 1 Chron. ii they appear as permanent heads of families in Judah. Heber and Malchiel, grandsons of Asher (ver. 17), are also reckoned among the seventy, and probably for the reason that they were born before the migration into Egypt. They also appear in the later lists as heads of families in Israel.

In the list of Gen. xlv, 21, the names of Naaman and Ard appear among the sons of Benjamin, but in Num. xxvi, 40, they appear as sons of Bela. The most probable explanation ^{Substitution of names.} of this discrepancy is that the Naaman and Ard, mentioned in Gen. xlv, 21, died in Egypt without issue, and two of their brother Bela's sons were named after them, and substituted in their place to perpetuate intact the families of Benjamin. In 1 Chron. viii many other names appear among the sons of Benjamin and Bela, but whether Nohah and Rapha were substituted for families that had become extinct, or are other names for some of the same persons who appear in the list of Gen. xlv, it is now impossible to

¹ In the mention of *seventy-five souls*, Acts vii, 14, Stephen simply follows the reading of the Septuagint.

² Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua (New York, 1863), p. 60. This remarkable critic quotes Gen. xlv, 12, and then observes: "It appears to me to be certain that the writer here means to say that Hezron and Hamul were *born in the land of Canaan*." But it is absolutely certain that that is one particular thing which the writer *does not say*. Again, after quoting Exod. i, 1, 5, and Deut. x, 22, he observes: "I assume that it is absolutely undeniable that the narrative of the Exodus distinctly involves the statement, that the sixty-six persons 'out of the loins of Jacob,' mentioned in Gen. xlv, and no others (!), went down with him into Egypt." Mark the words "*and no others*," although Jacob's sons' wives are expressly mentioned in Gen. xlv, 26. Such a critic would appear to be utterly incapable of grasping the spirit and style of the Hebrew writers.

determine. Ashbel is mentioned as second in Chronicles, but in Gen. xlvii he stands third.¹ Gera, the fourth name in the list in Genesis, appears twice in 1 Chron. viii, 3, 5, among the sons of Bela. Such variations evince the independence of the different lists, and yet they are of a nature to confirm rather than discredit the genuineness of the several genealogies. Each list had its own distinct history and purpose.

It was in accordance with the Hebrew spirit and custom to frame a register of honoured names so as to have them produce a definite and suggestive number. So Matthew's genealogy of our Lord is arranged into three groups of fourteen names each (Matt. i, 17), and yet this could be done only by the omission of several important names.² While the compiler might, by another process equally correct, have made the list of Gen. xlvii number sixty-nine by omitting Jacob, or have made it exceed seventy by adding the names of the wives of Jacob's sons, he doubtless purposely arranged it so as to make it number seventy souls. The number of the descendants of Noah, as given in the genealogical table of Gen. x, amounts to seventy. This habit of using fixed numbers, being a help to memory, may have originated in the necessities of oral tradition. The seventy elders of Israel were probably chosen with some reference to the families that sprung from these seventy souls of Jacob's household, and Jesus' sending out of seventy disciples (Luke x, 1) is evidence that his mind was influenced by the mystic significance of the number seventy.

It is well known that intermarriages between the tribes, and questions of legal right to an inheritance, affected a person's genealogical status. Thus, in Num. xxxii, 40, 41, it is said that Moses gave the land of Gilead to Machir, the son of Manasseh, "and Jair, the son of Manasseh, went and seized their hamlets, and called them Havoth-jair" (comp. 1 Kings iv, 13). This inheritance, therefore, belonged to the tribe of Manasseh; but a comparison of 1 Chron. ii, 21, 22, shows that by lineal descent Jair belonged to the tribe of Judah, and is so reckoned by the chronicler, who also gives the facts which explain the whole case. He informs us that Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, married the daughter of Machir, the son of Manasseh,

Legal and lineal genealogies often differ.

¹ Perhaps for בכר, and *Becher*, in Gen. xlvii, 21, we should read בכור, *his firstborn*.

² "According to the evangelist," says Upham, "the time-cycles of the Hebrews (and if so, the time-cycles of the world) had relations to the coming of the Lord. He points out that the life of the Hebrews unrolled in three time-harmonies, one ending in triumph, one in mourning; and thus may intimate that in the end of the third the notes of the two former blend."—Thoughts on the Holy Gospels, p. 199.

and by her became the father of Segub, who was the father of Jair. If now Jair would make out his legal claim to the inheritance in Gilead he would show how he was a descendant of Machir, the son of Manasseh; but if his paternal lineage were inquired after, it would be as easily traceable to Hezron, the son of Judah.

Considerations of this kind will go far to solve the difficulties which have so greatly perplexed critics in the two diverse genealogies of Jesus, as given in Matt. i, 1-17, and Luke iii, 23-38. At this late day the particular facts are wanting which would put in clear light the discrepancies of these lists of our Lord's ancestry, and can only be supplied by such reasons and probable suppositions as are warranted by a careful collation of genealogies, and well-known facts of Jewish custom in reckoning legal succession and lineal descent. The hypothesis, quite prevalent and popular since the time of the Reformation, that Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, and Luke that of Mary, is justly set aside by a majority of the best critics as incompatible with the words of both evangelists, who alike claim to give the genealogy of Joseph.¹ The right to "the throne of David his father" (Luke i, 32) must, according to all Jewish precedent, ideas, and usage, be based upon a *legal ground of succession*, as of an inheritance; and therefore his genealogy must be traced backward from Joseph the legal husband of Mary. And it is clear, outside of these genealogies, that Joseph was of the royal house of David. Thus, the angel addressed him: "Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary thy wife" (Matt. i, 20). He went to Bethlehem, the city of David, to enroll himself with Mary, "because he was of the house and family of David" (Luke ii, 45). It is, however, not at all improbable that Mary also was of the house and family of David,² a near relative—cousin perhaps—of Joseph, and thus the natural succession of Jesus to the throne of David would, according

The two diverse genealogies of Jesus.

¹ Many critics read Luke iii, 23, as if it implied that Mary's rather than Joseph's genealogy is given. Thus: *ὁν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἠλεὶ*: "Being the son, as was supposed, of Joseph (but in fact of Mary), of Eli," etc. This, however, is manifestly interpolating a most important statement into the words of the evangelist, a statement too important for him to have omitted had he intended such a thought. See Meyer, in loco.

² Fairbairn observes that the marriage of cousins "perfectly accords with Jewish practice. . . . It was the constant aim of the Jews to make inheritance and blood-relationship, as far as possible, go together."—Hermeneutical Manual, p. 222. Upham similarly remarks: "Royal blood intermarries with royal blood. When Victoria was betrothed to Albert every one knew that Albert was a prince, and every one would know that the betrothed of a Czarowitz, or of a Prince of Wales, was a princess. The family of King David, obscure people for centuries, must have married below their rank, or have intermarried among themselves. That they did the latter is so

to Jewish ideas, be most remarkably complete. Certain it is that our Lord's descent from David was never questioned in the earliest times. He allowed himself to be called the Son of David (Matt. ix, 27; xv, 22), and no one of his adversaries denied this important claim. He was "of the seed of David," according to Paul's Gospel (2 Tim. ii, 8; comp. Rom. i, 3; Acts xiii, 22, 23), and the Epistle to the Hebrews says: "It is evident (*πρόδηλον, conspicuously manifest*) that our Lord has sprung from Judah" (Heb. vii, 14).

The Emperor Julian attacked these genealogies on the ground of their discrepancies, and Jerome, in replying to him, observes that if Julian had been more familiar with the Lord's genealogy. Jerome and Africanus on the Lord's genealogy. Jewish modes of speech he might have seen that one evangelist gives the *natural* and the other the *legal* pedigree of Joseph.¹ Essentially the same method of reconciling these discrepancies was advanced long previously by Africanus, who writes as follows: "It was customary in Israel to calculate the names of the generations either according to nature or according to the law; according to nature by the succession of legitimate offspring; according to law when another raised children to the name of a brother who had died childless. For as the hope of a resurrection was not yet clearly given, they imitated the promise which was to take place by a kind of mortal resurrection, with a view to perpetuate the name of the person who had died. Since then there are some of those who are inserted in this genealogical table that succeed each other in the natural order of father and son, some again that were born of others and were ascribed to others by name, both the real and reputed fathers have been recorded. Thus neither of the Gospels has made a false statement; whether calculating in the order of nature or according to law. For the families descended from Solomon, and those from Nathan, were so intermingled by substitutions in the place of those who had died childless, by second marriages, and the raising up of seed, that the same persons are justly considered as in one respect belonging to one of these, and in another respect belonging to others. Hence it is that, both of these accounts being true, they come down to Joseph, with considerable intricacy, it is true, but with great accuracy."²

probable, from the tendency of Jewish families to keep together, and from the usage of royal families, that it may be held for certain that when St. Matthew stated that Joseph, a prince of the house of David, married Mary, he plainly told his countrymen (and, if he thought of others, he thought that through them all would know) that the betrothed of this prince was a princess of the house of David."—Thoughts on the Holy Gospels, p. 204.

¹ Jerome on Matt. i.

² Quoted by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. (Bohn's ed.), book i, chap. vii.

These general considerations furnish the basis on which several different methods of harmonizing the genealogies are possible. In the absence of certain information no hypothesis can well claim absolute certainty. The theory of Africanus is that Jacob and Heli were brothers by the same mother. Heli died childless, and Jacob married his widow, and by her begat Joseph, the husband of Mary (Matt. i, 16), and yet, according to levirate law, Joseph was also of Heli (Luke iii, 23).¹ According to this theory Matthew records the natural, and Luke the legal, line of descent. Grotius, on the other hand, maintains that Matthew's table gives the legal succession, inasmuch as he recounts those who obtained the kingdom (which was the right of the first-born) without the admixture of a private name.² He observes further that, according to Matt. i, 12, Jechonias begat Salathiel, but according to Luke iii, 27, Salathiel was the son of Neri. Now, according to Jer. xxii, 30 (comp. xxxvi, 30), Jechonias was sentenced to become childless. In that case the right to the throne of David would devolve upon the next nearest heir, which was probably Salathiel, the son of Neri, whose direct lineage Luke traces up to Nathan, another son of David (Luke iii, 27-31). This theory is most fully developed by Hervey, who maintains "that Salathiel, of the house of Nathan, became heir to David's throne on the failure of Solomon's line in Jechonias, and that as such he and his descendants were transferred as 'sons of Jeconiah' to the royal genealogical table, according to the principle of the Jewish law laid down in Num. xxvii, 8-11. The two genealogies then coincide for two, or rather four, generations [Salathiel, Zorobabel (= Rhesa), Joana (= Hananiah, 1 Chron. iii, 19), Juda (= Abiud of Matt. i, 13, and Hodaiah of 1 Chron. iii, 24)]. There then occur six names in Matthew which are not found in Luke; and then once more the two genealogies coincide in the name of Matthan, or Matthat (Matt. i, 15; Luke iii, 24), to whom two different sons, Jacob and Heli, are assigned, but one and the same grandson and heir, Joseph, the husband of Mary. The simple and obvious explanation of this is, on the same principle as before, that Joseph was descended from Joseph, a younger son of Abiud (the Juda of Luke iii, 26), but that on the failure of the line of Abiud's eldest son in Eleazar (Matt. i, 15), Joseph's grandfather, Matthan, became the heir; that Matthan had two sons, Jacob and Heli; that Jacob had no son, and consequently that Joseph, the son of his younger brother Heli, became heir to his uncle, and to the throne of David. . . . Mary, the

¹ Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, book i, chap. vii.

² See his *Annotations on Matt. i, 16*, and Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, in loco.

mother of Jesus, was, in all probability, the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph, her husband. So that in point of *fact*, though not of *form*, both the genealogies are as much hers as her husband's."¹

The biblical genealogies may appear to the modern reader like
Genealogies not
useless. a useless part of Scripture, and lists of places, many of them now utterly unknown, like that of Israel's places of encampment (Num. xxxiii), and the cities allotted to the different tribes (e. g., Josh. xv, 20-62), have been pronounced by sceptics as incompatible with lofty ideas of a written revelation of God. But such notions spring from a stilted and mechanical conception of what the revelation ought to be. These apparently dry and tiresome lists of names are among the most irrefragable evidences of the historical verity of the Scripture records. If to our modern thought they seem of no practical worth, we should not forget that to the ancient Hebrew they were of the first importance as documents of ancestral history and legal rights. The most uncritical and absurd of all sceptical fancies would be the notion that these lists have been fabricated for a purpose. One might as well maintain that the fossil remains of extinct animals have been set in the rocks for the purpose of deception. The superficial utilitarian may indeed pronounce both the fossils and the genealogies alike worthless; but the profounder student of the earth and of man will recognise in them invaluable indexes of history. These genealogies are like the rough stones in the lower foundation of a building. Some of the stones are out of sight in the subsoil; others have become nicked and bruised, and some displaced and lost in the lapse of centuries, but they were all in some way essential to the origin, rise, stability, and usefulness of the noble superstructure.

¹ A. C. Hervey, article on Genealogy of Jesus Christ in Smith's Bible Dictionary. For fuller details and discussion of the same theory see the same author's volume entitled *Genealogies of our Lord* (Cambridge, 1853). Dr. Holmes attempts (article Gen. of Jesus Christ in Kitto's *New Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*) to controvert Hervey's positions and arguments, but we think entirely without success. The same may be said of Meyer's note at the end of Luke iii. The fact is that while no one should affirm that Hervey's hypothesis is perfectly certain (for in the absence of sufficient data no theory is entitled to such a claim) no one can prove that it is not correct. All that can well be asked for in the case is a hypothesis which will exhibit how both genealogies may be true, and that which holds Matthew's to be the legal (royal) line and Luke's the natural seems on the whole to be most entitled to credit. On the minor discrepancies and difficulties of these genealogies see the works named above, the several Bible dictionaries and commentaries, and W. H. Mill's discussion of the genealogies in his *Observations on the attempted Application of Pantheistic Principles to the Theory and Historical Criticism of the Gospel*. Cambridge, 2d edition, 1855.

The greater number of the numerical discrepancies of the Bible are probably due to the mistakes of copyists. The an- Numerical discrepancies.
 cient custom of using letters for numbers, and the great similarity of some of the letters, will account for such differences as that of 2 Sam. viii, 4, compared with 1 Chron. xviii, 4, where final Nun (ן), which stands for 700, might easily be confounded with Zayin with two dots over it (ז̣) which was used to denote 7000. According to 1 Kings vii, 15, the two brazen pillars were each eighteen cubits high; in 2 Chron. iii, 15, it is written: "He made before the house two pillars thirty and five cubits long." Some have thought that, as in Kings, the *height* (גובה) of each pillar is given, and in Chronicles the *length* (אורך) of the two pillars, we should understand the latter passage as giving the length of the two pillars together. They may have been cast in one piece, and afterward cut into two pillars, each being, in round numbers, eighteen cubits. The more probable supposition, however, is that the discrepancy arose by confounding ט' = 18, with ט"ו = 35.

The two lists of exiles who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii, 1-70, and Neh. vii, 6-73) exhibit numerous discrepan- Lists of returning exiles in Ezra and Nehemiah.
 cies as well as many coincidences, and it is remarkable that the numbers in Ezra's list amount to 29,818, and in Nehemiah's to 31,089, and yet, according to both lists, the entire congregation numbered 42,360 (Ezra ii, 64; Neh. vii, 66). The probability is that neither list is intended as a perfect enumeration of all the families that returned from exile, but only of such families of Judah and Benjamin as could show an authentic genealogy of their father's house, while the 42,360 includes many persons and families belonging to other tribes who in their exile had lost all certain record of their genealogy, but were nevertheless true descendants of some of the ancient tribes. It is also noticeable that Ezra's list mentions 494 persons not recognised in Nehemiah's list, and Nehemiah's list mentions 1,765 not recognised in Ezra's; but if we add the surplus of Ezra to the sum of Nehemiah (494 + 31,089 = 31,583) we have the same result as by adding Nehemiah's surplus to the sum of Ezra's numbers (1,765 + 29,818 = 31,583). Hence it may be reasonably believed that 31,583 was the sum of all that could show their father's house; that the two lists were drawn up independently of each other; and that both are defective, though one supplies the defects of the other.

As an instance of doctrinal and ethical inconsistency Doctrinal and ethical discrepancies.
 between the Old and New Testaments we may cite the Hebrew law of retaliation as treated by our Lord. In Exod. xxi, 23-25, it is commanded that in cases of assault and

strife resulting in the injury of persons, "thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (comp. Lev. xxiv, 20; Deut. xix, 21). But Jesus says: "Do not resist the evil man; but whosoever smites thee upon thy right cheek turn to him the other also" (Matt. v, 39). A proper explanation of these contradictory Scriptures will also answer for many other passages of like spirit and import. The true explanation is to be had by a careful consideration of the historical standpoint of each speaker, and the particular end or purpose which each had in view. We are not to assume that the Mosaic legislation was without divine sanction, and that by the words "it was said to the ancients" (Matt. v, 21) Jesus meant to cast a reflection on the source or authority of the old law, as if to set himself against Moses. What was said to them of old was well said, but it needed modifying at a later age and under a new dispensation. Moreover, Moses was legislating for a peculiar nation at a distinctive crisis, and enunciating the rights and methods of a civil jurisprudence. The old law of retaliation was grounded essentially in truth and justice. In the maintenance of law and order in any body politic personal assault and wilful wrong demand penal satisfaction, and this self-evident truth the Gospel does not ignore or set aside. It recognises the civil magistrate as a minister of God ordained to punish the evildoer (Rom. xiii, 1-5; 1 Peter ii, 14). But in the sermon on the mount Jesus is urging the principle of Christian tenderness and love as it should prevail in the personal intercourse of men as individuals. The great principle of Christian action should be: Let not bitterness and hatred toward any man possess your soul. The spirit of law, national honour, and right logically led to the general motto, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy" (Matt. v, 43). Jesus would bring about a better age, a kindlier feeling among men, a higher and nobler civilization. To effect this he issues a new commandment designed, first of all, to operate in a man's private relations with his fellow man: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you" (Matt. v, 44). Here our Lord is evidently not putting forth a maxim or method of civil jurisprudence, but a principle of individual conduct. He shows us, as Alford observes, "the condition to which a Christian community should *tend*, and to further which every private Christian's own endeavours should be directed. It is quite beside the purpose for the world to say that these precepts of our Lord are too highly pitched for humanity, and so to find an excuse for violating them. If we were disciples of his in the true sense,

Supposed conflict between the Law and the Gospel.

these precepts would, in their spirit, as indicative of frames of mind, be strictly observed; and, as far as we are disciples, we shall attain to such observance."¹

That Jesus, by these precepts of personal conduct in the ordinary affairs of life, did not intend to forbid the censure and punishment of evildoers, is evident from his own conduct. When struck by one of the officers in the presence of the high priest, our Lord remonstrated against the flagrant abuse (John xviii, 22, 23). When Paul was similarly smitten by command of the high priest (Acts xxiii, 3), the apostle indignantly cried out: "God will smite thee, thou whited wall!" The same apostle sets forth the true Christian doctrine on all these points in Rom. xii, 18-xiii, 6: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, be at peace with all men." Here he more than intimates the improbability of being at peace with all, and then, assuming that one suffers personal assault and injury, he adds: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place to the wrath" (of God). That is, let the divine wrath take its own course, and do not attempt to anticipate it, or stand in its way by retaliation and personal revenge. And then he quotes from the old law (Deut. xxxii, 35) where "it is written, To me belongeth vengeance; I will recompense, saith the Lord." God will bring his wrath (*ὀργή*) to bear upon the offender in due time, and will requite the wrong. And then follows another quotation from the Old Testament (Prov. xxv, 21, 22): "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for by doing this thou wilt heap coals of fire upon his head." Thereupon he sums up the whole thought by saying: "Be not overcome by the evil (which has been committed against thee), but overcome the evil in the good" (in the element and life of that all-conquering goodness which will be exhibited by this course of conduct). But so far is the apostle from teaching that crimes and offences are never to be avenged that he proceeds immediately to show that God has ordained the civil power as an agency and instrument for this very end. Is it asked what course the wrath of God takes when he recompenses vengeance upon evildoers? Doubtless his methods of judgment are manifold, but the apostle shows us, in the immediate context, one of the established methods by which God has arranged to punish the impious offender, namely, through "the higher powers" (Rom. xiii, 1). Rulers are designed to be a terror to evildoers. The civil magistrate "does not vainly bear the sword; for he is God's minister, an avenger for wrath (*ἐκδικος εἰς ὀργήν*), a divinely ordained avenging agent for the purpose of

Civil rights
maintained by
Jesus and Paul.

¹ Greek Testament on Matt. v, 38.

executing the wrath, ἡ ὀργή, mentioned above in xii, 19) to him that doeth the evil" (Rom. xiii, 4). Let no man, therefore, presume to say that the spirit and precepts of the New Testament are at war with those of the Old. In both Testaments the principles of brotherly love and of doing good for evil are inculcated, as well as the duty of maintaining human rights and civil order.

Some persons have strangely assumed that the prohibition of murder (Exod. xx, 13) in the Decalogue is inconsistent with the taking of human life in any form. This fallacy arises from a failure to distinguish between individual relations and the demands of public and administrative justice. The right and justice of capital punishment are affirmed in the most ancient legislation (Gen. ix, 6). The law of Moses, which makes so prominent the prohibition of murder, forbids the taking of any satisfaction for the life of a murderer. He that wickedly takes the life of a man must pay the penalty with his own life, or the very land will be defiled (Num. xxxv, 31-34). Ancient law and custom, recognized in the books of Moses, gave the nearest kinsman of the murdered man the right of avenging this crime. The practice, however, was liable to grave abuses, and Moses took measures to restrict them by providing cities of refuge. But the necessity of punishing the guilty criminal is everywhere recognised, and the Gospel of Jesus nowhere assumes to set it aside. The methods of penalty may change in the course of ages, and sins which called for capital punishment among the ancient Hebrews may demand no such severity of treatment under the Gospel dispensation. But it may be gravely doubted whether the "higher powers" can bear the sword to any excellent purpose if they be denied the right to recompense the crime of murder with capital punishment.¹

A prominent example of supposed inconsistency of doctrine in the New Testament is found in the different methods of presenting the subject of justification in the epistles of Paul and of James. Paul's teaching is thus expressed in Gal. ii, 15, 16: "We Jews by nature, and not sinners from the

¹ Meyer observes that Rom. xiii, 4, compared with Acts xxv, 11, "proves that the abolition of the *right* of capital punishment deprives the magistracy of a power which is not merely given to it in the Old Testament, but is also decisively confirmed in the New Testament, and which it (herein lies the sacred limitation and responsibility of this power) possesses as God's minister; on which account its application is to be upheld as a principle with reference to those cases in law, where the actual satisfaction of the divine Nemesis absolutely demands it, while, at the same time, the right of pardon is still to be kept open for all concrete cases. The character of being unchristian, of barbarism, etc., does not adhere to the *right itself*, but to its *abuse* in legislation and practice."—Critical Commentary on Rom. xiii, 4.

Gentiles, but knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law (*ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*, *from works of law*, i. e., as a source of merit, ground of procedure in the given case, and so the reason and cause of the justification) save through faith of Jesus Christ, even we believed in (*εἰς*, *into*, in allusion to the definite fact of *entering into* vital union with Christ at conversion) Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith of Christ, and not by works of law; because by works of law shall no flesh be justified." Substantially the same statement is made in Rom. iii, 20, 28, and in Rom. iv the doctrine is illustrated by the case of Abraham, who "believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness" (ver. 3). On the other hand James insists on being "doers of the word" (Jas. i, 22-25). He extols practical godliness, the fulfilling of "the royal law according to the Scripture" (ii, 8), and declares that "faith, if it have not works, is dead by itself" (ii, 17). He also illustrates by the case of Abraham "when he offered Isaac his son upon the altar," and argues "that the faith wrought with his works, and by the works the faith was perfected, and the Scripture was fulfilled which says: Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness, and he was called God's Friend. Ye see," he concludes, "that by works (*ἐξ ἔργων*) a man is justified, and not by faith only" (ii, 21-24).

The solution of this apparent opposition is to be had by a study of the personal religious experience of each writer, and their different modes of thought and fields of operation Method of solution. in the early Christian Church. We must also observe the peculiar sense in which each one uses the terms *faith*, *works*, and *justification*, for these words have each been used in all periods of the Church to express a number of quite distinct though kindred ideas.

We should first remember that Paul was led to Christ by a sudden and marvellous conversion. The conviction of sin, the smittings of soul when he found that he had been persecuting the Lord Jesus, the falling of the scales from his eyes, and his consequent keen and vivid perception of the free grace of the Gospel realized through faith in Christ Jesus—all this would necessarily enter into his ideal of the justification of a sinner. He sees that neither Jew nor Gentile can enter into saving relations with Christ except through such a faith. Then his mission and ministry led him pre-eminently to combat legal Judaism, and he became "the apostle of the Gentiles." James, on the other hand, had been more gradually indoctrinated in Gospel life. His conception of Christianity was that of the consummation and perfection of the old covenant. His mission and ministry led him

mainly, if not altogether, to labour among those of the circumcision (Gal. ii, 9). He was wont to view all Christian doctrine in the light of Old Testament Scripture, which thereby became to him "the implanted word" (i, 21), "a perfect law, the (law) of liberty" (ver. 25), "a royal law" (ii, 8). And we must also bear in mind, as Neander observes, "that James in his peculiar position had not, like Paul, to vindicate an independent and unshackled ministration of the Gospel among the Gentiles in opposition to the pretensions of Jewish legal righteousness; but that he felt himself compelled to press the practical consequences and requirements of the Christian faith on those in whom that faith had been blended with the errors of carnal Judaism, and to tear away the supports of their false confidence."¹

Such different experiences and fields of action would naturally develop in these ministers of Jesus Christ correspondingly different styles of thought and teaching. But when, with these facts in view, we analyze their respective teachings, we find nothing that is really contradictory. They simply set before us different aspects of the same great truths of God. Paul's teaching in the passages quoted above has reference to *faith* in its first operation; the confidence with which a sinner, conscious of guilt and condemnation, throws himself upon the free grace of God in Jesus Christ, and thus obtains pardon and peace with God. James, on the other hand, treats of faith rather as the abiding principle of a godly life, with works of piety flowing from it as waters from a living spring. Paul cites the case of Abraham while he is yet in uncircumcision, and before he had received that seal of the righteousness of faith (Rom. iv, 10, 11); but James reverts to the later time when he offered up Isaac, and by that act of fidelity to God's word had his faith perfected (Jas. ii, 21). The term *works* is also used with different shades of meaning. Paul has in mind the *works of the law* with reference to the idea of a legal righteousness; James evidently has in view works of practical piety, like visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction (i, 27), and ministering to the wants of the needy (ii, 15, 16). Justification, accordingly, is viewed by Paul as a judicial act involving the remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and restoration to the divine favour; but with James it is rather the maintenance of such a state of favour with God, a continued approval in the sight of God and man. All this will appear the more clearly when we note that James addresses his Jewish brethren of the dispersion, who

¹ Planting and Training of the Christian Church. English Translation, by Ryland, p. 499. New York, 1865.

were exposed to divers temptations and trials (i, 1-4), and were in danger of reposing in a dead antinomian Pharisaism; but Paul is discussing, as a learned theologian, the doctrine of salvation, as it originates in the counsels of God, and is developed in the history of God's dealings with the whole race of Adam.

Moreover, it should be observed that James does not deny the necessity and efficacy of faith, nor does Paul ignore the importance of good works. What James opposes is the ^{Different aim} mischievous doctrine of faith apart from works. ^{of Paul and James.} He condemns the man who says he has faith, and yet exhibits a life and conduct inconsistent with the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Such faith, he declares, is dead in itself (ii, 14-17). Justification is by faith, but not by faith only (ver. 24). It evidences itself by works of piety and love. Paul, on the other hand, opposes the idea of a legal righteousness. He condemns the vain conceit that a man can merit God's favour by a perfect keeping of law, and shows that the law serves its highest purpose when it discloses to a man "the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii, 20) and makes sin itself appear "exceedingly sinful" (vii, 7-13). But Paul is as far from denying the necessity of good works as evidences of a believer's faith in Christ, as James is from denying the necessity of faith in Christ in order to obtain the remission of sin. In Gal. v, 6, he speaks of "faith working through love," and in 1 Cor. xiii, 2, he affirms that though one have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, he is nothing. Evidently both these apostles are in harmony with Jesus, who comprehends the essential relations of faith and works when he says: "Either make the tree good and its fruit good; or make the tree corrupt and its fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by its fruit" (Matt. xii, 33).

These differences between Paul and James illustrate the individual freedom of the sacred writers in their enunciation of divine truth. Each maintains his own peculiarities ^{Individual freedom of different writers.} of thought and style. Each receives and communicates his word of revelation and knowledge of the mystery of Christ according to the conditions of life, experience, and action under which he has been trained. All these facts are to be taken into consideration when we compare and contrast the teachings of Scripture which are apparently diverse. It will be found that these variations constitute one manifold and self-evidencing revelation of the only true God.

The general principles of exegesis set forth above will suffice for the explanation of all other doctrinal and ethical inconsistencies which have been alleged as existing in the Bible. Strict regard to

the standpoint of the speaker or writer, the occasion, scope, and plan, together with a critical analysis of the details, will usually show that there exists no real contradiction. But when men bring forward hyperbolic expressions peculiar to oriental speech, or instances of Hebraic anthropomorphism, and press them into an assumed literal significance, they simply create the difficulties over which they stumble. Doctrinal and ethical inconsistencies, developed by such a process, are all dissipated by attention to the nature of the scriptural language and a rational interpretation of the same.

Mr. Haley, in his comprehensive and valuable work on the Discrepancies of the Bible,¹ observes that these discrepancies are not without a value. They may well be believed to contemplate the following ends: (1) They stimulate intellectual effort, awaken curiosity and inquiry, and thus lead to a closer and more extensive study of the sacred volume. (2) They illustrate the analogy between the Bible and nature. As the earth and heavens exhibit marvellous harmony in the midst of great variety and discord, so in the Scriptures there exists a notable harmony behind all the seeming discrepancies. (3) They prove that there was no collusion among the sacred writers, for their differences are such as would never have been introduced by their design.² (4) They also show the value of the spirit as above the letter of the word of God, and (5) serve as a test of moral character. To the captious spirit, predisposed to find and magnify difficulties in the divine revelation, the biblical discrepancies will be great stumblingblocks, and occasions of disobedience and cavil. But to the serious inquirer, who desires to "know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xiii, 11), a faithful study of these discrepancies will disclose hidden harmonies and undesigned coincidences which will convince him that these multiform Scriptures are truly the word of God.

¹ An Examination of the Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible, pp. 30-40. Andover, 1874.

² "These discrepancies," observes Wordsworth, "being such as they are found to be, are of inestimable value. They show that there has been no collusion among our witnesses, and that our manuscript copies of the Gospels, about five hundred in number, and brought to us from all parts of the world, have not been mutilated or interpolated with any sinister design; they have not been tampered with by any religious sect for the sake of propagating any private opinion as the word of God. These discrepancies are, in fact, evidences of the purity and integrity of the sacred text."—The New Testament in the original Greek, with Notes and Introductions. Preface to the Four Gospels, p. xxii. Lond., 1859.

CHAPTER XXII.

HARMONY AND DIVERSITY OF THE GOSPELS.

THE life of Jesus forms a turningpoint in the history of the world. The Old Testament Scriptures show the steady trend of history toward that eventful epoch. The prophets with one voice place the coming of the Christ "in the end of the days" (Gen. xlix, 1; Num. xxiv, 14; Isa. ii, 2; Dan. x, 14), and conceive his advent and reign as the ushering in of a new age. The God of the prophets spoke, in the last days of the old æon, in the person of his incarnate Son, "whom he made heir of all things, through whom also he made the ages" (*τοὺς αἰῶνας, the æons*, Heb. i, 2). The death and consequent exaltation of Jesus were the crucial hour of the world's history (John xii, 23-33), and from that hour there was a new departure in the course of human affairs. After the Gospel of the Messianic kingdom had been preached in the whole Roman world, for a witness to all the nations of the same (Matt. xxiv, 14), the end of that age came. For it was necessary, before the old economy came to its decisive end, that the new Gospel should first obtain a sure standing in the world. The utter overthrow of the Jewish polity and state, and the awful ruin of that wicked city where the Lord was crucified, marked the consummation of that æon. And from that point onward the triumphs of the cross extend. It is but natural, therefore, that the four gospels, being the authoritative records of the life and words of the Lord Jesus, are esteemed the most precious documents of Christianity.

Each of the four gospels presents us with a life picture of the Lord Jesus, and assumes to tell what he did and what he said. But while narrating many things in common, these four witnesses differ much from one another. How to account for so many differences in the midst of so many coincidences has always been a perplexing study among expositors. In modern times the rationalistic critics have pointed to the apparent discrepancies of the gospels as evidences against their credibility, and these most cherished records of the Church have become the central point of controversy between faith and unbelief. The rationalists all concede that the man Jesus lived and died, but that he rose again from the dead, according to the gospels,

The life of Jesus a turning-point in human history.

The Gospels the chief ground of conflict between faith and unbelief.

they stoutly deny, and resort to all manner of conjectures to account for the uniform and universal faith of the Church in his resurrection. The common sense of all Christendom logically concludes that if Jesus Christ arose from the dead that miracle at once confirms the credibility of the gospels, and accounts for the marvelous rise, the excellency and present power, of the Christian religion. It proves that its origin was supernatural and divine. But if the miracle of Christ's resurrection be a falsehood, the entire Christian system, which rests upon it, is a stupendous fraud. Well might Paul write: "If Christ has not been raised, vain then is our preaching, vain also your faith, and we are found even false witnesses of God, because we witnessed respecting God that he raised up the Christ" (1 Cor. xv, 14, 15).

Many writers, ancient and modern, have undertaken to construct a (so-called) Harmony of the Gospels.¹ They have adopted various methods of explaining the several discrepancies, and of constructing one harmonious narrative out of the four different accounts of the life of Christ. Eusebius compiled an arrangement of the gospels in ten canons or tables, according as the different events are related by one or more of the evangelists. Thus, under one head he brought those passages that are common to all the gospels; under another those that are found only in one gospel; in three other tables he exhibited those facts which are common to any three of the gospels, and in five others those that are common to any two. At a later period effort was directed more to the combining of the four gospels into one chronological order, and then the great question arose, Which of the evangelists gives us the true order of events! Some maintained that all four gospels give the events of the Lord's life in their true chronological order, and wherever the events are arranged differently by different writers we should understand that the transactions in question occurred more than once. Others strenuously maintained that chronological order is not observed by any of the evangelists, while others were uncertain which particular evangelist is the best chronological guide, some preferring Matthew's arrangement, others Luke's, inasmuch as he professes to set forth things in their true order (*καθεξῆς*, Luke i, 3). Cartwright follows the arrangement of Mark,

¹ The most valuable works on the Harmony of the Gospels are those of J. Macknight (London, 1758), W. Newcome, in Greek (Dublin, 1778), and English (1802), G. Townsend (London, 1825), edited by T. W. Coit (Boston, 1837), E. Robinson, in Greek (Boston, 1846), and English (1846), J. Strong, in English (New York, 1852), and Greek (1854), W. Stroud, in Greek (London, 1853), Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica* (New edition, Leipsic, 1864), F. Gardiner, in Greek and English (Andover, 1871).

and John's Gospel, having comparatively few things in common with the others, is generally believed to present the true chronological order of the matters it records.

The harmonists have furnished many valuable expositions, together with many solutions of the alleged discrepancies of the gospels. But as far as they have attempted to combine the four gospels into one continuous narrative, and settle positively the exact chronological order of events, they have rather hindered than helped a satisfactory understanding of these priceless records. Such a process brings these lifelike and independent narratives to a test they were never meant to meet, and assumes a standard of judgment that is both unscientific and unfair. But most of the later harmonists concede that it was no purpose of the evangelists to compose a complete account of the life and works of Jesus, and that all of them record some things without strict regard to the order of time. "The true use of harmonies," says J. A. Alexander, "is threefold: exegetical, historical, and apologetical. By mere juxtaposition, if judicious, the gospels may be made to throw light upon each other's obscure places. By combination—not mechanical, but rational; not textual, but interpretative—harmonies put it in our power not to grind, or melt, or boil four gospels into one, but out of the four, kept apart, yet viewed together, to extract one history for ourselves. And, lastly, by the endless demonstration of the possible solutions of apparent or alleged discrepancies, even where we may not be prepared to choose among them, they reduce the general charge of falsehood or of contradiction, not only *ad absurdum*, but to a palpable impossibility. How can four independent narratives be false or contradictory which it is possible to reconcile on so many distinct hypotheses? The art of the most subtle infidelity consists in hiding this convincing argument behind the alleged necessity of either giving a conclusive and exclusive answer to all captious cavils and apparent disagreements, or abandoning our faith in the history as a whole. This most important end of gospel harmonies has been accomplished."¹

An intelligent and profitable study of the gospels requires attention especially to three things: (1) Their origin; (2) The distinct plan and purpose of each gospel, and (3) The marked characteristics of the several gospels. These considerations, leading as they do to a proper understanding of the gospel records, and to the solution of their discrepancies, are really so many hermeneutical principles to be applied in any thorough exposition of these records.

¹ Article on Harmonies of the Gospels in the Princeton Review, vol. xxviii, p. 105.

The most cursory examination of the four gospels must show the Origin of the Gospels. observant critic that they are not, in any proper sense, formal histories. Nor do they assume to be complete biographies. There is, really, nothing like them in the whole range of literature. They manifestly sprung from a common source, and they all agree in recording more or less of the life, words, works, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. But whether that common source were written documents or oral traditions has long been a matter of controversy. Some have maintained the existence of an original gospel in Hebrew or Aramaic; others an original gospel in Greek; while others have supposed the earlier written gospel was supplemented by apostolic traditions.¹ But the hypothesis of an oral gospel, embodying the substance of the apostolic preaching, is now very generally held as the principal source of our four gospels. "The hypothesis of an oral gospel," says An original oral Gospel. Westcott, "is most consistent with the general habit of the Jews and the peculiar habit of the apostles; it is supported by the earliest direct testimony, and in some degree implied in the apostolic writings. The result of the examination of the internal character of the gospels is not less favourable to its adoption than the weight of external evidence. The general form of the Gospels points to an oral source. A minute biography, or a series of annals, which are the simplest and most natural forms of writing, are the least natural forms of tradition, and the farthest removed from the evangelical narratives, which consist of striking scenes and discourses, such as must have lived long in the memories of those who witnessed them. Nor are the gospels fashioned only on an oral type; they are fashioned also upon that type which is preserved in the other apostolic writings. The oral gospel, as far as it can be traced in the Acts and the Epistles, centered in the crowning facts of the passion and the resurrection, while the earlier ministry of the Lord was regarded chiefly in relation to its final issue. In a narrative composed on such a plan it is evident that the record of the last stage of Christ's work would be conspicuous for detail and fulness, and that the events chosen to represent the salient features of its earlier course would be combined together without special reference to date or even to sequence. Viewed in the light of its end the whole period was one in essence, undivided

¹ For an account of the various theories of the origin of the gospels, see *Introductions to the New Testament* by Eichhorn, De Wette, Bleek, Davidson, etc., and *Marsh's Translation of Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament*, Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 174-216, and the biblical dictionaries and cyclopædias under the word Gospels.

by years or festivals, and the record would be marked not so much by divisions of time as by groups of events. In all these respects the synoptic gospels exactly represent the probable form of the first oral gospel. They seem to have been shaped by the pressure of recurring needs, and not by the deliberate forethought of their authors. In their common features they seem to be that which the earliest history declares they are, the summary of the apostolic preaching, the historic groundwork of the Church."¹

But granting the earliest form of the gospel narrative to have been oral, that concession is far from determining the particular origin of our present gospels. And it ought to be agreed among discerning critics that, from the nature of the case, in the absence of sufficient evidence,

No absolute certainty as to the particular origin of each Gospel.

no absolute certainty can be attained. How and when Matthew and Mark wrote, what was the special occasion of their writing, how far they may have used written documents, and what understanding the apostles and evangelists may have had among themselves about writing down the words and works of their Lord, are all questions which admit of no positive answer. It is not the province of a work on hermeneutics to discuss the different theories of the origin of the written gospels, but to define principles of procedure essential to any profitable discussion of the subject. And it is all important to bear in mind that where absolute certainty on a given question is impossible, dogmatic assumptions must be avoided, and considerate attention should be bestowed upon any reasonable suppositions which will help to elucidate the problem. In the absence of external testimony the gospels themselves, and other New Testament books, may be expected to suggest the best indications of the origin and aim of any one of the gospels. It appears that it was regarded as an essential qualification for apostleship to have seen the Lord (Acts i, 21, 22; 1 Cor. ix, 1). And is it not every way reasonable to suppose that the apostles had an understanding among themselves as to what principal facts of the Lord's life should be embodied in their preaching? May it not have been agreed among them that Matthew and John should each write a gospel of the Lord? At one time

Probable suppositions as to their origin.

it was agreed, according to Paul (Gal. ii, 9), that James, Peter, and John should go as apostles to the Jews, and Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles. The council of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, described in Acts xv, shows how carefully matters of general interest to the Church were discussed by the great leaders. Is it likely, then, that so important a matter as the publication of authoritative

¹ Introduction to the Gospels, pp. 212, 213, Boston, 1862.

accounts of the Christ would have been neglected by them? There was a saying abroad in the Church that John should not die (John xxi, 23). Whatever its precise meaning, it may have been the occasion of his putting off the composition of his gospel until all the rest of the apostles had passed away. The ancient tradition that Mark's Gospel is essentially that of Peter, and Luke's essentially that of Paul, is corroborated by their general character and form. With those who accept the apostolic origin and divine inspiration of the four gospels there is no reasonable ground for denying that these records were put forth by a common understanding of the apostles and elders of the Church, and for the purpose of providing the churches everywhere with an authoritative testimony of the life and works of the Lord Jesus. It appears from Luke's preface (Luke i, 1) that many persons took in hand, at an early day, to publish narratives of the current oral gospel, namely, the things that were looked upon as fully accomplished by God in the person of Jesus, and before the eyes of those who were with him from the first. This fact probably made it expedient that the great events of that gospel should be set forth by apostolic authority, and when at length these four authoritative records went forth to the churches they supplanted all others, and have ever commended themselves to the faith of Christian believers in all lands.

Further suggestions as to the origin of the four gospels will appear as we proceed to inquire into the distinct plan and purpose of each. Is it reasonable to suppose that these gospel records were composed and sent forth among the early churches without any definite plan and purpose? Are they merely so many collections of fragmentary traditions thrown together haphazard? When an event recorded by one is omitted by another, are we to suppose that the omission arose from ignorance of the event? To suppose the affirmative of any one of these questions would seem highly absurd, for each of the four gospels contains so many evidences of definite design, and so many inimitable word-pictures, that we cannot believe that any authors, competent for the writing of such books, would have put them forth without orderly arrangement and without special purpose. It is far more probable that each evangelist had a reason for what he omitted as well as for what he recorded.

Irenæus gives the following account of the gospels: "Matthew issued a written gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundation of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand

Distinct plan
and purpose of
each Gospel.

Tradition of the
early Church.

down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterward, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon his breast, did himself publish a gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia."¹ With this general statement of Irenæus all ancient history and tradition substantially agree.

A cursory examination of Matthew's Gospel will discover its special adaptation to Jewish readers. The first verse, in true Jewish style, declares it to be "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The great purpose of this gospel throughout is to exhibit Jesus as the Messiah of whom the prophets had spoken, the divine founder of the kingdom of God. Hence he makes more extensive and more elaborate use of Old Testament prophecy than any other of the evangelists. These prominent features of the first gospel are certainly a fair indication of its special purpose.

The ancient tradition that Mark's Gospel is substantially that of Peter,² is confirmed by the general style, scope, and plan of the gospel itself. Peter's active and rapid manner would naturally dictate a condensed and pointed gospel. His ministry to such Gentile converts as Cornelius would be likely to show the need of an account of the Lord Jesus especially adapted to that class of minds. Mark's Gospel well meets this ideal. It omits genealogies and long discourses. It has comparatively few citations from Old Testament prophecy. It portrays the life of Jesus as that of a mighty conqueror. It was certainly adapted to meet the tastes of the Roman mind, whose ideals of rapidity, power, and triumph were well expressed in the famous words of Cæsar, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Luke's Gospel, declared by the voice of the most ancient tradition

¹ Against Heresies, book iii, chap. i, 1. That Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew, or Aramæan, but early put forth in Greek by the hand or under the oversight of Matthew himself, is now the opinion of many of the best biblical scholars. But the arguments *pro* and *con* may be seen in Meyer, Commentary on Matthew, Introduction; Alford, Greek Testament, Prolegomena; Introduction to New Testament by Hug, De Wette, Bleek, Davidson, etc., and Biblical Dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, and M'Clintock and Strong.

² Eusebius says that Peter, having established the Gospel among the Romans, "so greatly did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of his hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the Gospel of God, but they persevered in every variety of entreaties to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrines thus orally communicated in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus became the means of that history which is called the Gospel according to Mark."—Ecl. Hist., book ii, chap. xv (Bohn's Ed.).

Matthew's Gospel adapted to the Jew.

Mark's Gospel adapted to the Roman taste.

to be the substance of Paul's preaching,¹ is pre-eminently the gospel of the Gentiles. It deals more than any other gospel with Jesus' words and works for the whole world. Luke alone records the mission of the seventy. He alone records the parable of the Good Samaritan, and that of the Prodigal Son. He narrates the journey and ministry in Perseæ, a comparatively heathen land. But while adding many things of this kind, he also sets forth in his own way the main facts recorded in Matthew and Mark.² And the three together, because of the general view they give of the same great outline of facts, are called the Synoptic Gospels.

Not without reason has the Gospel of Luke been believed to have special adaptations to the mind of the Greeks. As a mighty universal conqueror was the grand ideal of a Roman, so the perfection of humanity was the dream of the noblest Grecian intellect. Luke's orderly narrative, with all those delicate traits which none but the "beloved physician" could so well detail, is pre-eminently the gospel of the Son of man, the gospel of universal redemption.³

The Gospel of John has manifestly a specific design different from that of the other gospels. Its lofty spiritual tone, its fulness of doctrine, and its profound conceptions of the divinity of the Lord, arrest the attention of all readers. "The Synoptic Gospels," says Westcott, "contain the gospel of the infant Church; that of St. John the gospel of its

¹ Irenæus Against Heresies, iii, 1. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., book vi, chap. xxv, where Origen is quoted as saying: "The third Gospel is that according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles."

² "The Gospel of St. Paul," says Westcott, "is, in its essential characteristics, the complementary history to that of St. Matthew. The difference between the two may be seen in their opening chapters. The first words of the Hebrew evangelist gave the clue to his whole narrative; and so the first chapter of St. Luke, with its declarations of the blessedness of faith, and the exaltation of the lowly, lead at once to the point from which he contemplated the life of Him who was 'to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.' The perfect manhood of the Saviour, and the consequent mercy and universality of his covenant, is his central subject, rather than the temporal relations or eternal basis of Christianity. In the other gospels we find our King, our Lord, our God; but in St. Luke we see the image of our great High Priest, 'made perfect through suffering, tempted in all points as we are, but without sin,' so that each trait of human feeling and natural love helps us to complete the outline and confirms its truthfulness."—Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, pp. 370-372.

³ See Da Costa, The Four Witnesses, pp. 185-228, and Prof. D. S. Gregory, Why Four Gospels? pp. 207-276. In both these valuable works the idea that Matthew's is the gospel for the Jew, Mark's for the Roman, Luke's for the Greek, and John's for the Church is elaborated with much detail. Gregory, however, at some points, carries the matter to an undue extreme.

maturity. The first combine to give the wide experience of the many; the last embraces the deep mysteries treasured up by the one. All alike are consciously based on the same great facts; but yet it is possible, in a more limited sense, to describe the first as historical, and the last as ideal; though the history necessarily points to truths which lie beyond all human experience, and the 'ideas' only connect that which was once for all realized on earth with the eternal of which it was the revelation."¹ Clement of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius,² also observes: "John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the gospel of our Saviour was sufficiently detailed, and, being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a spiritual gospel." John's Gospel is pre-eminently the gospel of the word of God. It deals especially with the mystery of God in Christ, and sets forth the Lord as the life of men and the light of the world. It is a revelation of the life of faith in the Son of God. It was written "that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye may have life in his name" (John xx, 31).³

Keeping in mind the leading idea and aim of each of the four gospels, we may study their several characteristics to advantage. It will often be found that what at first arrests attention as an inconsistency is an evidence of the scrupulous fidelity of the evangelist. What sceptical critics have pronounced unaccountable omissions may be evidences of special design. The vivid portrayal of events, the little incidents true to life, the touches of pathos, the forms of expression which none but eyewitnesses of the events could use, are a mightier proof of the credibility of the gospels than all the alleged discrepancies are of their incredibility.

Considering now, for example, the Gospel of Matthew as designed especially for Jewish readers, how natural for him to announce it as the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, *the son of David, the son of Abraham*. How to his purpose to describe the birth of Jesus, in the days of Herod the

Characteristics
of the several
evangelists.

Noticeable
characteristics
of Matthew.

¹ Introduction to Gospels, p. 254.

² Ecclesiastical History, vi, 14.

³ Thus Westcott, "The subject which is announced in the opening verses is realized, step by step, in the course of the narrative. The word 'came to his own,' and they 'received him not;' but others 'received him,' and thereby became 'sons of God.' This is the theme which requires for its complete treatment, not a true record of events or teaching, but a view of the working of both on the hearts of men. The ethical element is co-ordinate with the historical; and the end which the evangelist proposes to himself answers to this double current of his gospel. He wrote that men might believe the fact that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and believing—by spiritual fellowship—might have life in his name."—Introduction to Gospels, pp. 276, 277.

king, as one that was *born King of the Jews*, and born in Bethlehem, according to the prophets. How the Sermon on the Mount is presented in one connected whole, as if it were a republication of the ancient law of Sinai in a new and better form. How the series of miracles in the eighth and ninth chapters follows as if designed to evidence the divine power and authority of this new Lawgiver and King. The calling, ordaining, and sending out the twelve disciples (chap. x) was like the election of a new Israel to reclaim the twelve tribes scattered abroad. The seven parables of chap. xiii are a revelation of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the kingdom which he, as the Christ of God, was about to establish. Then follows ample record of the conflict between this King of the Jews and the scribes and Pharisees, who looked for another kind of Messianic kingdom (xiv-xxiii). The great apocalyptic discourse of chaps. xxiv and xxv discloses the end of that age as in the near future, and is in striking analogy with the spirit and forms of Old Testament prophecy. The record of the last supper, the betrayal, the crucifixion, and the resurrection, completes the picture of the great Prophet, Priest, and King. The entire book has thus a unity of purpose and of detail admirably adapted to be the gospel to the Hebrews, and to show to all the thoughtful in Israel that Jesus was indeed the Messiah of whom the prophets had spoken. Moreover, while thus breathing the Hebrew spirit, it has fewer explanations of Jewish customs than the other gospels.

Many have deemed it strange that Matthew says nothing about the first miracle of Jesus, at Cana, or of the healing at Capernaum of the nobleman's son, or of the resurrection of Lazarus, facts of such great interest. These notable miracles are omitted in all the synoptic gospels, and some have rushed to the conclusion that they were unknown to Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Much more reasonable is the suggestion of Upham, that in the earlier oral gospel, preached everywhere by the apostles, and represented in substance in the synoptic gospels, it was agreed, as a matter of prudence, to abstain from any mention of living persons who would be exposed to peril by such a publication of their connexion with Jesus. The persecution that arose upon the death of Stephen would naturally seek out the relatives of the hated Nazarene, and any other parties whose testimony mightily confirmed the divine power of Jesus. The evangelists and apostles would not needlessly expose the nobleman or his son, who were probably still living at Capernaum. They would not publish the home of the relatives of the mother of Jesus, where he wrought his first miracle, nor jeopardize the lives of Mary and Martha and

Omissions of the earlier Gospels not without a purpose.

their friends at Bethany by sending forth a publication likely to intensify the feeling that was already so violent against them.¹

The above considerations are sufficient to set aside all arguments against the genuineness and credibility of the gospels, which are based upon omissions which modern critics may deem strange. To the beloved disciple, John, who was expected to outlive the others, it was appropriately left to record the fuller account of Jesus' Judean ministry, and to make mention of persons and events of whom it was inexpedient to write so fully at an earlier time. And a minute study of the peculiar characteristics of Mark, Luke, and John, will show that, both in what they record and in what they omit, each consistently carries out his own individual plan and purpose.²

The inner and essential harmony of the gospels is accordingly enhanced by their diversity. These narratives constitute a fourfold witness of the Christ of God. As broad-minded philosophers have discerned in the national characteristics and history of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans a providential preparation of the world for the Gospel, so in the gospels themselves may be seen, in turn, a providential record of the world's Redeemer, wonderfully adapted by manifold forms of statement to impress and convince the various minds of men. We

The harmony
of the Gospels
enhanced by
their diversity.

¹ "Bethany," observes Upham, "was one of the suburbs of Jerusalem. The miracle there wrought was the immediate occasion of the arrest and trial of Jesus, though the hatred of the Jews had kindled to the heat of murder before the raising of Lazarus, and even the neighbourhood of the unholy city had become so unsafe that Jesus stayed on the eastern bank of the Jordan. While there Mary and her sister Martha sent this message, 'Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick.' And, when he would go to Bethany, the thoughtful Thomas said, 'Let us go and die with him.' These words disprove the notion that most of the disciples were then away from their Master; his time was too near for that; but they do prove not only the chivalry of St. Thomas, but his sagacity. He judged rightly of the peril of the place and time; for, as soon as the chief priests knew that Jesus was again so near, and heard of what he did at Bethany, they took counsel how they might kill him.

"At that time it was their plan to kill Lazarus also. Only St. John records this, and he does not say how Lazarus escaped. But such was the wealth and rank of the family of Bethany that its love for Jesus greatly enraged the rulers of the Jews; and, as Mary foresaw the Lord's death, she may have seen the danger of Lazarus, and the family have had the power to guard against it. Perhaps they did so because of some intimation from their Lord; all we know is, that the Jews then failed to kill Lazarus. But such was their purpose then; and this purpose would naturally revive in the midst of the provocations that led them to murder St. Stephen."—Thoughts on the Holy Gospels, pp. 170, 171.

² See these characteristics elaborated in detail by Da Costa and Gregory in their works named above. Comp. also Westcott's chapter on The Characteristics of the Gospels, in his Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, pp. 217-253.

should not say that Matthew wrote for the Jews only, Mark for the Romans, and Luke for the Greeks. That would imply that when these several nations ceased these gospels would have no further special adaptation. We should rather bear in mind that, so far as the several gospels have the special adaptations named, they have a divinely-ordained fitness to make the person and character of Jesus the more powerfully impressive upon all classes of men. The types of mind and character represented by those great historic races are ever appearing, and require perpetually the manifold testimony of Jesus furnished by the four evangelists. The four are better than one. We need the living picture of the Prince of the house of David as given by Matthew, for it reveals him as the perfecter of the old economy, the fulfiller of the law and the prophets. We need the briefer gospel of the mighty Son of God as given by Mark. Its rapid style and movement affect multitudes more deeply than a gospel so fully imbued with the Old Testament spirit as that of Matthew. "If in the first gospel," observes Ellicott, "we recognise transitions from theocratic glories to meek submissions, in the second we see our Redeemer in one light only, of majesty and power. If in St. Matthew's record we behold now the glorified and now the suffering Messiah, in St. Mark's vivid pages we see only the all-powerful Son of God; the voice we hear is that of the Lion of the tribe of Judah."¹ Luke's gospel, on the other hand, opens before us the broader vision of the Son of man, born, to be sure, under the law, but born of a woman, "a light for revelation of the Gentiles," as well as for the glory of Israel (Luke ii, 32). He appropriately traces the Redeemer's lineage away back beyond David, and beyond Abraham, to Adam, the son of God (Luke iii, 38). This Pauline gospel gives us the living embodiment of the perfect Man, the Friend and Saviour of helpless humanity. Not only does it offer the noblest ideal to the mind of the Greek; it must always have a charm for every Theophilus who has a disposition and desire to know the immovable certainty (*τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*, Luke i, 4) of the things of the Gospel. And John's record notably supplements the others. It is pre-eminently the gospel for the Church of God. It is the gospel of the heart of Jesus, and the disciple who leaned upon the Lord's bosom, and imbibed so fully the inspirations of that sacred heart, was the only one of the twelve who could write this inimitable gospel of the Word, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Resurrection, and the Life.

In view of the marvellous harmonies and the all-embracing scope and purposes of the written gospels of our Lord, how unworthy the

¹ Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, pp. 89, 40, Boston, 1863.

scepticism that fastens upon their little differences of statement (which may be explained by divers reasonable suppositions), and magnifies these differences into contradictions with design to disparage the credibility of the evangelists. Why puzzle over the fact that Matthew and Mark relate that the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus reviled him, while Luke says that one reviled him, and was rebuked by the other, who prayed to the Lord, and received the promise of paradise? Is it not supposable that during the three hours of mortal agony on the cross all these things might have occurred? Great variety is noticeable in the different accounts of the appearances of Jesus after the resurrection, but no man has ever been able to show a real discrepancy or contradiction.¹ In the absence of particulars we may not be able to detail the exact order of events, but when it is shown, on a number of hypotheses, that it was possible for all the events to take place, the diversity of statements becomes an undeniable evidence that they all are true.

Unreasonable-
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into contradic-
tions.

¹ The following order of events following the resurrection is given by Gardiner: "The resurrection itself occurred at or before the earliest dawn of the first day of the week (Matt. xxviii, 1; Mark xvi, 2; Luke xxiv, 1; John xxi, 1). The women coming to the sepulchre find the stone rolled away and the body gone. They are amazed and perplexed. Mary Magdalene alone runs to tell Peter and John (John xx, 2). The other women remain, enter the tomb, see the angels, are charged by them to announce the resurrection to the disciples, and depart on their errand. Meantime Peter and John run very rapidly (verse 4) to the sepulchre. (A glance at the plan of Jerusalem shows that there were so many different gates by which persons might pass between the city and the sepulchre that they might easily have failed to meet the women on their way). They enter the tomb and are astonished at the orderly arrangement of the grave-clothes, and then return to the city. Mary follows to the tomb, unable quite to keep pace with them, and so falling behind. She remains standing at the entrance after they had gone, and, looking in, sees the angels. Then turning about she sees Jesus himself, and receives his charge for the disciples. This was our Lord's first appearance after his resurrection (Mark xvi, 9). To return to the women who were on their way from the sepulchre to the disciples: They went in haste, yet more slowly than Peter and John. There were many of them, and being in a state of great agitation and alarm (Mark xvi, 8) they appear to have become separated, and to have entered the city by different gates. One party of them, in their astonishment and fear, say nothing to any one (Matt. xxviii, 8); the others run to the disciples and announce all that they had seen, namely, the vision of the angels (Mark xvi, 8; Luke xxiv, 9-11). At this time, before any report had come in of the appearance of our Lord himself, the two disciples set out for Emmaus (Luke xxiv, 13). Soon after Mary Magdalene comes in announcing that she had actually seen the risen Lord (Mark xvi, 10, 11; John xx, 18). While these things are happening the first-mentioned party of the women are stopped on the way by the appearance of the Lord himself, and they also receive a charge to his disciples (Matt. xxviii, 9, 10). Beyond this point there is no difficulty in the narrative.—Harmony of the Gospels in Greek, pp. 253, 254.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROGRESS OF DOCTRINE AND ANALOGY OF FAITH.

THE interpreter of the Holy Scriptures must never forget that the Bible in its entirety, as now possessed by the Church, was no sudden gift from heaven, but the slow and gradual accretion of many centuries. It is made up of many parts, which were produced at many different times. For the first twenty-five centuries of human history, according to the common chronology, the world was without any part of our Bible.¹ Then, in the course of forty years, the Books of Moses appeared. Possibly the Book of Job belongs to that early period. Subsequently such historical collections as the Books of Joshua and Judges were compiled, and in due time other histories, with psalms, proverbs, and the oracles of prophets, were gathered into many separate rolls or volumes, and at length, after the Babylonian captivity, this whole body of sacred literature was combined together, and came to be recognized as a book of divine authority. The different writings of the New Testament all appeared within a period of about half a century, but they also furnish the means of tracing the development of life and thought in the early apostolic Church. Our present canonical Scriptures, therefore, are to be recognised as the records of a progressive divine revelation. We recognise the Spirit of God as the presiding and controlling wisdom which shaped these lively oracles. He not only employed holy men in the accomplishment of his purpose (2 Sam. xxiii, 2; Luke i, 70; Acts i, 16; iii, 18; 2 Peter i, 21), but also the ministry of angels (Acts vii, 53; Gal. iii, 19; Heb. ii, 2). A minute divine providence secured the embodiment of the entire revelation in the written forms in which we now possess it. The same God who spoke in the last days in the person of his Son spoke also in the older revelations (Heb. i, 1), and we may search his word in confidence that divine order and wisdom will be found from the beginning to the end.

The Book of Genesis exhibits, as we have seen (pp. 109, 110), a

¹That is, in its present form. No doubt the narratives of the creation, of the fall, and the flood, were handed down by oral tradition. They may, indeed, long before Moses' time, have existed in written form, and, with the genealogical tables and other fragmentary portions of patriarchal history, have constituted a sort of sacred literature among the descendants of Shem.

series of evolutions, which serve well to illustrate the progress and order of the divine revelation. First comes the account of the miraculous beginning, the cutting, forming, and making (בָּרָא and עָשָׂה) of Adam's world (Gen. i, 1-ii, 3). Genesis a series of evolutions and of revelations. This passage is most naturally explained as the supernatural preparation of the heavens and land where the first man appeared. From that geographical and historical beginning we trace a well-defined series of generations (דּוֹלָרִים). The first series comprises the "generations of the heavens and the land" (ii, 4). The starting-point is "a day of Jehovah God's making land and heavens," when as yet no plant or herb of the new creation had commenced the processes of growth; no rain had yet fallen, no man to work the soil had yet appeared (ver. 5). It is the morning of the sixth day of the creative week. The whole surface of the ground is watered, and the processes of growth begin (ver. 6). Man is formed (צָרָה) from the dust of the soil, and becomes (חַיָּה) a living soul by the breath of Jehovah God (ver. 7). His formation is, therefore, conceived as a generation or birth out of the heavens and the land by the breath (נְשָׁמָה) of God. Then the woman was produced from the man, another step in the process of these generations (ver. 23; comp. 1 Cor. xi, 8). Then follows the narrative of the fall, showing how the first man was from the earth and earthy (1 Cor. xv, 47), and by disobedience lost his original relation to God. The first generations run to violence and crime, and become more and more earthly until Seth is born, and with him the revelation takes a new departure. "The book of the generations of Adam" (v, 1) is not a record of Adam's origin, but of his posterity in the line of Seth. But again the race deteriorates, and the sons of Seth, so much nobler than the Cainites, and other children of Adam, that they are called the sons of God (vi, 2), intermarry with the fair but ignoble daughters of men, and the land is filled with violence. With Noah, who was just and upright, and walked with God (vi, 9), another series of generations takes its departure, and the flood destroys all the rest of men.

After the flood God establishes a covenant with Noah (ix, 9), and through him foretells the honour that shall come to the dwellings of Shem (ix, 27). But the tendencies of the From Noah onward. sons of Noah still appear to be earthy, and their generations are rapidly sketched (x). Shem's line is traced to Terah (xi, 10-26), with whose son, Abram, the covenant of grace and the promise of unspeakable glory in the after times are set forth in fuller light. The history of Abraham, the friend of God, first exhibits in clear outline the wonderful condescension of Jehovah; he is separated

from country and kindred, and disciplined in faith. He receives the covenant of circumcision, and the promise of a seed through whom all nations shall be blessed. Jehovah speaks to him in visions and dreams, and in the person of his angel. Additional revelations come in connexion with Isaac and Ishmael, the generations of Jacob branch out into twelve tribes, and the prophetic blessing of the dying patriarch reveals the outline of their history in after times (Gen. xlix).

It is impossible to trace the record of these ten generations of the Book of Genesis without observing the steady progress of divine revelation. Again and again the history, darkened by the growth of human wickedness, fastens upon a divinely chosen name, and from it takes a new departure. With each new series of generations some new promise is given, or some great purpose of God is brought to light. While the tendency of the race is to grow worse and worse, there appears at the same time the unwavering purpose of the Almighty to choose out and maintain a holy seed. Thus the Book of Genesis is an essential part of the history of redemption.

The centuries of Egyptian bondage are rapidly passed over, but the history of the deliverance from Egypt is detailed with notable fulness. Jehovah's triumph over the gods of Egypt, the establishing of the passover, the journey to Sinai, the giving of the law, the building of the tabernacle, and the entire Mosaic ministry and legislation were the beginnings of a new era. Captious critics, incompetent to grasp the scope and moral grandeur of the Mosaic system, may cavil at some of its enactments, and forget that Moses had to do with a nation of emancipated serfs; but the philosophical historian will ever recognise the Sinaitic legislation as one of the greatest wonders of the world. The Decalogue, sublimely uttered from the mount of God, embodies the substance of all true religion and all sound morality. The construction of the tabernacle, modelled after a divine plan (Exod. xxv, 40), and the order of the Levitical service, most truly symbolize the profoundest conceptions of the curse of sin and the power of God in redemption.

But, aside from the Decalogue and the symbolism of the Mosaic cultus, how full and comprehensive the doctrinal and moral teachings of the last four books of the Pentateuch. The personality, attributes, and moral perfections of God are set forth in unspeakably superior form to that of any and all other religious systems of the ancient or modern world. The self-existence and eternity of God, his holiness, justice, and mercy, his

A progress of
Revelation in
Genesis.

The Mosaic leg-
islation a new
era of revela-
tion.

Doctrine of God.

wisdom and his providence, are revealed in many ways. How awfully sublime and yet how gracious that revelation to Moses in the mount, when "Jehovah descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and called in the name of Jehovah; and Jehovah passed by before him, and called: Jehovah, Jehovah, God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in kindness and truth, keeping kindness for thousands, lifting iniquity, and transgression and sin, but in punishing will not let go unpunished, visiting the iniquity of fathers upon children, and upon children of children, upon the third and upon the fourth" (generations). *Exod. xxxiv, 5-7.*

Such a revelation would necessarily beget the holiest reverence, and at the same time evince that he was worthy of all love. Hence the commandment, "Thou shalt love Jehovah, thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might" (*Deut. vi, 5*). This doctrine of God furnished the basis of a superior ethical code. The true Israelite was required to guard the morals of his neighbour, and love him as himself. He must not yield to feelings of vengeance, nor hold bitterness in his heart toward any of his brethren (*Lev. xix, 17, 18*). He must not oppress the poor and the needy, but leave large gleanings for them in his harvest field (*Lev. xix, 10*). He must not even allow his neighbour's ox or sheep to go astray, but seek to restore them to him as if they were his own (*Deut. xxii, 1-3*). Even in taking the young of birds for any proper purpose, he must, in kindness and consideration, spare the mother bird. Surely a code which enacted such humane provisions ought never to have been charged with barbarous severity.¹ Its severest penalties were grounded in the highest expediency,² and ample securities were provided against injustice and capricious acts of power. While the governments of all the great nations of that age were despotic and largely barbarous, that of the Mosaic legislation was essentially republican.³

The Pentateuch holds the same relation to the subsequent books

¹ See Sewall, *Humaneness of the Mosaic Code*, *Bib. Sacra* for 1862, pp. 368-384.

² Barrows observes: "The attitude of the Mosaic economy toward the Gentile nations was indeed severe, but it was the severity of love and goodwill. It had for its object not their destruction, but a speedier preparation of the way for the advent of Christ, in whom the promise, 'In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,' was to find its fulfilment."—*Missionary Spirit of the Psalms and Prophets*. *Bib. Sacra* for 1860, p. 459.

³ See the excellences of the Mosaic legislation elaborately set forth by Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses* (Eng. Trans. by Smith, 4 vols., Lond., 1814); Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses*; Graves, on the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch (Lond., 1850).

of the Old Testament that the gospels hold to the rest of the New Testament. It contains in some form the substance of all the Old Testament revelation, but it intimates in many a passage that other revelations will be given. It assumes that a great and glorious future is awaiting the chosen nation, and indicates the ways by which the glories may be realized. At the same time it warns against the possibility of lamentable failure. The entire system of Mosaic laws, moral, civil, and ceremonial, was wisely adapted to train the Israelitish nation, and served as a schoolmaster to prepare them and the world for the reception of the Gospel of Christ. So far was Moses from regarding his work as final in the training of Israel, that he announced by the word of Jehovah that another prophet should arise, to whom divine revelations would be given, and whom the people should obey (Deut. xviii, 15-19). The last words of the great lawgiver are full of warning, of promise, and of prophecy (Deut. xxix-xxxiii).

After the death of Moses Joshua received his divine commission to carry forward the great work of establishing Israel in the land of promise. Jehovah spoke to him as he did to Moses (Josh. i, 1; iii, 7; iv, 1). He also revealed himself in the person of his angel (Josh. v, 13), and in all the history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan, Jehovah spoke as frequently and familiarly with Joshua as he had done with Moses. In the dark times of the Judges God left himself not without prophetic witness. Revelations came to Deborah and Gideon and Manoah. At length Samuel arose when prophecy was rare in Israel (1 Sam. iii, 1), and in his day the schools of the prophets appear (1 Sam. x, 5; xix, 20). When David became king of all Israel, the promise and prophecy of the Messiah assumed a fuller form.

The word which came to the king through Nathan the prophet (2 Sam. vii, 4-17) was the germ of the Messianic psalms, and the entire collection of lyrics, which constitutes the Hebrew psalter, is an invaluable index of the highest religious thought and feeling of Israel in the times of David and later. The Messianic hope is enhanced by a variety of conceptions: he is the anointed King in Zion, declared to be the very Son of Jehovah (Psa. ii); he is a reigning Lord, who is at the same time a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek (Psa. cx); his majesty and grace are extolled above all the sons of men (Psa. xlv); but he is also a sufferer, crying out as if forsaken of God, while his enemies deride him and cast lots for his vesture (Psa. xxii); he even sinks into the grave, but exults in hope and confidence that he shall not see corruption (Psa. xvi). The doctrine of God is also set forth in the psalter

The Pentateuch
fundamental to
Old Testament
revelations.

Revelation
continued after
Moses.

Theology of the
Psalter.

in new force and beauty. He is Lord of earth and sea and heavens, ruling on high and beholding all; the almighty Preserver, the omnipresent Spirit, infinitely perfect in every moral excellence; tender, compassionate, long-suffering, marvellous in mercy, and yet terrible in his judgments, fearful in holiness, ever vindicating the truth; he is the absolute and eternal God, the fountain of life and of light. The guardianship of angels (Psa. xxxiv, 7; xci, 11) and the hope of a blissful immortality (xvii, 15) were not wanting in the psalmist's faith. The doctrines of redeeming grace, of pardon from sin, of cleansing from guilt; the hidden life of trust; the personal approach of the worshipper into closest fellowship with God; the joy and gladness of that fellowship, and the probationary discipline of the saints, are doctrines which find manifold expression in the hymn book of the Israelitish people.¹

The age of Solomon was the golden age of the proverbial philosophy of the Hebrews. The Book of Proverbs represents the Old Testament doctrines of practical wisdom (חֵכֶם), and is the great textbook of biblical ethics. It brings out in fuller form and in a great variety of precepts the ethical principles embodied in the Mosaic law. It has to do with practical life, and so serves, at the right stage in the progress of the divine revelation, to exalt that human element in which pure religion necessarily finds some of its most beautiful manifestations. "The Book of Proverbs," says Stanley, "is not on a level with the Prophets or the Psalms. It approaches human things and things divine from quite another side. It has even something of a worldly, prudential look, unlike the rest of the Bible. But this is the very reason why its recognition as a sacred book is so useful. It is the philosophy of practical life. It is the sign to us that the Bible does not despise common sense and discretion. It impresses upon us, in the most forcible manner, the value of intelligence and prudence, and of a good education. The whole strength of the Hebrew language, and of the sacred authority of the book, is thrown upon these homely truths. It deals, too, in that refined, discriminating,

The Solomonite
Proverbial Phil-
osophy.

¹ "This book," says Calvin, "not unreasonably, am I wont to style an anatomy of all parts of the soul, for no one will discover in himself a single feeling whereof the image is not reflected in this mirror. All griefs, sorrows, fears, doubts, hopes, cares, and anxieties—in short, all the tumultuous agitations wherewith the minds of men are wont to be tossed—the Holy Ghost hath here represented to the life. The rest of Scripture contains the commands which God gave to his servants to be delivered unto us. But here the prophets themselves, holding converse with God, inasmuch as they lay bare all their inmost feelings, invite or impel every one of us to self-examination, that of all the infirmities to which we are liable, and all the sins of which we are so full, none may remain hidden."—Commentary on the Psalms, Preface.

careful view of the finer shades of human character, so often overlooked by theologians, but so necessary to any true estimate of human life."¹

In the great prophets of the Old Testament the depth and spirituality of the Mosaic religion attained their highest expression. We have already outlined the progressive character of the Messianic prophecies, and seen the organic and vital relations of prophecy to the history of the Israelitish people (p. 316). The Messianic hope, first uttered in the garden of Eden (Gen. iii, 15), was a fountain-head from which a gradually increasing stream went forth, receiving constant accessions as prophet after prophet arose commissioned to utter some clearer oracle. In a general way, at least, each new prophet added to the work of his predecessors.² The prophecy of Jonah, one of the earliest written, emphasizes Jehovah's compassion upon a great heathen city which repents at his word. It is conspicuously an oracle of hope to the Gentiles. Joel, the ancient apocalypticist, sees in the desolating judgments on the land signs of the coming of Jehovah, and calls upon the people to rend their hearts rather than their garments in evidence of contrite humiliation before God (Joel ii, 12). His visions stretch away to the latter times when the Spirit of Jehovah shall be poured out upon all flesh, and whosoever shall call upon the name of Jehovah shall be saved (ii, 28, 32). Hosea bewails the idolatry of Israel and Judah, but sees great hope for them if they will but offer their lips as sacrificial offerings of prayer and praise (Hos. xiv, 2). The formal ceremonial worship of the nation was fast losing all its deep sacredness, and ceasing to be a means of holy, heartfelt devotion. With such outward unspiritual worship Jehovah could not be pleased, and he says in Amos (v, 21, 22):

¹ History of the Jewish Church, second series, p. 269. New York, 1869.

² R. Payne Smith observes: "Men never do understand anything unless already in their minds they have some kindred ideas, something that leads up to the new thought which they are required to master. Our knowledge grows, but it is by the gradual accumulation of thought upon thought, and by following out ideas already gained to their legitimate conclusions. God followed this rule even in the supernatural knowledge bestowed upon the prophets. It was a growing light, a gradual dawning preparatory to the sunrise, and no flash of lightning, illuminating everything for one moment with ghastly splendour, to be succeeded immediately by a deeper and more oppressive gloom. . . . Carefully, and with prayer, the prophets studied the teaching of their predecessors, and by the use of the light already given were made fit for more light, and to be the spokesmen of Jehovah in teaching ever more clearly to the Church those truths which have regenerated mankind."—*Rampton Lectures. Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, pp. 304, 305. Boston, 1870.

I have hated, I have despised your feasts,
 And I will not breathe in your assemblies;
 For if ye offer me burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings
 I will not be delighted,
 And a peace-offering of your fatlings I will not regard.
 Put away from me the noise of thy songs;
 And the music of thy harps I will not hear.
 And let judgment be rolled along as the waters,
 And righteousness as a perennial stream.

It would thus appear that as idolatry increased, and the ceremonial worship became cold, heartless, and idolatrous, the prophets, as inspired watchmen and teachers, turned the thoughts of the people to those deeper spiritual truths of which the ceremonial cultus furnished only the outer symbols. They yearned for a purer worship, and a more real and vital approach to God. They began to realize, what the New Testament so fully reveals, that the law was only a shadow, not the very likeness, of the good things to come, and that the ritual sacrifices could never perfect the worshippers who depended on them alone (Heb. x, 1). Thus Micah (vi, 6-8):

With what shall I come before Jehovah—
 Bend myself to the God of height?
 Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings?
 With calves, sons of a year?
 Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams,
 With myriads of streams of oil?
 Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression,
 Fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
 He has showed thee, O man, what is good;
 And what is Jehovah seeking from thee,
 But to execute judgment and the love of mercy,
 And humbly to walk with thy God?

In the Book of Isaiah the prophetic word reaches a lofty climax. This evangelist among the prophets seems to rise at will above the limitations of time, and to see the past, the present, and the future converge in great historic epochs vital to the interests of the kingdom of God. Although the first thirty-nine chapters deal mainly with the matters of contemporary interest and note, they are filled with glowing visions of Messianic triumph. The first part of the second chapter, apparently borrowed from Micah, portrays the universality and glory of that spiritual dominion which is to supplant Judaism, and go forth from Jerusalem to establish peace among all nations. The Messianic promise again and again finds varied expression (chap. vii, 14;

Written proph-
 ecy reaches a
 climax in
 Isaiah.

ix, 1-7; xi, 1-10). Where, in all the pictures of a coming golden age, can be found a more beautiful outline than Isa. xxxv? But in the last twenty-seven chapters Isaiah's prophecies exhibit their highest spirituality. He depicts things in their divine relations, and contemplates the redemption of Israel as from the position of the high and exalted One who dwells in eternity (lvii, 15). His thoughts and ways are loftier than those of men, even as the heavens are higher than the earth (lv, 8, 9). Looking away from the darkening present, and exulting in glowing visions of Messiah's triumph, the prophet often speaks in the name and person of Messiah and his elect, and apprehends the glories of his reign as the creation of a new heavens and a new earth.

The prophecies of Daniel exhibit the increasing light of divine revelation which came when Israel, by exile, was brought in contact with the great heathen world-powers. Daniel speaks as one who looks out from the midst of the operations of great empires, and sees a throne higher than that of the kings of Babylon or of Persia, and forces more numerous and mighty than all the armies of the world (Dan. vii, 9, 10). "In him," says R. Payne Smith, "prophecy has a new development; it breaks away from the bonds of Jewish thought, and sets before us the grand onward march of the world's history, and the Christian Church as the centre and end of all history."¹ His visions make prominent a determined END or consummation, when a desolating abomination shall destroy the sanctuary (ix, 26, 27; comp. Matt. xxiv, 15; Mark xiii, 14; Luke xxi, 20):

And many, sleeping in the dust of the ground, shall awake,
 These to life eternal,
 And those to shame and eternal contempt.
 And the wise ones shall shine as the brightness of the firmament,
 And those who make many righteous
 As the stars for ever and ever (Dan. xii, 2, 3).

In some respects Ezekiel surpasses Daniel in the depth and fullness of his revelations. His vision of the cherubim and the theophany is set forth in the first chapter of his prophecy with a wealth of suggestive symbols not to be found elsewhere in the Old Testament, and the detailed description of the new temple and land of Israel (chapters xl-xlviii) is an anticipation of John's vision of the new heavens and the new earth (Rev. xxi). Ezekiel's city of Jehovah-Shammah (xlviii, 35) is no other than the New Jerusalem of John. The doctrine of the resurrection, which

¹ Prophecy a Preparation for Christ, p. 238.

in Isaiah (xxvi, 19) is suggested by a striking apostrophe, is expressed in formal statement by Daniel (xii, 2), and assumed as a common belief in the imagery of Ezekiel (xxxvii, 1-14).

After the Babylonian exile we note that Haggai sees in the second temple a glory greater than that of the former Post-exile prophets. (Hag. ii, 9). Zechariah combines in his prophetic book the varied symbolism of Daniel and Ezekiel with the lofty spirituality of Isaiah. And the "burden of Jehovah's word to Israel by the hand of Malachi" (Mal. i, 1), the last of the Old Testament prophets, is a series of rebukes to a false and heartless formalism, and an earnest call to repentance and personal self-consecration.¹

Passing over the four hundred years of silence between Malachi and the advent of Jesus Christ, we find the two Testaments linked by a noticeable prophetic bond. The Old Testament closes with a promise that Elijah the prophet Prophetic link between the Old and New Testaments. shall come before the great day of Jehovah, and the gospel history of the New Testament opens with the ministry of this Elijah who was to come (Luke i, 17; Matt. xi, 14; xvii, 10-13). But John the Baptist, though filled with the spirit and power of Elijah, was merely a forerunner, a herald, a voice (John i, 23), provided in the divine order to prepare the way of the Lord. His ministry was professedly introductory to the Gospel Age, and his constant testimony was that one mightier than himself was about to come, who would baptize with the Holy Ghost and fire (Matt. iii, 11).

The ministry and words of the Lord Jesus, as recorded in the gospels, constitute the substance of all Christian doctrines. As the five books of Moses really embody the germs of all subsequent revelation, so in a clearer form the teachings of Jesus embrace every great truth of the Christian faith. But our Lord himself was explicit in declaring that his own teaching must needs be supplemented by the fuller revelations of the Spirit. He taught by parable, by precept, and by example, but he found the hearts of the people and of his own disciples too heavy to apprehend the grand scope and spirituality of his Gospel, and declared that it was expedient for him to Christ's teachings the substance, but not the final form, of Christian doctrine.

¹ R. Payne Smith observes that prophecy "was not withdrawn abruptly. It still lingered in those beautiful psalms of degrees sung by the exiles, and in those prophecies who helped in rearing the second house. But at the dispersion it had done its work. The Jews wondered that no prophet more arose. We can see why the gift was withdrawn. The time for teaching had ceased. The Jews were children no longer, but grown men; and, like grown men, they must leave home, and go out into all lands to carry to them the truths which the prophets had taught them."—*Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, p. 335.

go away in order that the Spirit of truth might come to guide into all the truth, and to teach all things (John xiv, 25, 26; xvi, 7-15).¹

The Acts of the Apostles shows that divine revelations were continued after the ascension of the Lord. On the day of Pentecost the waiting disciples received the gift of the Holy Spirit, and began to realize as never before the "powers of the coming age" (Heb. vi, 5). Thenceforth they went forth with a heavenly authority to proclaim the newly enunciated truth of God. The angel of the Lord opened the prison doors where the apostles were shut up, and commanded them to continue speaking the words of eternal life (Acts v, 19, 20; comp. xii, 7; xvi, 26). The martyr Stephen saw the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God (vii, 56). The same Lord Jesus appeared to Saul on his way to Damascus (ix, 17), and also to Ananias, in a vision (ix, 10). Peter was guided into opening the kingdom of God to the Gentiles by a symbolic vision (x, 9-16), and was aided by the ministry of an angel of God (x, 3-7). Special revelations of the Spirit directed Philip and Paul in their journeys (viii, 29, 39; xvi, 7). The great apostle of the Gentiles was repeatedly directed by visions and revelations of God (Acts xvi, 9; xxii, 17-21; comp. 2 Cor. xii, 1-4). Thus it is evident from the Acts of the Apostles that what Jesus *began* to do and teach (Acts i, 1) was carried into completion by those whom he chose to be the authoritative expounders of his word.

The Book of the Acts of the Apostles is a connecting link between the gospels and the epistles. It is essentially a historical introduction to the latter, and without the information it affords, both the gospels and the epistles would be involved in much obscurity. The epistles preserve for the Church the teachings of the apostles, and present them in a form admirably adapted to meet the wants of all classes of readers.²

¹ This subject is ably presented in Bernard's Bampton Lectures on the Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. In Lecture iii he lays down and elaborates the following propositions: "First, The teaching of the Lord in the gospels includes the substance of all Christian doctrine, but does not bear the character of finality. Secondly, The teaching of the Lord in the gospels is a visibly progressive course, but on reaching its highest point announces its own incompleteness, and opens another stage of instruction."—P. 79.

² "The prophets," writes Bernard, "delivered *oracles to the people*, but the apostles wrote *letters to the brethren*, letters characterized by all that fulness of unreserved explanation, and that play of various feeling, which are proper to that form of intercourse. It is in its nature a more familiar communication, as between those who are, or should be, equals. That character may less obviously force upon us the sense, that the light which is thrown upon all subjects is that of a divine inspiration; but this is

Great principles, enunciated by Jesus, are elaborated and applied to practical life and experience by the apostolic epistles. The Epistles of Paul, including that to the Hebrews, traverse a wide field of Christian doctrine and experience. Their range may be indicated by the following classification: (1) Dogmatical, discussing especially the doctrines of sin and redemption (Romans and Galatians); (2) Christological (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Hebrews); (3) Ecclesiastical, devoted to the order, practice, and life of the Church (Corinthians); (4) Pastoral (Timothy, Titus, Philemon); and (5) Eschatological (Thessalonians). Of course, none of these epistles is devoted exclusively to one particular subject, but each contains more or less of doctrine, reproof, exhortation, and counsels for practical life. The catholic epistles are concerned more exclusively with the practical affairs of the Christian life. Bernard emphasizes the fact that they were written by Peter and John, the two chief apostles, and James and Jude, the brethren of the Lord. "We take knowledge of them that they have been with Jesus, and own the highest authority which association with him can give." But he observes that the united epistles of these representatives of our Lord form only a kind of supplement to the writings of Paul. "Had we been permitted," he adds, "to choose our instructors from among 'the glorious company,' three of these names at least would have been uttered by every tongue; and besides our desire to be taught by their lips, we should, as disciples of St. Paul, have felt a natural anxiety to know whether 'James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, added nothing to' (Gal. ii, 8, 9), and took nothing from, the substance of the doctrine which we had received through him. . . . We have words from these very apostles, expressing the mind of their later life, words in which we recognise the mellow tone of age, the settled manner of an old experience, and the long habit of Christian thought."¹

The Apocalypse of John is, as we have seen (pp. 356-382), a magnificent expansion of the eschatological prophecy of our Lord in Matt. xxiv. It is professedly a further revelation from the Lord Jesus himself (Rev. i, 1). As Paul's Thessalonian Epistles, containing his prophecies of the parousia and the end of the age, were earlier in date than his other

The Apocalypse
a fitting conclusion
of the New
Test. canon.

only the natural effect of the greater fulness of that light; for so the moonbeams fix the eye upon themselves, as they burst through the rifts of rolling clouds, catching the edges of objects and falling on patches of landscape; while, under the settled brightness of the universal and genial day, it is not so much the light that we think of, as the varied scene which it shows."—*Progress of Doctrine*, p. 156.

¹ *Progress of Doctrine*, pp. 161, 165.

writings, so John's book of eschatology antedates his gospel. But there is a fitness in having the Book of Revelation close the New Testament canon, even as the Thessalonian Epistles stand in canonical order at the close of Paul's letters to seven different churches.¹ For the Apocalypse reveals the marvellous things of the parousia, and the consummation of that age, when both earth and heavens were shaken, and the former things passed away in order to give place to the Messianic kingdom, which cannot be shaken (Heb. xii, 26-28). No vision could more appropriately close the Christian Canon than the apocalyptic symbol of the heavenly and eternal kingdom.

This rapid outline of the development and progress of doctrine, Attention to traceable in the several books of the Old and New progress of doctrine a help to the interpreter. Testament Scriptures, will serve to show that God did not communicate his revelations all at once. The successive portions which he revealed from time to time were adapted to the varying conditions and needs of his people. Sometimes the word was left defective because of the hardness of the people's hearts (Mark x, 5). Sometimes the progress was slow, and interrupted by long periods of spiritual decline; then again it broke forth in new developments of national life. A careful attention to this progressive character of the divine revelation is necessary to a thorough interpretation and efficient use of the Holy Scriptures. It helps to set aside the charges of doctrinal and ethical discrepancies which have been alleged. The notion that the Pauline doctrine of justification is something essentially different from the teachings of Jesus, will have no force when it is seen that the whole Epistle to the Romans is virtually a systematic elaboration of our Lord's words to Nicodemus: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii, 16). The allegation that the New Testament contradicts the Old is seen to be an error when we discover that the older revelations were necessarily imperfect, and manifestly not designed to set forth all the truth of God. Things which from one standpoint seem to be contradictory, from another are seen to be only separated portions of one grand harmony. The *lex talionis* and the violent procedures of the blood-avenger were grounded in the righteous demands of retributive justice, and were archaic forms of executing law. A higher civilization, based on clearer revelations, adopts other methods of executing penalty, but recognises the same essential principles of right.

¹ Comp. Bernard, *Progress of Doctrine*, p. 169.

THE ANALOGY OF FAITH.

The foregoing observations prepare the way to a proper apprehension of the "Analogy of Faith" as an aid in expounding the Scriptures. This expression, appropriated from Rom. xii, 6, but used in a different sense from that which the apostle intended,¹ denotes that general harmony of fundamental doctrine which pervades the entire Scriptures. It assumes that the Bible is a self-interpreting book, and what is obscure in one passage may be illuminated by another. No single statement or obscure passage of one book can be allowed to set aside a doctrine which is clearly established by many passages. The obscure texts must be interpreted in the light of those which are plain and positive. "The faith," says Fairbairn, "according to which the sense of particular passages is determined, must be that which rests upon the broad import of some of the most explicit announcements of Scripture, about the meaning of which there can be, with unbiassed minds, no reasonable doubt. And in so far as we must decide between one passage and another, those passages should always be allowed greatest weight in fixing the general principles of the faith in which the subjects belonging to it are not incidentally noticed merely, but formally treated and discussed; for, in such cases, we can have no doubt that the point on which we seek for an authoritative deliverance was distinctly in the eye of the writer."²

¹ In Rom. xii, 6, the apostle is speaking of the gifts, *χαρίσματα*, the spiritual qualifications and aptitudes for Christian activity and usefulness in the Church, "gifts differing according to the grace given" to each individual. Of these varying gifts he specifies several examples, one of which is that of prophesying. Let the one thus gifted, he says, exercise his gift, *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*, according to the proportion of the faith, that is, the faith which he individually possesses. This proportion or analogy (*ἀναλογία*) of one's individual faith is not an external rule or doctrinal standard, the *regula fidei* (as Philippi, Hodge, and others hold), but the measure of faith with which each is endowed. "They are not to depart from the proportional measure which their faith has, neither wishing to exceed it, nor falling short of it, but are to guide themselves by it, and are therefore so to announce and interpret the received revelation, as the peculiar position in respect of faith bestowed on them, according to the strength, fervour, clearness, and other qualities of that faith, suggests—so that the character and mode of their speaking is conformed to the rules and limits, which are implied in the proportion of their individual degree of faith. In the contrary case they fall, in respect of contents and of form, into a mode of prophetic utterance, either excessive and overstrained, or, on the other hand, insufficient and defective, not corresponding to the level of their faith. The same revelation may, in fact—according to the difference in the proportion of faith with which it, objectively given, subjectively connects itself—be very differently expressed and delivered."—Meyer, in loco.

² Rormeneutical Manual, p. 128.

We may distinguish two degrees of the analogy of faith. The first and highest is positive, in which the doctrine or revelation is so plainly and positively stated, and supported by so many distinct passages, that there can be no doubt of its meaning and value. Thus the Scriptures teach positively that all men are sinners; that God has provided redemption for all; that God is omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, holy, righteous, and merciful; that he requires in those who seek his

Two degrees of the analogy of faith.
 Positive. grace, repentance, faith, humility, love, and obedience; that he purposes to save and glorify those who love and serve him, and to punish those who disobey and hate him. These and many similar great truths are so positively and repeatedly set forth in the Holy Scriptures that no one who reads with care can fail to apprehend them.

The next degree is appropriately called the general analogy of faith. It rests not like the first upon explicit declarations, but upon the obvious scope and import of the Scripture teachings taken as a whole. Thus, for example, the subject of human slavery is referred to in various ways, both in the Old Testament and in the New. Some passages have been construed as sanctioning the practice, others as opposing and condemning it. A valid conclusion as to the general import of Scripture on this subject can be reached only by a broad and thorough investigation of all that bears upon it in the revelation of God. The Mosaic legislation, which expressly permits the buying of slaves from foreigners (Lev. xxv, 44, 45), makes the stealing and selling of a Hebrew a capital crime (Exod. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7). A leading feature of the Mosaic system was to distinguish sharply between the Israelite and the foreigner, always to the prejudice of the latter. This fact must be kept in mind in discussing any subject of Mosaic ethics. No Hebrew could, without his own consent, be retained in slavery more than six years (Exod. xxi, 2), and the year of jubilee might terminate the bondage sooner (Lev. xxv, 40, 54). Paul counsels the Christian slaves to be obedient to their masters (Eph. vi, 5; Col. iii, 22; 1 Tim. vi, 1, 2), but he sends back the fugitive, Onesimus, to his master, "no longer a slave, but more than a slave, a brother beloved" (Philem. 16). He proclaims, moreover, that under the Gospel "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is no male and female" (Gal. iii, 28). The putting on of Christ by being baptized into Christ (ver. 27) causes all distinctions of nation (comp. Rom. x, 12), condition, and even of sex, to be wholly lost sight of and forgotten. When to these and other similar teachings we add the consideration that the

Old Testament commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," dropped somewhat incidentally in the Mosaic legislation (Lev. xix, 18), is called by James "the royal law" (James ii, 8), and is announced by the Lord as a fundamental pillar of the divine revelation (Matt. xxii, 39; Mark xii, 31; Luke x, 27), we can scarcely doubt that the holding of any fellow being in bondage against his will is essentially contrary to the highest ethics. The general analogy of faith is thus made apparent by a broad and careful collation of all that the Scripture says on any given subject.¹

It is evident that no doctrine which rests upon a single passage of Scripture can belong to fundamental doctrines recognised in the analogy of faith. But it must not be Limitations and uses of the analogy of faith. inferred from this that no specific statement of Scripture is authoritative unless it has support in other passages. Nor can we set aside any legitimate inference from a statement of Scripture on the ground that such inference is unsupported by other parallel statements. Unless it be clearly contradicted or excluded by the analogy of faith, or by some other equally explicit statement, one positive declaration of God's word is sufficient to establish either a fact or a doctrine. Hence the analogy of faith as a principle of interpretation is necessarily limited in its application. It is useful in bringing out the relative importance and prominence of different doctrines, and guarding against a one-sided exposition of the sacred oracles. It exhibits the inner unity and harmony of the entire divine revelation. It magnifies the importance of consistency in interpretation. But it cannot govern the interpreter in the exposition of those parts of the Scriptures which are without real parallel, and which stand unopposed by other parts. For it may justly be inferred from the progress of doctrine in the Bible that here and there single revelations of divine truth may have been given in passages where the context furnished no occasion for further development or elaboration.

¹ Celérier (*Manuel d'Hermeneutique*, pp. 194-196) specifies two inferior degrees of analogy which he defines as *deduced* and *imposed*; but he very properly observes that they are unworthy of the name of analogy of faith; for the one rests upon the logical process by which it is attempted to prove a doctrine, the other upon an assumed authority supposed to inhere in the consensus of the creeds of Christendom. The consensus or analogy of Christian creeds is not without its value, but to use it as a method of interpreting Scripture is to substitute authority in the place of rational principles and rules of hermeneutics. What is believed everywhere, always, and by all (*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*), is, doubtless, worthy of serious consideration, but cannot be admitted as a means of unfolding the sense of any particular portions of the Bible.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DOCTRINAL AND PRACTICAL USE OF SCRIPTURE.

PAUL, the apostle, declares that all Scripture which is divinely inspired is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness (2 Tim. iii, 16). These various uses of the holy records may be distinguished as doctrinal and practical. The Christian teacher appeals to them as authoritative utterances of divine truth, and unfolds their lessons as theoretical and doctrinal statements of what their divine author would have men believe. Our fifth Article of Religion (the sixth of the Church of England) says: "The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The inspired word, moreover, serves a most important practical purpose by furnishing conviction and reproof (*ἐλεγχον*, or *ἐλεγμόν*) for the sinful, correction (*ἐπανόρθωσιν*) for the fallen and erring, and instruction or disciplinary training (*παιδείαν*) for all who would become sanctified by the truth (comp. John xvii, 17) and perfected in the ways of righteousness.

The Roman Church, as is well known, denies the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and condemns the exercise of that right as the source of all heresy and schism. The third article of the creed of Pope Pius IV., which is one of the most authoritative expressions of Roman faith, reads as follows: "I admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense which our holy mother Church has held and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers."¹ The Romanist, therefore, finds in the Church and tradition an authority superior to the inspired Scripture. But when we find that the fathers notoriously disagree in the exposition of important passages, that popes have contradicted one another, and have condemned and annulled the acts of their predecessors,

¹ Comp. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, pp. 96-99; vol. ii, p. 207. New York, 1877.

and that even great councils, like those of Nice (325), Laodicea (360), Constantinople (754), and Trent (1545) have enacted decrees utterly inconsistent with each other,¹ we may safely reject the pretensions of the Romanists, and pronounce them absurd and preposterous.

The Protestant, on the other hand, maintains the right of exercising his own reason and judgment in the study of the Scriptures. But he humbly acknowledges the fallibility of all men, not excepting any of the popes of Rome. The Protestant principle of using one's own reason. He observes that there are portions of the Bible which are difficult to explain; he also observes that no Roman pontiff, whatever his claim of infallibility, has ever made them clear. He is convinced, furthermore, that there are many passages of holy writ on which good and wise men may agree to differ, and some of which no one may be able to interpret. By far the greater portion of the Old and New Testaments is so clear in general import that there is no room for controversy, and those parts which are obscure contain no fundamental truth or doctrine which is not elsewhere set forth in clearer form. Protestants, accordingly, hold it to be not only a right but a duty of all Christians to search the Scriptures, that they may know for themselves the will and commandments of God.²

But while the Holy Scriptures contain all essential revelation of divine truth, "so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith," Statement and defence of doctrine to conform to correct Hermeneutics. it is of fundamental importance that all formal statements of biblical doctrine, and the exposition, elaboration, or defence of the same, be made in accordance with correct hermeneutical principles. The systematic expounder of Scripture doctrine is expected to set forth, in clear outline and well-defined terms, such teachings as have certain warrant in the word of God. He must not import into the text of Scripture the ideas of later times, or build upon any words or passages a dogma which they do not legitimately teach. The apologetic and dogmatic methods of interpretation which proceed from the standpoint of a formulated creed, and appeal to all words and sentiments scattered here and there in the

¹ See the proof of these statements in Elliott, *Delineation of Roman Catholicism*, vol. i, pp. 144-147. New York, 1841.

² "If a position is demonstrably scriptural," says Dorner, "according to the evangelical doctrine of the Church, it has an essentially ecclesiastical character; it has citizenship and a claim to regard even though it do not enjoy a formal validity; and a position which is demonstrably opposed to Scripture has similarly no claim to acceptance though it be ecclesiastical."—*System of Christian Doctrine*, vol. i, p. 176. Edinb., 1880.

Scriptures, which may by any possibility lend support to a foregone conclusion, have been condemned already (see above, pp. 68, 69). By such methods many false notions have been urged upon men as matters of faith. But no man has a right to foist into his expositions of Scripture his own dogmatic conceptions, or those of others, and then insist that these are an essential part of divine revelation. Only that which is clearly read therein, or legitimately proved thereby, can be properly held as scriptural doctrine.¹

We should, however, clearly discriminate between biblical theology, and the historical and systematic development of Christian doctrine. Many fundamental truths are set forth in fragmentary forms, or by implication, in the Scriptures; but in the subsequent life and thought of the Church, they have been brought out by thorough elaboration, and the formulated statements of individuals and ecclesiastical councils.² All the great creeds and confessions of Christendom assume to be in harmony with the written word of God, and manifestly have great historical value; but they contain not a few statements of doctrine which a legitimate interpretation of the Scripture proof-texts appealed to does not authorize. A fundamental principle of Protestantism is that the Scriptures only are the true sources of doctrine. A creed has no authority further than it clearly rests upon what God has spoken by his inspired prophets and apostles. All true Christian doctrine is contained in substance in the canonical Scriptures.³ But the elaborate study and exposition of subsequent ages

¹ "In the domain of Christian doctrine," says Van Oosterzee, "the Scripture is rightly made use of, when it is duly tested, interpreted according to precise rules, employed in explaining, purifying, and developing Church confessions, and is consulted as a guide in individual Christian philosophic investigation of truth."—*Christian Dogmatics*, vol. i, pp. 220, 221. New York, 1874.

² Thus Martensen: "As the archetypal work of the Spirit of Inspiration, the Scriptures include within themselves a world of germs for a continuous development. While every dogmatic system grows old, the Bible remains eternally young, because it does not give us a systematic presentation of truth, but truth in its fulness, involving the possibility of a variety of systems."—*Christian Dogmatics*, p. 52. Edinb., 1866.

³ "The history of doctrines," says Hagenbach, "presupposes biblical theology as its basis; just as the general history of the Church presupposes the life of Jesus and the apostolic age."—*Text-Book of the History of Doctrines*, p. 16. Eng. trans., revised by H. B. Smith, New York, 1861. He observes further (p. 44): "With the incarnation of the Redeemer, and the introduction of Christianity into the world, the materials of the history of doctrines are already fully given in the germ. The object of all further doctrinal statements and definitions is, in the positive point of view, to unfold this germ; in the negative, to guard it against all foreign additions and influences." Similarly Schaff: "In the Protestant system, the authority of symbols, as of all human compositions, is relative and limited. It is not co-ordinate with, but always subordinate

may be presumed to have put some things in clearer light, and the judgments expressed by venerable councils are entitled to great respect and deference.

Most of the great controversies on Christian doctrine have grown out of attempts to define what is left in the Scriptures undefined. The mysteries of the nature of God, the person and work of Jesus Christ, sacrificial atone-
Human tendency to be wise above what is written.
 ment in its relations to divine justice, man's depraved nature and the relative possibilities of the human soul with and without the light of the Gospel, the method of regeneration, and the degrees of possible Christian attainment, the resurrection of the dead, and the mode of immortality and eternal judgment—these and kindred subjects are of a nature to invite speculation and vain theorizing, and it was most natural that everything in the Scripture bearing on such points should have been pressed into service. On such mysterious themes it is quite easy for men to become "wise above what is written," and in the historical development of the blended life, thought, and activities of the Church, some things came to be generally accepted as essential Christian doctrine which in fact are without sufficient warrant in the Scriptures.

Inasmuch, then, as the Scriptures are the sole source of revealed doctrine, and were given for the purpose of making
True and false methods to ascertain Scripture doctrines.
 known to men the saving truth of God, it is of the utmost importance that we study, by sound hermeneutical methods, to ascertain from them the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We may best illustrate our meaning by taking several leading doctrines of the Christian faith, and indicating the unsound and untenable methods by which their advocates have sometimes defended them.

Nothing is more fundamental in any system of religion than the doctrine of God, and the catholic faith of the early
The catholic doctrine of God.
 Christian Church, as formulated in the Athanasian Creed, is this:

That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance. For there is one Person of the Father; another of the Son; and another of the Holy Spirit. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is all one: the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the

to, the Bible, as the only infallible rule of the Christian faith and practice. The value of creeds depends upon the measure of their agreement with the Scriptures. In the best case a human creed is only an approximate and relatively correct exposition of revealed truth, and may be improved by the progressive knowledge of the Church, while the Bible remains perfect and infallible."—The Creeds of Christendom, vol. i, p. 7

Son, and such is the Holy Spirit: The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Spirit uncreated; the Father incomprehensible (*immensus*), the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Spirit incomprehensible; the Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Spirit eternal. And yet there are not three Eternals, but one Eternal; as also there are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but One uncreated, and One incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Spirit Almighty; and yet there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; and yet there are not three Gods, but one God.

Here is a very succinct and explicit statement of doctrine, and its definitions, so far as quoted above, have obtained all but universal acceptance among evangelical believers. Though commonly ascribed to Athanasius, this symbol of faith, like the Apostles' Creed, is of unknown authorship, and furnishes one of the most remarkable examples of the extraordinary influence which some works of that kind have exerted.

But are the definitions and sharp distinctions set forth in this creed according to the Scriptures? May we read them therein, or prove them thereby? No one pretends that the several clauses, or any of the formal definitions, are taken from the Bible. All such systematic presentations of dogma are foreign to the style of the Scriptures; but this fact is no valid reason for rejecting them, or supposing them to be unscriptural. "A creed," says Schaff, "ought to use language different from that of the Bible. A string of Scripture passages would be no creed at all, as little as it would be a prayer or a hymn. A creed is, as it were, a doctrinal poem written under the inspiration of divine truth. This may be said at least of the œcumenical creeds."¹ Hence a well-constructed creed is supposed to express the sum total of what the Scriptures teach on a given subject, but not necessarily in the language or terms of the sacred writers. Nor are its statements to be supposed to depend on any one or two particular texts or passages of the Bible. It is quite possible that the general judgment of men may legitimately accept as a positive doctrine of Scripture what no one text or passage, taken by itself alone, would be sufficient to authorize. The catholic doctrine of the Trinity is very much of this character. A calm and dispassionate review of ages of controversy over this important dogma will show that, on the one hand, the advocates of the catholic faith have made an unscientific and inconclusive use of many Scripture texts, while, on the other hand, their opponents have been equally unfair in rejecting

Doctrinal symbols not unscriptural.

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¹ The Creeds of Christendom, vol. i, p. 7, foot note.

the logical and legitimate conclusion of a cumulative argument which rested on the evidence of many biblical statements, of which they themselves could furnish no sufficient or satisfactory explanation. The argument from each text may be nullified or largely set aside, when taken singly and alone; but a great number and variety of such evidences, taken as a whole, and exhibiting a manifest coherency, may not thus be set aside.

Thus, for example, the plural form of the name of God (אֱלֹהִים) in the Hebrew Scriptures has often been adduced as proof of a plurality of persons in the Godhead. A similar application has been made of the threefold use of the divine name in the priestly blessing (Num. vi, 24-27), and the trisagion in Isa. vi, 3. Even the proverb, "A threefold cord is not quickly broken" (Eccles. iv, 12), has been quoted as a proof-text of the Trinity. Such a use of Scripture will not be likely to advance the interests of truth, or be profitable for doctrine. A repetition of the divine name three or more times is no evidence that the worshipper thereby intends a reference to so many personal distinctions in the divine nature. The plural form אֱלֹהִים may as well designate a multiplicity of divine potentialities in the deity as three personal distinctions, or it may be explained as the plural of majesty and excellency. Such peculiar forms of expression are susceptible of too many explanations to be used as valid proof texts of the Trinity.

So, again, of the passage in Gen. xix, 24, often quoted in the Trinitarian controversies. "The name Jehovah," says Watson, "if it has not a plural form, has more than one personal application. 'Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.' We have here the visible Jehovah who had talked with Abraham raining the storm of vengeance from another Jehovah out of heaven, and who was, therefore, invisible. Thus we have two Jehovahs expressly mentioned, 'the Lord rained from the Lord,' and yet we have it most solemnly asserted in Deut. vi, 4, 'Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.'"¹ Much more natural and simple, however, is the explanation which recognises in this repetition of the name Jehovah a Hebraistic mode of statement. "It is," says Calvin, "an emphatic repetition." Browne remarks: "Aben Ezra, whom perhaps a majority of Christian commentators have followed in this, sees in these words a peculiar elegance or grace of language;" 'the Lord rained from the Lord' being a grander and more impressive mode of saying, 'the Lord rained from himself.'

¹ Theological Institutes, vol. i, p. 467.

It is a common idiom in Hebrew to repeat the noun instead of using a pronoun."¹

The theophanies of the Old Testament have also been adduced in maintaining the doctrine of the Trinity. But what-
Angel of Jeho-
vab. ever else may be made of the argument, it furnishes no sound proof that the Godhead consists of a number of distinct persons. The Angel of Jehovah, so mysteriously identified with Jehovah himself (Gen. xvi, 7, 10, 13; xxii, 11, 12, 15, 16), and in whom is the name of Jehovah (Exod. xxiii, 21), is not necessarily a manifestation of one person of the Godhead rather than another, but may be explained as a singular manifestation of Jehovah himself without any idea of personal distinctions in his nature or essence. But while this is admitted on the one hand, it ought not to be denied, on the other, that in the light of New Testament revelations of Christ, as the revealed wisdom and power of God, we may discern in the Old Testament Angel of Jehovah a manifestation of him who in the fulness of time took upon himself the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men (Phil. ii, 7). It was, moreover, a part of the theology of the ancient synagogue that this angel was the Shekinah, or manifested power and mediation of God in the world.

A similar disposition may be made of many other proofs of the Trinity which have been cited from the Old Testament,
New Testament
doctrine of God. but passing into the New Testament we cannot but be impressed with the language used in John i, 18: "No one has ever seen God; God only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, he made him known."² This remarkable statement leads one to ask, Who is this only begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father, and reveals God, or makes him known? In the first verse of the same chapter he is called the Word (*ὁ λόγος*), and is said to have been "with the God" (*πρὸς τὸν θεόν*), and the further statement

¹ Speaker's Commentary, in loco.

² The more familiar and almost equally well-supported reading, "only begotten Son," conveys essentially the same mysterious and wonderful suggestion. "Both readings," says Hort, "intrinsically are free from objection. The text (God only begotten), though startling at first, simply combines in a single phrase the two attributes of the Logos marked before (*θεός*, ver. 1, *μονογενής*, ver. 14). Its sense is 'One who was both *θεός* and *μονογενής*.' The substitution of the familiar phrase *ὁ μονογενής υἱός* for the unique *μονογενής θεός* would be obvious, and *μονογενής*, by its own primary meaning, directly suggested *υἱός*. The converse substitution is inexplicable by any ordinary motive likely to affect transcribers. There is no evidence that the reading had any controversial interest in ancient times. And the absence of the article from the more important documents is fatal to the idea that *ΘΥ* was an accidental substitution for *ΥΥ*."—Appendix to Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, p. 74.

is made that he "was God." Creation is ascribed to him (ver. 3), and he is declared to be the life and the light of men (ver. 4). This Word, it is added in verse 14, "became flesh, and tabernacled among us, and we beheld his glory—glory as of an only begotten from a Father full of grace and truth." It is quite possible that polemic writers may make too much of these wonderful words. What it is to *be with the God*, and also to *be God*, may well be treated as a mystery too deep for the human mind to solve. The Word which became flesh, according to John i, 14, may fairly be understood to be identical with him who, according to Paul in 1 Tim. iii, 16, embodies "the mystery of godliness; he who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen by angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory." This can be no other than Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Son of man. When, now, we observe that the apostles were commissioned to "go forth and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. xxviii, 19); that Paul invokes "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit," to be with all the brethren of the Corinthian church (2 Cor. xiii, 13); and that John invokes grace and peace upon the seven churches of Asia "from Him who is, and who was, and who is to come, and from the seven spirits which are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the land" (Rev. i, 4, 5), we may with good reason conclude that God, as revealed in the New Testament, consists of Father, Son, and Spirit existing in some mysterious and incomprehensible unity of nature. From such a basis the exegete may go on to examine all those texts which indicate in any way the person, nature, and character of Christ: his pre-existence, his divine names and titles, his holy attributes and perfections, his power on earth to forgive sins, and other prerogatives and works ascribed to him, and the command for all men and angels to worship him. The fact that "God is Spirit" (John iv, 24) allows us readily to conceive that the Holy Spirit and God himself are one in substance, and the manner in which our Lord speaks of the Holy Spirit as the Comforter whom he will send (John xv, 26; xvi, 7), and whom the Father will send in his name (xiv, 26), points by every fair construction to a distinction between the Father and the Holy Spirit. Putting all these together we find so many far-reaching and profoundly suggestive declarations concerning these divine persons, that we cannot logically avoid the conclusion enunciated in the creed, that "the Father

Mysterious distinctions in the divine nature.

is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; and yet there are not three Gods, but one God."

But in the systematic elaboration of this argument the theologian should carefully abstain from unauthorized assertions. Abstain from unauthorized assertions and disputed readings. A theme so full of mystery and of majesty as the nature of God, and his personal revelations in Christ and through the Holy Spirit, admits of no dogmatic tone.

Assertions like the following from Sherlock are no advantage to the interests of truth: "To say they are three divine persons, and not three distinct infinite minds, is both heresy and nonsense. . . . The distinction of persons cannot be more truly and aptly represented than by the distinction between three men; for Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are as really distinct persons as Peter, James, and John."¹ This is being wise above what is written, and is as harmful to valid argument as citing and urging texts where the reading and punctuation are doubtful, or where (as in the case of 1 John v, 7) the evidence of interpolation is overwhelming. No man should assume to *explain* the mysteries of Deity.

The doctrine of atonement in Christ is thus set forth in the Vicarious Atonement. Canons of the Synod of Dort: "The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world."² The Westminster Confession of Faith expresses it thus: "The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he through the eternal Spirit once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of the Father, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him."³ It is probable that to many evangelical Christians neither of these forms of statement is satisfactory, while yet, at the same time, they would not reject them as unscriptural. They contain several phrases which have been so mixed with dogmatic controversy that many would for that reason decline to use them, and prefer the simple but comprehensive statement of the Gospel: "God so loved the world that he gave the Son, the only begotten, that every one who believes in him should not

¹ Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, pp. 66, 105. London, 1690. Equally dogmatic, on the other hand, is the declaration of Norton concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the twofold nature of Christ: "There is not a passage to be found in the Scriptures which can be imagined to affirm either of those doctrines that have been represented as being at the very foundation of Christianity."—Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ, p. 63. Third edition, Boston, 1856.

² See Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. iii, p. 586.

³ Ibid., p. 621.

perish, but have life eternal" (John iii, 16). This Scripture does not say that the Son was given as "a sacrifice and satisfaction for sin," or that the procedure was a "perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself" in order to "fully satisfy the justice of the Father," and "purchase reconciliation for all those whom the Father hath given unto him." But, as Alford well says: "These words, whether spoken in Hebrew or in Greek, seem to carry a reference to the offering of Isaac; and Nicodemus in that case would at once be reminded by them of the love there required, the substitution there made, and the prophecy there uttered to Abraham (Gen. xxii, 18) to which 'every one who believes' so nearly corresponds."¹

When we proceed to compare with this Scripture its obvious parallels (as Rom. iii, 24-26; v, 6-10; Eph. i, 7; 1 Peter i, 18, 19; iii, 18; 1 John iv, 9), and bring forward in illustration of them the Old Testament idea of sacrifice, and the symbolism of blood (see above, pp. 268, 269), we may construct a systematic exhibition of the doctrine of atonement which no faithful interpreter of the Scriptures can fairly gainsay or resist. It is not a special dogmatic exposition of any single text, or a peculiar stress-laid upon isolated words or phrases by which a scriptural doctrine is best set forth, but rather by accumulation of a number and variety of passages bearing on the subject, the meaning and relevancy of each of which are obvious.

The awful doctrine of eternal punishment has been greatly confused by mixing with it many notions which are destitute of valid scriptural proof. The refinements of torture, delineated in the appalling pictures of Dante's *Inferno*, should not be taken as guides to help us in understanding the words of Jesus, even though we be told that the Gehenna, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched" (Mark ix, 48), and "the outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt. xxv, 30), authorize such horrible portraiture of the final doom of the wicked. The fearful representations of divine judgment and penalty set forth in Scripture need not be interpreted literally in order to enforce the doctrine of the hopeless perdition of the incorrigible sinner, and the exegete, who assumes in his discussion that the literal import of such texts must be held, weakens his own argument. Far more convincing and overwhelming is that mode of teaching which makes no special plea over the etymology or usage of some disputed word (even though it be *αἰώνιος*), but rather holds up to view the uniform and awful indications of hopeless ruin and utter exclusion from the glory of God which the

¹ Greek Testament, in loco.

Scriptures continually furnish as a certain fearful expectation of the ungodly. A momentous and eternal truth may be set forth in figure as well as in literal statement, and the force of the Scripture doctrine of the final doom of the wicked lies not more in the terrible suggestions of positive punishment, tribulation, and anguish, than in the absence of any hope of pardon and salvation in the future. Vain is the appeal to such a text as Matt. xii, 32: "Whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this age nor in that which is to come." Here, say some, is an implication that for other sins and blasphemies there may be forgiveness in the age or world to come. But to this it may at once be answered that such an implication is at best a most uncertain hope, while on the contrary the assertion is most positive that the blasphemy against the Spirit shall never be forgiven. Endless perdition, therefore, awaits such blaspheming sinners, and will the opponents of eternal punishment assume that no one ever has committed, or will commit, the blasphemy here meant? In the parallel passage of Mark (iii, 29) we meet with that profound and fearfully suggestive statement, that "whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit has no forgiveness forever, but is guilty of (*ἔνοχος*, is held fast bound by) eternal sin." How futile and delusive, then, to build a hope on the suggestions of such a text, when, for aught the reasoner knows, every wilful sinner, who deliberately rejects the claims of the Gospel and dies impenitent, commits this blasphemy against the Spirit.

Equally delusive would it be to build a hope of future pardon on what is written in 1 Peter iii, 18-20, and iv, 6. For if we allow the strictest literal construction, and believe that Christ went in spirit and preached to the spirits in prison, we have no intimation as to what he preached, or of the results of that preaching; and the entire statement is confined to those who were disobedient in the days of Noah. There is no intimation that he preached to any other spirits, or that any other such preaching ever took place before, or ever will take place hereafter. Furthermore, if we infer, from 1 Peter iv, 6, that the purpose of this preaching to the dead was that they might be rescued from their prison, and "live according to God in spirit," it is entirely uncertain whether any one of them accepted the offer, and were thus saved. If, however, it be urged that it is altogether presumable that such a preaching of the Gospel by Christ himself would not be without blessed results, and that such grace shown to one class of imprisoned spirits is a fair ground for presuming that like mercy may be extended to many others, if not to all, we have only

Preaching to
the spirits in
prison.

to answer: All these are presumptions which have too much against them in other parts of Scripture to be made the ground of hope to any wilful sinner, or to allow our laying down any universal proposition touching the unknown future.¹

We repudiate the notion, often asserted by some, that we may not use the figurative portions of Scripture for the purpose of establishing or maintaining a doctrine. Figures of speech, parables, allegories, types, and symbols are divinely chosen forms by which God has communicated a large part of his written word to men, and these peculiar methods of communicating thought may teach doctrine as well as any thing else (comp. pp. 159, 160). Our Lord has seen fit to set forth his truth in manifold forms, and it is our duty to recognise that truth whether it appear in metaphor, parable, or symbol. Is there no doctrine taught in such metaphors as (Psa. li, 7) "Purify me with hyssop," or (1 Cor. v, 7) "Christ, our passover, was sacrificed"? Can the doctrine of a new creation in Christ (2 Cor. v, 17; Gal. vi, 15), and the renewing of the Holy Spirit (Titus iii, 5), be more clearly or forcibly set forth than by the figure of the new birth (regeneration) as used by Jesus (John iii, 3-8)? Does the allegory of the vine and its branches (John xv, 1-6) teach no doctrine? Was there no doctrine taught by the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness, or in the symbolism of blood, or in the pattern and service of the tabernacle? And as to teaching by parables, we may well observe with Trench: "To create a powerful impression language must be recalled, minted, and issued anew, cast into novel forms, as was done by him of whom it is said that without a parable (*παράβολή*, in its widest sense) spake he nothing to his hearers; that is, he gave no doctrine in the abstract form, no skeletons of truth, but all clothed, as it were, with flesh and blood. He acted himself as he declared to his disciples they must act if they would be scribes instructed unto the kingdom, and able to instruct others (Matt. xiii, 52); he brought forth out of his treasure things new and old; by the help of the old he made intelligible the new; by the aid of the familiar he introduced them to that which was strange; from the known he passed more easily to the unknown. And in his own

Doctrine not confined to any one class or portion of the Scriptures.

¹ It scarcely accords with the true spirit of calm theological inquiry to obtrude dogmatical assertions as to any possibilities of grace beyond this life. What may be the future development and opportunities of those who die in infancy, or what may be allowed in another state of being to such as may be supposed never to have had suitable opportunities of accepting salvation in this life, are questions which God alone can answer, and the presumption of those who, in the absence of specific revelation, dogmatize on such themes, is only equalled by the folly of those who would rest their hopes of the future on such unknown and uncertain possibilities.

manner of teaching, and in his instruction to his apostles, he has given us the secret of all effectual teaching—of all speaking which shall leave behind it, as was said of one man's eloquence, stings in the minds and memories of the hearers."¹

But when we come to study the doctrines of biblical eschatology, how little do we find that is not set forth in figure or in symbol? Perhaps the notable confusion of modern teaching on the subjects of the parousia, resurrection, and judgment is largely due to a notion that these doctrines must needs have been revealed in literal form. The doctrine of divine judgment with its eternal issues is none the less positive and sure because set forth in the highly wrought and vivid picture of Matt. xxv, 31-46, or the vision of Rev. xx, 11, 12. "The judgment seat of Christ" (Rom. xiv, 10; 2 Cor. v, 10) is a metaphorical expression, based on familiar forms of dispensing justice in human tribunals (comp. Matt. xxvii, 19; Acts xii, 21; xviii, 12, 16; xxv, 6, 10, 17), and the expositor who insists that we must understand the eternal judgment of Christ only *as executed after the forms of human courts*, only damages the cause of truth.

How, also, has the doctrine of the resurrection become involved in doubt and confusion by overwise attempts to tell of the body. *how* the dead are raised up, and *with what body* they come forth! That the body is raised is the manifest scriptural teaching. Christ's body was raised, and his resurrection is the type, representative, and pledge that all will be raised (1 Cor. xv, 1-22). Many saints who had fallen asleep arose with him, and it is expressly written that their bodies (*σώματα*) were raised (Matt. xxvii, 52). Paul's doctrine clearly is that "he who raised up Christ Jesus from the dead, shall also make alive your mortal bodies" (Rom. viii, 11; comp. Phil. iii, 21). He does not entertain the question, on which so many modern divines have wasted speculation, as, wherein consists identity of body, and may not the dust of different bodies become mixed, and will all the particles of matter be restored? But he does employ suggestive illustrations, and by the figure of the grain of wheat shows that the body which is sown is "not the body that shall be" (1 Cor. xv, 37). He calls attention to the varieties of flesh (*σάρξ*), as of men, beasts, birds, and fishes, and to the great difference between the glory of heavenly and earthly bodies, and then says that the human body is sown in corruption, dishonour, and weakness, but raised up in incorruption, glory, and power (verses 30-45). "It is sown a natural (*ψυχικόν*) body; it is raised a spiritual body." The interests of divine truth

¹ Notes on the Parables, p. 27.

have not been helped by dogmatic essays to go beyond the apostle in the explanation or illustration of this mystery.

In the systematic presentation, therefore, of any scriptural doctrine, we are always to make a discriminating use of sound hermeneutical principles. We must not study them in the light of modern systems of divinity, but Freedom from prepossessions and presumptions. should aim rather to place ourselves in the position of the sacred writers, and study to obtain the impression their words would naturally have made upon the minds of the first readers.¹ The question should be, not what does the Church say, or what do the ancient fathers and the great councils and the œcumenical creeds say, but what do the Scriptures legitimately teach? Still less should we allow ourselves to be influenced by any presumptions of what the Scriptures *ought* to teach. It is not uncommon for writers and preachers to open a discussion with the remark that in a written revelation like the Bible we might naturally expect to find such or such things. All such presumptions are uncalled for and prejudicial. The assumption that the first chapter of Genesis describes a universal cosmogony, and that the Book of Revelation details all human history, or that of the Church, to the end of time, has been the fruitful source of a vast amount of false exegesis.

The teacher of Scripture doctrine should not cite his proof-texts *ad libitum*, or at random, as if any word or sentiment in harmony with his purpose, if only found in the Scriptures, must needs be pertinent. Texts not to be cited *ad libitum*. The character of the whole book or epistle, and the context, scope, and plan are often necessary to be taken into consideration before the real bearings of a given text can be clearly apprehended. That doctrine only is theologically sound which rests upon a strict grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture, and while all divinely inspired Scripture is profitable for doctrine and discipline in righteousness, its inspiration does not require or allow us to interpret it on any

¹ In order to be able to explain any one's words to others, one must understand them himself, otherwise he cannot render them intelligible to others. One understands another's words when by means of them he thinks as did the speaker or writer, and as he wished one should think. Thus one explains another's words rightly to others when he enables them to think precisely what the speaker or writer thought or wished to be thought. In the interpretation of any writing, it has not to be inquired what the readers for whom it was destined thought, but what, according to the intention of the writer, they should have thought in reading it. The object of the interpretation is the thoughts of the writer or speaker, in as far as he has expressed them in words for others. This does not take away that it often is of great importance to the interpretation of one or more sayings to inquire how the hearers understood them.—Doedes, *Manual of Hermeneutics*, pp. 2, 3. Edinb., 1867.

other principles than those which are applicable to uninspired writings. The interpreter is always bound to consider how the subject lay in the mind of the author, and to point out the exact ideas and sentiments intended. It is not for him to show how many meanings the words may possibly bear, nor even how the first readers understood them. The real meaning intended by the author, and that only, is to be set forth.

There is much reason for believing that the habit, quite general since the time of Ernesti, of treating the hermeneutics of the New Testament separately from the Old, has occasioned the misunderstanding of some important doctrines of Holy Writ. The language and style in which certain New Testament teachings are expressed are so manifestly modelled after Old Testament forms of statement, that they cannot be properly explained without a minute and thorough apprehension of the import of the older Scriptures.¹ We cannot, therefore, accept without qualification the following words of Van Oosterzee: "We have no right for a use of these (O. T.) Scriptures, in which we do not take heed to their peculiar character, as distinguished from those of the New Testament. The Old Testament revelation must always be regarded first in relation to Israel, and has only value for our dogmatics in so far as it is confirmed by the gospel of the New. The letter of the Old Testament must thus be tested by the spirit of the New, and whatever therein stands in opposition

¹ Take for illustration the following passage from one of our most recent and able works on theology. Speaking of the lawless one mentioned in 2 Thess. ii, 8, Pope says: "Prophetical theology has its many hypotheses for the explanation of the symbols of Daniel and the Apocalypse, and the plain words of St. Paul. But there has not yet been found on earth the power or the being to whom all St. Paul's terms are applicable."—Compendium of Chr. Theology, vol. iii, p. 394. The critical student of Daniel's description of the little horn (Dan. vii, 8, 25; viii, 9-12, 23-25; comp. xi, 36-38), will note that the words of Paul in 2 Thess. ii, 8-10, are no plainer than those of Daniel, from whom they are so evidently copied. And if Daniel's symbols and language were fulfilled, as most of the leading Old Testament exegetes admit, in the lawless Antiochus Epiphanes, how can it be said, in view of the equally lawless and blasphemous Nero, that "there has not yet been found on earth the power or the being to whom all St. Paul's terms are applicable?" We might fill volumes with extracts showing how exegetes and writers on New Testament doctrine assume as a principle not to be questioned that such highly wrought language as Matt. xxiv, 29-31; 1 Thess. iv, 16; and 2 Pet. iii, 10, 12, taken almost *verbatim* from Old Testament prophecies of judgment on nations and kingdoms which long ago perished, must be literally understood. Too little study of Old Testament ideas of judgment, and apocalyptic language and style, would seem to be the main reason for this one sided exegesis. It will require more than assertion to convince thoughtful men that the figurative language of Isaiah and Daniel, admitted on all hands to be such in those ancient prophets, is to be literally interpreted when used by Jesus or Paul.

to the New has as little binding force for our belief as for our life. A dogma which can be supported only by an appeal to the Old Testament can only maintain its place in Christian dogmatics if it manifestly does not conflict with the letter and spirit of the New, and also stands in close connexion with other propositions derived from the New Testament."¹

Every distinct portion of Scripture, whether in the Old or the New Testament, must, indeed, be interpreted in harmony with its own peculiar character, and the historical standpoint of each writer must be duly considered. One and the same spirit in both Testaments. The Old Testament cannot be truly apprehended without always regarding its relation to Israel, to whom it was first intrusted (Rom. iii, 2). And while it is true that "the letter of the Old Testament must be tested by the spirit of the New," it is equally true that, to understand the spirit and import of the New Testament, we are often dependent on both the letter and spirit of the Old. It may be that no important doctrine of the Old Testament is without confirmation in the Christian Scriptures, but it is also to be remembered that every important doctrine of the New Testament may be found in germ in the Old, and the New Testament writers were all, without exception, Jews or Jewish proselytes, and made use of the Jewish Scriptures as oracles of God.

A correct view of this whole subject is taken when we regard the Hebrew people as of old divinely chosen to hold and teach the principles of true religion. Confusion of Hebrew and Aryan modes of thought. It was not theirs to develop science, philosophy, and art. Other races attended more to these. It was not until the mystery of God, enclosed in the Israelitish worship as the bud, blossomed out in the Gospel, and was given to the Aryan world, that a systematic theology began to be developed. These Gentile peoples had long been trying, by reason and from nature, to solve the mysterious problems of the universe, and when the Gospel revelation came to them, it was eagerly seized by many as a clue to the intricate and perplexing secrets of God and the world. But a failure to apprehend the letter and spirit of the Hebrew records of faith led also to a failure to understand some of the doctrines of the Gospel, so that, from the apostolic age until now, there has been a conflict of Gnostic and Ebionitish tendencies in Christian thought. It is only as a correct scientific method enables us to distinguish between the true and the false in each of these tendencies that we shall perceive that the revelations of both Testaments are essentially one and inseparable. There can be, therefore, no complete and thorough hermeneutics of

¹ Christian Dogmatics, vol. i, p. 18. New York, 1874.

New Testament doctrine without a clear insight into the letter and spirit of the Old.

In the practical and homiletical use of the Scriptures we are also to seek first the true grammatico-historical sense. The life of godliness is nourished by the edifying, comforting, and assuring lessons of divine revelation. They serve also, as we have seen, for reproof and correction. But in this more subjective and practical use of the Bible, words and thoughts may have a wider and more general application than in strict exegesis. Commands and counsels which had their first and only direct reference to those of bygone generations may be equally useful for us. An entire chapter, like that of Rom. xvi, filled with personal salutations for godly men and women now utterly unknown, may furnish many most precious suggestions of brotherly love and holy Christian fellowship. The personal experiences of Abraham, Moses, David, Daniel, and Paul exhibit lights and shades from which every devout reader may gather counsel and admonition. Pious feeling may find in such characters and experiences lessons of permanent worth even where a sound exegesis must disallow the typical character of the person or event. In short, every great event, every notable personage or character, whether good or evil, every account of patient suffering, every triumph of virtue, every example of faith and good works, may serve in some way for instruction in righteousness.¹

The promises of divine oversight and care, the hopes and pledges set before the holy men of old, and all exhortations to watchfulness and prayer, may have manifold practical applications to Christians of every age. The same may be said of all the ancient warnings and appeals to escape the coming wrath of God which had primary reference to impending judgments. The carelessness and disobedience of those who lived in the days of Noah are a lively admonition and warning to all men of

¹ The Bible constantly presents general principles, absolute commandments, and living examples, but it never applies these principles to human actions as recorded upon its pages. This is left to the enlightened conscience and thoughtful judgment of the reader. It is God's will that we should meditate upon all Scripture, and make ourselves the moral application. The Bible records the pious obedience and simple and singular faith of Noah, but makes no comment upon it; and it relates the story of his shame when overcome by his appetite without a note of warning. Abraham is sometimes called the friend of God, and is styled in Scripture the father of them that believe. His marvellous simplicity of character, and unfaltering trust in God, are fully described in the sacred word, and without note of comment or excuse the stories of his deceit are also written out.—Pierce, *The Word of God Opened*, p. 77. New York, 1868.

every age who follow worldly things alone, and have no care about their eternal destiny. All the New Testament admonitions to watch and be in constant readiness for the coming of the Lord are capable of a most legitimate practical application to believers now, in reference to the uncertainty of the hour of death. To say, as many modern Chiliasts, that such an application of the admonitions to prepare for the parousia is a perversion of the Scripture teaching, is most futile. The coming of the Lord to a believer at death, in order to transport his redeemed spirit to paradise, is not, to be sure, the parousia which Jesus declared would take place within a generation from his time. But as departure from this life puts an end to probation, and "inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after that—judgment" (Heb. ix, 27), every motive which should have led men to prepare and watch for the judgment of the flood, and every exhortation for the contemporaries of Jesus and Paul to watch and be ready for the parousia, serve ever to admonish and warn us and all generations to be prepared for that day and hour when we must pass to eternal judgment of weal or woe. How much more sensible and forcible is this practical exhortation, the point and propriety of which all men must feel, than the visionary appeals of those expositors who would have us believe that we are now, any day and hour, to expect what Jesus said should take place within his own generation!

Pre-millennialists and post-millennialists have fallen into noticeable confusion in attempts to make such commands as "Watch therefore, for ye know not on what day your Lord cometh;" "Therefore, be ye also ready;" "Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour" (Matt. xxiv, 42, 44; xxv, 13), consistent with two thousand years' delay. Brown, indeed, concedes (Christ's Second Coming, p. 20) that "the death of any individual is, to all practical purposes, the coming of Christ to that soul. It is his summons to appear before the judgment seat of Christ. It is to him the close of time, and the opening of an unchanging eternity, as truly as the second advent will be to mankind at large." "There is a perfect analogy," he adds, "between the two classes of events. . . . Still, it is in the way of analogy alone that texts expressive of the one can or ought to be applied to the other. It can never be warranted, and is often dangerous to make that the primary and proper *interpretation* of a passage which is but a secondary, though it may be a very legitimate, and even irresistible, *application* of it." All this is very correct, but Mr. Brown falls into the error of the Chiliasts themselves when he goes on to argue that all the New Testament admonitions and warnings which imply the nearness of

the parousia are consistent with centuries, and even millenniums, of delay. All those warnings and exhortations may be easily shown to have had their primary application and reference to the end of the pre-millennial age (*æon*), which took place at the fall of the temple and its cultus, and correct *interpretation* finds their primary and only direct reference to that event. But by way of manifest analogy, and in practical and homiletical use, they have a pertinent and impressive lesson to all generations of men. And it detracts from the force and usefulness of these texts to import into them an imaginary significance which they were never intended to bear.

In all our private study of the Scriptures for personal edification we do well to remember that the first and great thing is to lay hold of the real spirit and meaning of the sacred writer. There can be no true application, and no profitable taking to ourselves of any lessons of the Bible, unless we first clearly apprehend their original meaning and reference. To build a moral lesson upon an erroneous interpretation of the language of God's word is a reprehensible procedure. But he who clearly discerns the exact grammatico-historical sense of a passage, is the better qualified to give it any legitimate application which its language and context will allow.

Accordingly, in homiletical discourse, the public teacher is bound to base his applications of the truths and lessons of the divine word upon a correct apprehension of the primary signification of the language which he assumes to expound and enforce. To misinterpret the sacred writer is to discredit any application one may make of his words. But when, on the other hand, the preacher first shows, by a valid interpretation, that he thoroughly comprehends that which is written, his various allowable accommodations of the writer's words will have the greater force, in whatever practical applications he may give them.

Practical and homiletical use of Scripture to be based on correct interpretation.

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Section xlviii, pp. 123-156, consists of a condensed outline of the work of Calerier, as translated by Elliott and Harsha.

INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS.

To facilitate reference the upper and lower portions of each page are designated by the letters a and b. Thus 95a denotes the upper half of page 95, and 95b the lower half. The letter n following the number of a page indicates that the word is to be found in a footnote. The asterisk (*) designates pages on which the word receives some comment or explanation.

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" 23. 336b.	XXXVI, 30. 413a.	" 6. 293b, 295a.
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" 13. 259a.	XLIX, 7-22. 324a.	VII, 2. 290a.
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" 15. 259a.	" 36. 265b, 290a.	VIII, 1. 280ab.*
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" 13. 171a.*	" 8. 373a.	309a.
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" 30. 368n.	" 5. 317b.	XI, 280b.
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" 21-26. 143a.*	" 11. 350b.	" 20. 390b.
" 24. 94a.	" 28. 350b.	XII, 2. 31a, 401b.
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" 11. 281b.	I, 154a.	" 10-15. 220ab.*
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" 5. 331a.	" 10. 273a.	" 22-24. 186a, 343b.
" 14. 299a.	" 13. 156b.	XIX, 1-9. 220n.
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" 12. 293b, 295b.	" 28. 244b, 281a, 308a,	" 7. 250b.
" 15-33. 283b.*	359a.	" 10. 92a.
XXVII, 1-14. 250b,	II, 1. 308b.	" 26. 162b.*
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XXVIII, 10-17. 250b.	" 8. 279a.	" 29. 161a.*
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" 13-20.	341ab.*	" 8-11.	265ab.	" 12.	413a.
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" 8.	77a.	" 11.	263b.	" 15.	413b.
" 12.	442b.	" 18.	263b,* 290a.	" 16.	413a.
" 12-27.	342a.*	" 19.	263b.	" 17.	410a.
" 28.	442b.	" 20.	264a, 290a.	" 20.	305a.
" 28-32.	342a.*	" 21.	264a.	" 22.	332b, 395b,
" 28-III, 21.	340b.	II, 6.	290a, 373a.	" 23.	332b, 396a.*
" 31.	216b.	" 7.	373a.	" 23.	332b, 333b.*
" 32.	442b.	III, 1.	261a.	II, 12.	305a.
III, 1-17.	342b.*	" 8.	331a.	" 13.	305a.
" 2-14.	343b.	IV, 1.	260b.*	" 15.	333b, 390b,
" 14.	342b.	" 2.	260a, 359a.	" 16.	395b, 398b.*
" 18-21.	342b.*	" 3.	245b,* 325b.	" 17.	403a.
		" 6.	260b.	" 18.	402b.
		" 10.	261a.	" 19.	305a.
		" 14.	245b, 260b,	" 23.	396a.
		" 17.	261n, 325b.	III, 2.	116a.
		V, 1-4.	264b.*	" 4.	219a.
		" 6.	264b.*	" 5.	161b.*
		" 8.	264bn.*	" 11.	445b.
		" 11.	265a.*	IV, 2.	293a.
		VI, 1.	290a.	" 14.	395b.
		" 1-7.	325b.	" 14-16.	335a.
		" 1-8.	264ab,*	" 17.	116a.
		" 2.	361a.	V, 9.	78b.*
		" 3.	302b, 360a.	" 13.	84a, 173a,*
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		" 9-15.	250b.	" 14-16.	260b.
		" 12.	331a.	" 15.	173b.*
		VII, 11.	172a.*	" 16.	266b.
		VIII, 8.	390b.	" 21.	416a.
		IX, 9.	337abn.*	" 39.	416a.*
		" 10.	287b.*	" 43.	416b.
		X, 2.	93b.	" 44.	416b.*
		" 11.	162b.*	VI, 11.	77b,* 128n.*
		XI, 1.	156b.*	" 24.	123a.*
		" 2.	156b.*	" 34.	163b.*
		" 4.	310a.	VII, 2.	265a.
		" 4-14.	283b.*	" 7.	173b,* 192a.
		" 4-17.	230b.	" 15-20.	169b.*
		" 10-14.	310a.	" 17.	174n
		" 13.	166a.*	" 24-27.	167b.*
		XII, 10.	358b.	" 26.	220b.
		" 12.	358n.	" 27.	220b.
		XIV, 16.	249a.	" 28.	315n.
				" 29.	315n.
				VIII, 17.	390b, 396a.
				IX, 17.	96a.*
				" 27.	412a.
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				" 37.	122a.
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" 14.	34b, 800b,	" 19.	162a.	" 30.	358b.
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" 15.	116a.	" 10-13.	34b, 300b,	" 36.	387b.
" 25.	29b.		445a.	" 42.	469b.*
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" 17.	396a.	XVIII, 16.	364a.	XXV,	213b, 432a.
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" 33.	421b.	" 22.	205a.	" 13.	469b.*
" 39.	250a.	" 23-38.	205a.	" 16-22.	197b.
" 40.	162b.*	" 35.	205a.	" 14-30.	122a.*
" 43-45.	362a.	XIX, 20.	97a.	" 28.	191n.
XIII,	213b, 432a.	" 21.	206b.	" 29.	191n.
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" 2.	192a, 194a.	" 27.	205b.	" 31-46.	342b,
" 3.	190b, 174n,	" 27-XX, 16.	223b.*		376a, 377a,
	214a.	" 28.	207ab, 374b,		464a.
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" 7.	197a.	" 30.	207b.	" 41.	206a, 376b.
" 10-17.	190a.	XX, 1-16.	205b.*	" 44.	377n.
" 11.	30b, 422b.	" 4.	206b.	" 46.	376b.
" 11-15.	191ab.*	" 7.	206b,	XXVI, 28.	97a.
" 14.	401b.	" 12.	208a.	" 29.	96a.*
" 15.	401b.	" 13-16.	206b.	" 52.	185a.
" 18-23.	193n.	" 14.	209a.*	" 64.	369a.
" 19.	194b.	" 206a.	206a.	" 68.	315n.
" 22.	197a.	XXI, 1-9.	337a.*	XXVII, 19.	464a.
" 24-30.	223n.	" 4.	395b.	" 25.	369a.
" 25.	197a.*	" 13.	370a.	" 30.	166a.*
" 29.	197a.	" 33-44.	199a,*	" 52.	464b.
" 30.	78b.	" 200ab.*	200ab.*	" 60.	96b.*
" 31.	187b.	" 45.	190a,	XXVIII, 1.	435n.
" 31-38.	330a,		200a.	" 3.	167b, 302a.
	377a.	XXII, 2-14.	201b.*	" 8.	435n.
" 32.	187b.	" 7.	365a.	" 9.	435n.
" 35.	402b.*	" 11-14.	203b.	" 10.	435n.
" 36.	192a.	" 29.	34a.	" 19.	80a, 289b,
" 36-43.	193n.	" 29-32.	400b.		459a.
" 37-43.	223n.	" 31-33.	35b.*		
" 38.	198a.*	" 39.	451a.		
" 45.	173b.	" 41-46.	400b.		
" 46.	173b.	XXIII, 13.	230a.		
" 47-50.	192b.	" 27.	220a.		
" 49.	196a.	" 34-36.	368b.		
" 52.	196b, 463b.	" 34-37.	200b.		
XIV-XXIII,	432a.	" 34-38.*	360b.		
XV, 1-9.	34a	" 35.	300a.		
" 14.	214b.	XXIV,	359b, 385a,		
" 15.	214b.		432a, 447b.		
" 22.	412a.	" 5.	388b.		
" 24.	203b.	" 7.	341a.		
XVI, 1.	211a.	" 9.	360b.		
" 6.	225a.	" 14.	423a.		
" 9.	211a.	" 15.	362b, 444b.		
" 12.	225a.	" 16.	366a, 373a.		
" 13.	211a.	" 24.	358bb.		
" 16-18.	123b.*	" 28.	370n.		
" 17.	29b.				

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XII, 1-12	200ab.*	XII, 1.	225a.	I, 3.	459a.
" 26.	394a.	" 16-20.	205a.	" 4.	459a.
" 29.	288b.	XIII, 1-5.	204a.	" 11.	200b.
" 31.	451a.	" 6-9. 203b,*	245a.	" 14.	458n, 459a.
" 32.	288b.	" 29.	290a.	" 18.	458bn.*
" 44.	97b.	" 32.	160b.	" 23.	445b.
XIII, 14.	444b.	" 33.	364a.	" 41-43.	124ab.*
" 27.	290a.	XIV, 7-11.	202b.	" 43.	124b.
XIV, 3.	77b.	" 12-14.	203a.	II, 15.	370a.
" 65.	315n.	" 14-16. 202b,*	203a.	" 25.	183b.
XV, 32.	166a.*	" 16-24.	201b.*	III, 1-13.	183b.*
XVI, 2.	435n.	" 23.	114b.	" 3-8.	463b.
" 8.	435n.	" 26. 122a,*	123a.	" 4.	80b.
" 9.	435n.	XV, 2.	213b.	" 5.	274b.
" 10.	435n.	" 12.	209b.	" 8.	80ab.*
" 11.	435n.	" 30.	97b.	" 9.	80b.
" 17.	96b,* 310an.	" 30.	97b.	" 14.	251a.*
		XVI, 1.	209b.*	" 15.	251a.
Luke.		" 1-13.	209b.*	" 16.	461a,* 448b.
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" 3.	424b.	" 9. 81b,	210b.*	" 29.	380n.
" 4.	434b.	" 9-13.	212b.*	IV, 10-15.	184a.
" 10.	274a.	" 10-13.	210b.	" 19.	315n.
" 17. 34b, 371a,	445a.	" 13.	212n.	" 23.	29b.
" 32.	411b.	" 16.	119b.	" 24.	29b, 80a,
" 67.	315n.	" 19-31.	213ab.*		469b.
" 70.	436b.	" 25.	206a.	" 32-38.	184ab.*
II, 1.	162b.*	" 29.	161a.*	V, 39.	18b, 34a,
" 14.	78b.	XVIII, 1-14.	205b.		98n, 400a.
" 32.	434b.	" 14.	97b.	" 40.	400a.
" 45.	411b.	" 21.	97a.	VI, 15.	116a.
III, 23.	411n,* 413a.	" 30.	207n.	" 39.	276n.
" 23-38.	411ab.*	XIX, 11-27.	122n.*	" 53-59.	184a.
" 24.	413b.	" 12.	192b.*	" 63.	80a.
" 26.	413b.	" 16-19.	197b.	VII, 38.	391a.
" 27.	413a.*	XX, 9-18.	200nb.*	" 40.	315n.
" 27-31.	413a.*	" 19.	190a, 200a.	IX, 22.	228a.
" 38.	110a, 434b.	" 35.	374a.	" 30-33.	228b.
IV, 22.	190a.	" 36.	374b.	" 39-41.	229b.
" 23.	177b, 188b,	XXI, 4.	97b.	X, 1-16.	227ab.*
" 36.	190b, 239a.*	" 10.	341a.	" 2.	228n.*
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VIII, 8.	392n.	" 19.	360b.	" 5.	228b.
" 10.	195a.	" 20.	362b, 444b.	" 6.	177b, 239a.
" 11.	191n.	" 21.	366a.	" 7.	228b.
" 12.	195a.	" 24.	363b, 364a.	" 7-16.	229b.*
" 14.	197b.	" 25.	361b.	" 9.	228b.
" 18.	191n.	" 26.	361b.	" 11.	228n.
" 31.	371a.	XXII, 36.	185a.*	" 14.	228n.
IX, 1-6.	185a.	" 28-30.	374b.	" 14-16.	229a.
" 18-21.	123b.	" 64.	315n.	" 34-36.	400b.
" 55.	80a.	XXIV, 1.	435n.	XI, 51.	315n.
X, 1.	209b, 293b,	" 9-11.	435n.	XII, 3.	77b, 78a.
" 18.	410b.*	" 13.	435n.	" 12-16.	337a.
" 27.	362n, 366a.	" 19.	315n.	" 23-33.	423a.
" 30-37.	192b,* 205b.	" 25.	256a.	" 25.	123b.
XI, 3.	77b,* 128n.*	" 27. 18b, 34a,	161a.*	" 31.	366a.
" 5-8.	205a.	" 44.	18b, 398a.*	" 38.	395b.
		" 47.	329b.	XIII, 18.	395b.
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"	4.	306b.	"	36.	359a.	"	33.	74n.
"	23.	271a.	III,	18.	436b.	"	39.	74b.
"	25.	446a.	IV,	27.	369n.	"	40.	74n.
"	26.	398a, 446a,	V,	19.	446a.	XX,	28.	75a.
		459b.	"	20.	446a.	"	35.	391a.
XV,	1.	214a, 215n,	"	23.	229b.	XXI,	10.	315n.
		230n.	"	30.	359a.	"	11.	315n.
"	1-6.	468b.	VII,	38.	74b.	XXII,		128a.
"	1-10.	230b.	"	43.	246n.	"	17.	309a.
"	25.	395b.	"	44.	246n.	"	17-21.	446b.
"	26.	459b.	"	52.	200b.	XXIII,	3.	220a, 417a.
XVI,	7.	459b.	"	53.	436b.	"	25.	246n.
"	7-15.	446a.	"	56.	446a.	XXV,	6.	464a.
"	15.	239a.	VIII,	1.	366a.	"	10.	464a.
"	29.	239a.	"	29.	446a.	"	11.	418n.
"	33.	78b.	"	39.	446a.	"	17.	464a.
XVII,	12.	395b.	IX,		128a.	XXVI,		128a.
"	17.	22b, 452b.*	"	10.	446a.	"	4.	97a.
"	21-23.	271a.	"	17.	446a.	XXVII,	23.	305a.
"	24.	276n.	X,	3-7.	446a.	"	37.	162b.*
XVIII,	9.	395b.	"	9.	309a.	XXVIII,	3.	135n.*
"	22.	417a.	"	9-16.	446a.			
"	23.	417a.	"	10.	309a.	Romans.		
"	32.	395b.	"	43.	18b.	I,	3.	412a.
"	36.	185a.	"	46.	310b.	"	6.	107a.
XIX,	12.	370a.	XI,	18.	98n.	"	7.	75a.
"	15.	370a.	"	26.	37b.	"	16.	111b.*
"	24.	395b.	"	27.	315n.	"	18-III, 21.	112a.
"	36.	395b.	"	28.	315n.	"	22.	84a.
"	41.	96b.*	XII,	6.	229b.	II,	28.	80a.
XX,	2.	435n.	"	7.	446a.	"	29.	80a.
"	12.	302a.	"	14.	229b.	III,	1.	32a.
"	18.	435n.	"	21.	464a.	"	2.	32a, 467a.
"	25.	246n.	XIII,	1.	315n.	"	9-19.	400a.
"	31.	109a,	"	18.	78b.	"	20.	419a, 421a.
		431a.	"	21.	405b.	"	21.	112a.
XXI,	1.	435n.	"	22.	412a.	"	24-26.	461a.
"	15.	99b.*	"	23.	412a.	"	25.	272a.*
"	15-17.	98ab.*	"	33.	394a.	"	28.	248b, 419a.
"	16.	99b.*	"	46.	203b.	"	30.	162a.*
"	17.	99b.*	"	48.	98n.	IV,	3.	400a, 419a.
"	18.	185b.*	XIV,	13.	229b.	"	10.	248b, 420b.
"	21-24.	363b.	XV,		427b.	"	11.	420b.
"	23.	428a.*	"	32.	315n.	V,	6-10.	461a.
"	25.	165b.	"	40.	133a.	"	12-21.	253b.*
			"	41.	133a.	"	14.	244b, 247n,
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"	10.	302a.	"	7.	138a, 446a.	"	19.	248b.
"	16.	398a,* 436b.	"	9.	305a, 446b.	VI,	3.	176a.
"	21.	427b.	"	12-40.	133b.	"	3-11.	176b.
"	22.	427b.	"	26.	446a.	"	4.	97a, 175b.*
II,	3.	310b.	XVII,	22.	134a.	"	5.	107a, 176a.
"	4.	310b.	"	25.	97b.	"	6.	176a.
"	4-13.	128n.*	"	28.	391b.	"	8.	176a.
"	5-12.	311a.	XVIII,	9.	305a.	"	11.	176a.
"	13.	311a.	"	12.	464a.	"	17.	246n.
"	14.	96b.	"	16.	464a.	VII,	1-6.	231a.*
"	17.	343a.	"	24.	36b.	"	6.	97a.
"	23.	359a.	XIX,	6.	310b.	"	7-13.	421a.

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" 3.	251a.	" 8.	165b.*	" 36.	227n.
" 4.	82b, 274a.	" 14.	166a.	" 37.	464b.
" 6.	30a.	" 18.	223a.	" 39-45.	464b.*
" 7.	28b.	V, 1.	223a.	" 46.	248b.
" 9-11.	80a.	" 2.	223a.	" 45-49.	274a.
" 11.	464b.	" 5.	224a.	" 47.	437b.
" 33-35.	164b.*	" 6.	227n.	" 47-54.	82b.*
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" 13.	123b.		226a,* 463a.		
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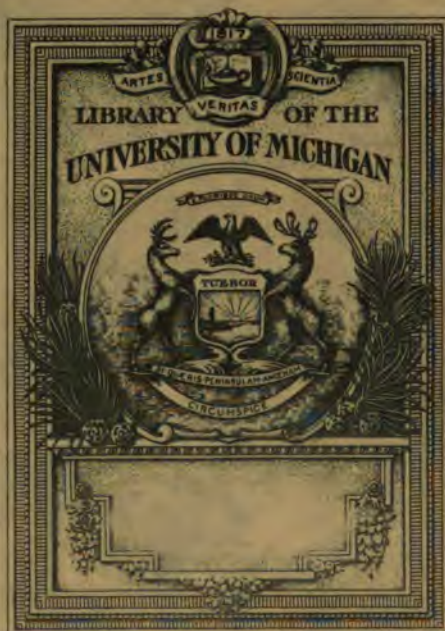
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THE GIFT OF
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the 1990s, the incidence of *S. flexneri* has increased in the United Kingdom [10]. In the United States, *S. flexneri* has been reported to be the most common serotype of *Shigella* isolated from children with shigellosis [11].

There is a paucity of data on the epidemiology of *S. flexneri* in the United Kingdom. In the 1970s, *S. flexneri* was the most commonly isolated *Shigella* serotype from patients with shigellosis in the United Kingdom [12]. In the 1980s, *S. flexneri* was the most commonly isolated *Shigella* serotype from patients with shigellosis in the United Kingdom [13]. In the 1990s, *S. flexneri* was the most commonly isolated *Shigella* serotype from patients with shigellosis in the United Kingdom [14]. In the 2000s, *S. flexneri* was the most commonly isolated *Shigella* serotype from patients with shigellosis in the United Kingdom [15].

The aim of this study was to determine the prevalence of *S. flexneri* in the United Kingdom. The study was conducted in the United Kingdom, where *S. flexneri* is the most commonly isolated *Shigella* serotype from patients with shigellosis.

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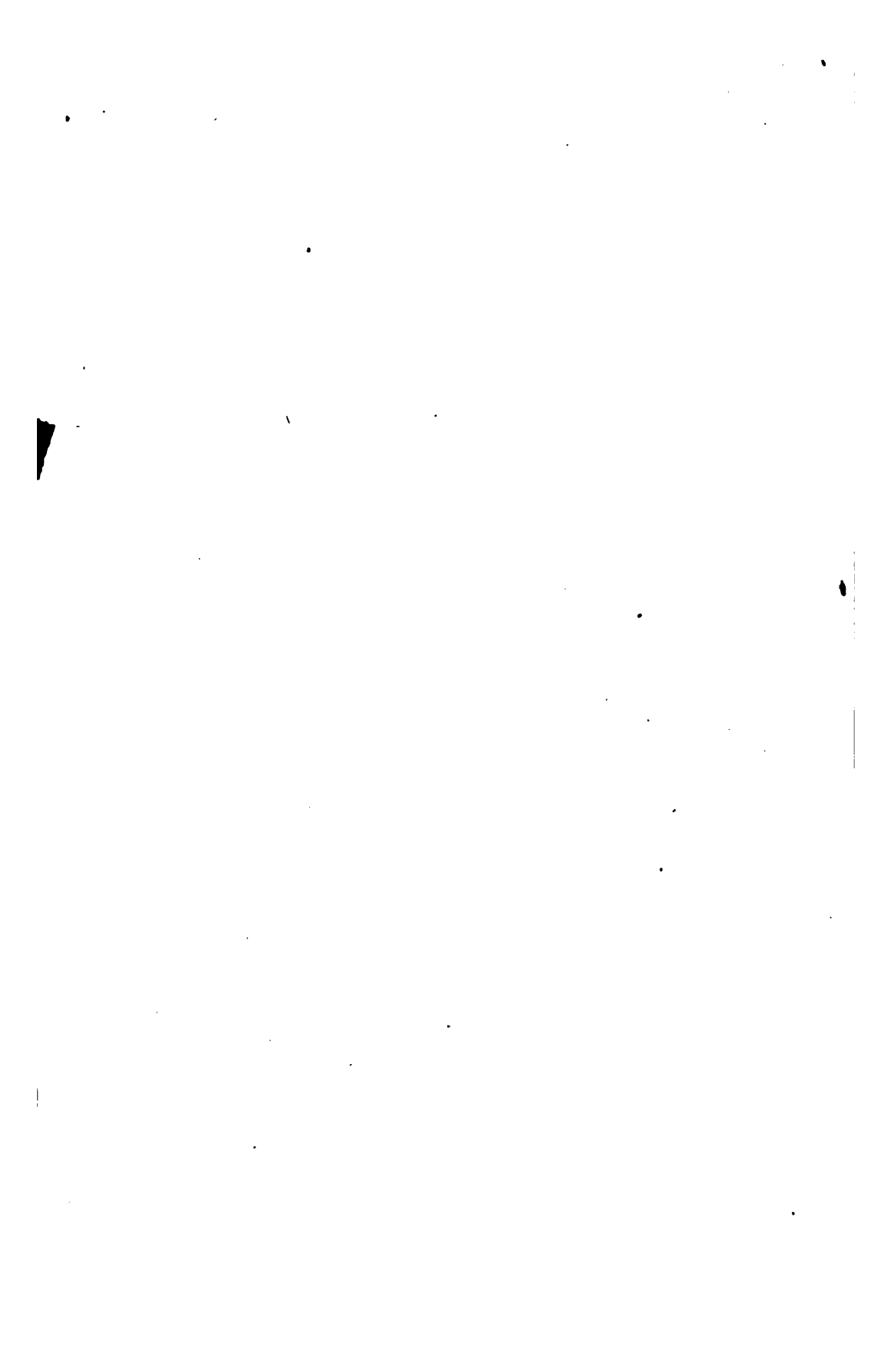
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VOL. III.—THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA AND
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NEW YORK: HUNT & EATON.
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THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA

AND

METHODOLOGY.

ON THE BASIS OF HAGENBACH.

BY

GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D.,

AND

JOHN F. HURST, D.D.



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1890.

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P R E F A C E.

OUR American and English theology has been singularly destitute of a general introductory work to the theological sciences. The following Encyclopædia and Methodology is designed to supply this lack. It aims to give an outline of the importance, nature, and history of the four great divisions of theological study, together with a bibliography of the Continental and Anglo-Saxon literature. The volume on this subject by the Rev. Dr. Karl Hagenbach, who taught Historical Theology many years in Basel University, has been so highly esteemed that we have made it the basis of our work. We have greatly enlarged the bibliography by adding the titles of English and American books in each department. To meet the wants of students, we have also placed, in an appendix, a selection of the English and American literature of the relations of religion and science, and a list of histories of Christian Churches in the United States. We have endeavoured, by utilizing the rich material of Hagenbach, to make a handbook for the theological student; a guide to show him the right path of inquiry; a plan or draft of the science, so that by the help here afforded he can see its exterior lines, the boundaries of its subdivisions, and can take the whole into the compass of a complete survey.

GEORGE R. CROOKS,
JOHN F. HURST.

NEW YORK, *March 1, 1884.*

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA is a survey of all the departments of theology, with a statement of what has been accomplished in each. It is a branch of Universal Encyclopædia. It does not aim, however, to unite within itself the substance of *all* that deserves to be known, but rather to comprehend the further development of the science as conditioned by its historical character; and, also, to describe its form and extent in their inward and outward relations by correctly indicating its limits.¹

Definition of
Theological En-
cyclopædia.

The position of Theological Encyclopædia is outside the organism of theological science, since its office is to describe that organism and open the way into it for the student. On the other hand, however, it forms a part of the larger, universal organism of *science*, and in the character of *theological* encyclopædia constitutes a fragment of encyclopædia in general. Every student should endeavour, at the outset, to gain a general idea of the range of human knowledge, not for the purpose of superficially determining every question, but that he may recognise his true place upon the *orbis doctrinæ*.²

Its position.

¹ With regard to the force of *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, *ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα* (*orbis doctrinæ*, Quinctil., i, 16), see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, tom. i, p. 54; Philo, comp. Dähne, *Alex. Ritsphil.*, i, 90; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, i, pp. 333, 373 (ed. Potter); vi, 781, 787 (in opposition to Philosophy in the proper sense); vii, 839. The compound form, *ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, is first (?) found in Galen († A. D. 201); comp. Staudenmaier, *Theol. Encykl.*, p. 3, *sqq.*; Pelt, *Theol. Encykl.*, p. 6, *sqq.*; Pauly, *Realencykl. der klass. Alterthumswiss.*, s. v. *Educatio*, p. 39; and my article, *Encyklopædie*, in Herzog's *Realencykl.*, iv, p. 2, *sqq.*

² "The recognition of the organic whole of the sciences must precede the definite pursuit of a specialty. The scholar who devotes himself to a particular study must become acquainted with the position it occupies with relation to this whole, and the particular spirit that pervades it, as well as the mode of development by which it enters into the harmonious union of the whole—hence the method by which he is himself to estimate his science, in order that he may not regard it in a slavish spirit, but independently, and in the spirit of the whole."—SCHÖLLING, *Method.*, p. 7. "Philosophy is substantially encyclopædia, inasmuch as truth can only be a totality, and it is only by observing and determining its differences that the necessity for them,

Both general and special (theological) Encyclopædia aim to concentrate rather than to dissipate the mental faculties. Encyclopædia should not degenerate into a pattern-card, but rather resemble a map—a comparison that demonstrates itself. But few works of recent times fulfil the required object.¹ While German resolution and thoroughness, in a form that is no longer adequate to the needs of science, appear in Ernesti (*Initia Doctrinæ Solidioris*, first ed., 1736, and often), the so-called French encyclopedists brought the science of encyclopædia into bad odour,² so that an encyclopedist, like a philosopher, became synonymous with a freethinker. The lexical method followed by those writers, which now became popular, and was adopted also by the German encyclopedists,³ suffered from the additional disadvantage of being limited to the discussion of subject-matter only, and might as readily be made to serve the superficial mind for destructive purposes, as to aid the cautious scholar in referring to matters that deserve to be known.

As the material deficiencies of the science became apparent, there arose also a demand for its organic and comprehensive treatment; that is, for a proper science of encyclopædia. Eschenburg was the first to employ the title of *Wissenschaftskunde* (Introduction to the Sciences, third ed., Berlin, 1809), and Jaesche (Prof. at Dorpat) wrote an *Architektonik der Wissenschaften* in 1816.⁴ Large and far-reaching views into the organism of the sciences were opened by Schelling's *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Stu-*

and the freedom of the whole, can be made to coexist. Hence it follows that an encyclopædic treatment of science is not to present it in the thorough development of its particulars, but must be confined to the beginning and fundamental ideas of the particular science."—HEGEL, *Encykl. der phil. Wiss.*, secs. 7 and 9.

¹ Concerning the older works—Martianus Capella (about A. D. 460), Cassiodorus († after 562), Isidore of Seville († 636), Hugo de St. Victor († 1141, see Liebner's *Monographie*, p. 96, *seq.*), Vincent of Beauvais († about 1264), Louis de Vives († 1540), Gerh. Joh. Voss († 1649), Grotius († 1645), Lord Bacon († 1626), J. G. Alsted († 1638), D. G. Morhof († 1691, *Polyhistor*, fourth ed., Lübeck, 1732), Joh. Matth. Gesner († 1756, *Isagoge*, see Herder's *Sophron*, *Werke zur Phil. und Gesch.*, x, p. 253)—see Pelt, *l. c.*

² (Diderot et d'Alembert) *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, etc., Paris. 1751–1772, 28 vols. Comp. Herzog's *Encykl.*, iv, p. 1, and McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*, s. v. *Encyclopædia*, French, etc.

³ *Deutsche Encykl. od. allg. Realwörterbuch aller Künste u. Wissenschaften*, etc. Frankfurt, 1778–1804, (A–Ky), and other works of that day, which have been supplanted by later productions; e. g., H. A. Pierer, *Univers.-lex. od. vollst. Encykl. Wörterbuch*. Altenburg, 1822–1836, 26 vols., 8vo., fourth ed.; *ibid.*, 1857–1864. A fifth edition was begun at the close of 1867; and especially the (not yet complete) *Allgem. Encykl. d. Wissenschaften u. Künste*, by Ersch and Gruber.

See Pelt, pp. 12, 13, where additional works are cited; Scheidlör, *Hodegetik*, p. 51

diums (second ed., Tüb., 1818); and still earlier Fichte had considered the "Vocation of the Scholar" (Bestimmung des Gelehrten, Berlin, 1794) and his Character (Wesen des Gelehrten, 1806) in an ideal light. The works by Heidenreich,¹ Tittmann,² Bencke,³ Scheidler,⁴ Mussmann,⁵ Leutbecher,⁶ Kirchner,⁷ von Schaden,⁸ and others, are better adapted to practical requirements, and are of a more methodological character.

With reference to the nature of the encyclopædia of theology it should be observed that the real encyclopædia, or dictionary, which contains the subject-matter of theological knowledge, is distinct from the encyclopædia in our sense. The value of the former consists in the completeness of the matter to be imparted,⁹ while the latter seeks to avoid crushing the mind beneath the weight of a mass of knowledge, and confusing the vision by the number of objects to be presented. It confines itself, instead, to the work of pointing out the road to be pursued. The aims of encyclopædia are not the objects sought by the different branches of theology, but *those branches themselves*.¹⁰ It is, of course, impossible to separate a study from its object, or the form from its matter, for the one conditions the other; and, therefore, encyclopædia will be compelled to put on flesh, unless it is to become a naked skeleton. The matter, however, which it con-

⁹ Differs from the Real Encyclopædia, or Dictionary.

¹ Ueber die zweckmässige Anwendung der Universitätsjahre. Leipsig, 1804.

² Ueber die Bestimm. des Gelehrten u. seine Bildung durch Schule u. Universität. Berlin, 1838. (The Vocation of the Scholar: The Nature of the Scholar, and its Manifestations. Both translated by Dr. Wm. Smith. London, John Chapman, 1848.)

³ Einl. ins akad. Studium. Göttingen, 1826.

⁴ Grundriss der Hodegetik od. Methodik des akad. Studiums. Jena, 1832; second ed., 1839; third ed., 1847.

⁵ Vorlesungen üb. d. Studium d. Wissenschaften u. Künste, etc. Halle, 1832.

⁶ Abriss d. Methodologie d. akad. Studiums. Erlangen, 1834 (p. 15, *sqq.*—the older and more recent literature in this field). The same author has translated Van Heusde, Socrat. Schule, parts 1 and 2, Encyklopädie. Erlangen, 1840.

⁷ Akad. Propädeutik od. Vorbereitungswissensch. zum akad. Studium. Leipsig, 1842. Hodegetik od. Wegweiser zur Universität für Studierende. Leipsig, 1852. Compare, also, Fritz, Vers. üb. die zu d. Studien erforderlichen Eigenschaften. Strasburg, 1833.

⁸ Ueber akad. Leben u. Studium. Marburg, 1845.

⁹ Real-encyklopädie für protestant. Theologie u. Kirche, by J. J. Herzog, assisted by other Protestant scholars and theologians. 22 vols. Gotha, 1854–1868. Partially translated by Bomberger, of Philadelphia, 1856, *sqq.* Of Roman Catholic works: Jos. Ashbach, Allgem. Kirchen-lexikon. Frankfurt, 1846–50, 4 vols., 8vo. Wetzer and Welte, Kirchen-lexikon, od. Encykl. der kath. Theologie u. ihrer Hülfswissenschaften. Freiburg, 1846–1860. 12 vols., 8vo., with index.

¹⁰ In other words, "The object of encyclopædia is the organism of science rather than its subject-matter, since it aims to discover the relations existing between the manifold branches of knowledge."—HARLESS, p. 2.

nects with its descriptions is only designed to aid in comprehending the form. But inasmuch as the science is not definitely complete, being rather in process of growth, it becomes a matter of primary importance that its *ideal* object should be brought into view, by the clear pointing out of the goal it strives to reach. This likewise requires a substantial foothold, a *δός μοι τοῦ στῶ*, without which the entire structure will be a castle in the air. Care must, however, be taken that the footstool be not regarded as the topmost round in the heavenly ladder, beyond which lies an infinite perspective. Encyclopædia thus becomes not merely "a description of the circle of human knowledge as it *should be*, nor yet a discussion of the character of that circle as it is . . . it is the understanding of what has *come into being*, through the recognition of its *end*." (Harless, *Theol. Ency.*, etc., p. 459.)

SECTION II

The relation of theological encyclopædia to the body of theological science is twofold; it stands at the threshold of the course as an *introductory* science, and it serves a *complementary* purpose for him who has arrived at its end, by collecting together the results obtained. Upon this distinction in the relations it sustains to the whole course of study will, in great measure, depend its treatment. In the former aspect it is predominantly stimulating, methodological, working toward its object, which in the latter case has been attained and passed. The proof of every truly scientific method consists in this—that the beginning and the end correspond; and that what proceeds from a living conception of things and their relations, shall again lead to a deeper spiritual apprehension and insight of the object sought.

This distinction has generally received too little attention in connexion with the teaching of Encyclopædia.¹ Most of the recent encyclopædias have not only attempted to introduce the student into the field of theology, but also to develop the science itself. In this regard the whole of theology is greatly indebted to Schleiermacher's little book.² But all men are not Schleiermachers. He, like all reforming spirits, closed an old, and at the same time opened a new, era. And yet that very book presents insurmountable difficulties to the beginner. An encyclopædia for the learned (*virtuosos* was Schleiermacher's term) should certainly exist, for the study of

¹ See Harless, § 4, p. 2.

² *Kurze Darstellung des theol. Studiums*, etc. 2d ed., Berlin, 1830. (Comp. the history of encycl. at the end of Part I.) (Brief Outline of the Study of Theology Translated by William Farrer. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

encyclopædia, like that of the catechism, can never be exhausted; and as exponents change with varying magnitudes, so does encyclopædia keep pace with science. It forms the dial-plate to the mechanism of the clock. But to introduce the pupil into the deliberations of the masters, and allow him to participate in forecasting the future before he has comprehended the present, would be to reap where we should sow. It might, therefore, be wise to recommend that every student should give attention to encyclopædia *twice*, provided that it be presented from these two points of view—the beginning and the end of the course. The present encyclopædia professes to belong to the introductory class.¹

Pertains both to the beginning and the end of theological study.

SECTION III.

Methodology (Hodegetics) is applied encyclopædia; for a true conception of the nature and combinations of the science will lead to its correct treatment; and as an encyclopædic comprehension is the necessary condition of a correct method, so the latter demonstrates the former.

Definition of Methodology.

In other words, Methodology contains "the regulative conclusions from the principles and historical character of a science, which are requisite for the process of appropriation."² These conclusions might be properly regarded as self-evident, were it not that many unpractised persons whom introductory encyclopædia is designed to aid require some guidance. Introductory encyclopædia will, therefore, in proportion as it has comprehended its task, of necessity assume a methodological character, without finding it requisite to tow methodology in its wake as a supplementary and distinct study. For works on General Methodology (Hodegetics) see on Section I.

SECTION IV.

Two dangers are to be avoided in connection with Methodology: first, that of failing, by reason of the numerous objects presented from without, to attain to a connected view and an intellectual control of the subject-matter (a false

Dangers in the treatment of Methodology.

¹ This distinction does not imply, however, that *introductory* encyclopædia differs materially from the *complementary*. The relation is, rather, that of the germ to the fruit, of the school-grammar to the fully-rounded system of instruction in language. It furnishes the first lines toward an art which must be perfected by study. Nor does it imply that the masters are in the possession of an esoteric learning, while the pupils are obliged to content themselves with mere exoteric knowledge. The lowest round upon the ladder conducts toward the highest, but no round may be overleaped. In science, as elsewhere, intermediate stages have their value; and a view from beneath creates a different impression from that obtained by a view in perspective from above.

² Harless, p. 6.

empiricism); and second, that of being puffed up with the conceit of idealistic wisdom, which loses sight of actual life and its conditions, as ordered of God, and consequently mistakes and fails to realize the true object of science, and, more than all, the life-object of the theologian.

Lord Bacon makes use of a suggestive figure upon this point, when he compares the raw empiric to an *ant*, the idealistic dreamer to a *spider*, and the true devotee of science to a *bee*. The previous age suffered more from the first ailment, the present languishes under the influence of the second.

"Non scholæ sed vitæ discendum," is an old maxim.¹ The school and actual life are not, however, to form a contrast; for life is itself a school, and the school is designed to prepare for life, Life the object of all study. to impart life, to beget and promote life. What do we understand by life? If it be explained to denote the multiplicity and diversity of objects among which we are placed and with which we are interwoven, without understanding our experience, life certainly forms a contrast with science, whose office it is to unify this very multiplicity of diversity, and to seek an inward comprehension of the objects presented from without. But while penetrating their nature, it first *vivifies* them, and not until this has been done can we realize that we have hitherto been employed upon dead matter. Science, however, can only give life by *entering into* things, not by taking its stand, as an abstract theory, over against them. In the latter character it is itself dead, and its corpse-like pallor is more repulsive to the mind than even the diversified and fluctuating play of life. If the life is to assume a scientific character, it will be necessary that science should also live; they must react upon each other. Kant strikingly observes, "Ideas without observation are *empty*, and observation without ideas is *blind*."

The maxim that "theory has become gray" has often been abused in the service of a lazy empiricism. Among medical men empirics are contrasted with "rational physicians," and the term Theological empiricism. is applied especially to persons who are entirely governed by the accidental circumstances of a particular disease presented to their notice, and the accidental possession of remedies which, by a sort of mechanical routine, they have become accustomed to employ, and who lack the ability to rise into a higher and more legitimate method of treatment based on scientific diagnosis. But empirics are also found in theology; and their empiricism is manifested in two

¹ Comp. Herder, in the *Sophon*. Werke zur Philos., x, p. 207, *sqq.* Ceteros enim pudeat, qui se ita litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem affere fructum neque in aspectum lucemque proferre. Cic. Orat. pro Archia poëta, c. 6.

different directions, and from two thoroughly opposite religious points of view. The one is *ascetically pious*, and imagines that practical piety will be all-sufficient; perhaps defending itself with the plea that the apostles themselves were unlearned men, thus misinterpreting the connexion between primitive Christianity and the requirements of the present age. This tendency has always found supporters among persons who are too indolent to study or think, or has been ironically advocated by the class which occupies the standpoint of extreme idealism, and despairs of the scientific character of theology.¹ The other is the *philanthropic*, cosmopolitan view (allied to the older rationalism), which restricts the duty of the clergyman to lecturing and enlightening the public, and, therefore, regards an encyclopædic training in a normal school as possessing the highest value. Theological knowledge and dogmatic proficiency are thrown overboard. It calls for *practical* men. Its idea of practical Christianity differs from that of pious empiricism, however—a proof that even the most trivial schemes cannot be sustained without a previous scientific explanation.

The bad repute into which science has been brought with both these classes is not, however, the fault of science itself, but of its caricature, which constitutes the most wretched of all empiricisms, because it is thoroughly impracticable in its nature. We refer to that dry learning which simply heaps up lumber, and smothers itself with the dust of books, without attaining to a clear consciousness of what it is doing, or of the object towards which study is directed.² Learnedness and scholarship are unlike. There may be very learned persons who are unable to appreciate science; and although science cannot exist apart from learning, it is yet possible

Difference between science and learned pedantry.

¹ Strauss, Glaubensl., ii, p. 626. "Theological study, formerly the means employed to prepare for the service of the Church, now forms the most direct road to unfitness for that service. The cobbler's bench, the writing-room, and any other place that is secure against the entrance of science, now constitute better places for preparatory practice for the ministry than the universities and seminaries. Religious idiots and self-taught theologians, the leaders and speakers of pietistic gatherings—these constitute the clergy of the future."

² Kant (Anthropologie, p. 164) says: "There is a gigantic erudition which is yet cyclopean, in that it lacks an eye with which to comprehend rationally, and for a purpose, this mass of historic knowledge, the burden of a hundred camels, viz., the eye of a true philosophy." With reference to this mechanical knowledge, in which the memory does not operate as the "energy of mental retention," but simply as a store-house of perceptions, compare Carblom also (Das Gefühl, etc., p. 44, *seq.*): "The most repulsive exhibition of this kind is afforded by the spiritual office, when simply the tongue, hand, and foot of the clergyman are engaged in it, but not his spirit, to say nothing of the Spirit of God."

to display the scientific spirit in a high degree, in cases where the learning is confined within very narrow limits (as with a youthful student). Learning without scientific culture commonly wears the garb of school-boy pedantry, except when it simply has the appearance of a superficial acquaintance with many studies; it at once dries up and inflates the mind, and, being confined within the narrow boundaries of its specialty, its estimate of other branches of knowledge is often coarse and contemptuous.

While, however, it is admitted that a false empiricism exists, whose unscientific character is manifest, even when it appears in the garb of learning, there is also a *falsely vaunted science* (1 Tim. vi, 20), which superciliously spreads itself under that usurped name, but in the end dissolves into empty vapour. The present generation should be warned against both errors, with an emphasis increasing with the separation which exists between the school and actual life, and in proportion as the contrast between scientific theology and the practical performance of clerical duties threatens to become irreconcilable.¹ If it be true, that every science which lacks sufficient support from *observation and experience* resembles the soap-bubble, in which the colours of the light are, indeed, magnificently displayed, but which bursts at the slightest breath of air, it is especially true of theological science, which can only lay claim to the name and character of a distinct science by reason of its living relations to religion and the Church. It should accordingly be required, in the interests of genuine science, that the study of theology be made *practical*, but practical in the sense that the science itself is to become *action*, that the indwelling word of life is to be made flesh, and the inhering germ of life to produce appropriate fruit. Science must become a salt that shall penetrate the entire mass; "but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith may we salt?"

"The letter is not science!" True; but the mind cannot dispense even with the letter. It must achieve its results through the Word, the firm, clear, living Word, not by means of idle words; but without the letter there can be no words, and no Word. Genuine science is as far removed from a dead materialism as from a dead formalism and an empty idealism. It deals with the nature of mind and the nature of things, and in this light it becomes at once both realism and idealism. The idea of science is conditioned

¹ "Is, then, the historical knot to be so solved, as that Christianity must take sides with barbarism, and science with unbelief?" was the question of Schleiermacher, thirty years ago. Compare the preface to the Prot. Kirchensetzung für das evang. Deutschland, 1834.

by thoroughness, clearness, depth, free activity, and originality of thought,¹ in connexion with caution and soberness of judgment, as opposed to superficial and confused thinking, shallowness, dullness, servile subjection to prejudices old and new, pedantic dryness, and boorish narrowness. It will, moreover, maintain a steady regard for the purely human while pressing toward the divine. It certainly seems as if clearness at times detracted from depth, or depth from clearness; but dullness and a fluid-like transparency carried to the verge of shallowness, should no more be confounded with clearness, than a darkly-brooding, shadow-loving stupidity should be identified with depth. Shallow-headedness finds every thing obscure that is beyond its comprehension, while wrong-headedness attributes the profoundest depth to the very thing it fails to understand.

It is no doubt true that he who would be eminent in science must confine himself to a single branch (a specialty); but devotion to a specialty should not begin too early. The general culture, which itself involves progressive gradations, must precede the special. Elementary schools call the desire to know into being; the gymnasial training strengthens and intensifies its character. The training, whose method was conditioned by the study of languages and mathematics, realizes its higher object in the departments of history and the natural sciences. The university training follows, not only to bring the whole field of science within the range of vision, but also to concentrate the efforts of the student by assigning to him a definite field of learning. Not until the university studies are ended is the practical preparation for active life in place, whether for the pastorate, or for independent scholarly investigations with a view to carrying forward the theoretical development of science by means of authorship or academical instruction.

General training should precede special.

SECTION V.

CHOICE OF THE THEOLOGICAL VOCATION.

Dan. Schenkel, *Die Bedeutung des geistlichen Berufs, etc.*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1852, p. 205, sqq.; Hagenbach, *Ueber die Abnahme des theol. Studiums*, in *Kirchenbl. für die ref. Schweiz*, 1856, Nos. 6 and 7; *Ibid.*, 1858, and *Gelzer's Monatsbl.*, 1863, January; Dieckhoff (*Rom. Cath.*), *Ueber den Beruf u. d. Vorbereitung zum geistl. Stande*, Paderborn, 1859.

Although the study of encyclopædia is necessary to the theologian for a clear understanding of the nature of his work, it is yet proper to require that every person who enters thereon should have reached a general conception of the position he expects to occupy

¹No absolute originality is intended, but simply independent reproduction. "To accept and submit to authority," says Marheineke, "is not unworthy of an independent spirit. But the mind must reserve to itself, especially in scientific matters, the right to know and understand the authority in the principle of its necessity."

in human society, and that he should have formed a clear and satisfactory idea of the nature of the calling to which he gives himself in the exercise of his own independent choice.

We begin with the concrete, with the individual and his relation to the science. What urges you to the study of theology? *Dio cur hic?* we inquire of every candidate who is announced. *Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores.* Neither of these can come into question here (Matt. x, 8, *sqq.*), even less in our day than heretofore. Is it matter for complaint, that the time is over in which persons studied theology in the expectation that they would soon receive an assured provision for their wants, and be able to lead a life devoid of care?¹ Nor is it a misfortune that theology is no longer the outer court through which the scholar engaged in the pursuit of other objects must pass in order to secure official position in the schools. None *are compelled* to become theologians, unless they *choose*. The apostle's words, "Let a man examine himself," and "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself," are not without significance in this connexion also, where no mere *bread-and-butter* science in the usual sense is involved,² but the dispensing of the bread and drawing of the water of life itself.³

¹ We recommend to persons who still entertain such desires, the perusal of Valentin Andrea's glorious poem, *Das gute Leben eines rechtschaffenen Dieners Gottes*, in Herder's *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie* (No. 49), lately published by Leurent (1865); and also the twenty-fourth of Herder's own letters.

² *Hoc intelligamus, hominum duo esse genera, alterum indoctum et agreste, quod anteferat semper utilitatem honestati, alterum humanum et politum, quod rebus omnibus dignitatem anteponat.* Cicero *Orat. part. c. 25.* Comp. Ancillon, *Vermittlung der Extreme*, i, 47; Herder, l. c.: "There is scarcely one among the learned classes that contains so many cripples as does the clergy; necessities, poverty, ignoble ambition, hundreds of miserable motives, urge people to that work, so that God is frequently obliged to accept the refuse instead of the firstlings of its kind."—The twenty-fifth letter: "Perhaps no study has in all ages had so few to serve it with entire faithfulness, as theology; precisely, however, for the reason that it is an almost superhuman, divine—the most difficult study." "He who devotes himself to the Church," says Daub, "and to that end studies theology, will miss his aim, if he simply desires a church office that he may have life, sustenance, comforts, ease, honour, etc.; for while he considers the office as a means, and himself or the gratification of his desires as an end, he can never become a church officer, but must remain a hireling." See Daub and Creuzer, *Studien*, ii, p. 67.

³ Archbishop Leighton speaks, in like manner, of "men ministering the doctrine of salvation to others, and not to themselves; carrying it all in their heads and tongues, and none of it in their hearts; not hearing it, even while they preach it; reaching the bread of life to others, and eating none of it themselves."—Commentary on 1 Peter, ch. i pp. 10–12.

SECTION VI.

The resolution to study theology will be inspired more especially either by the influence of practical religion, or by the love of study, in accordance with the varying peculiarities of natural endowment, and of previous training and culture. It will be sufficient in the beginning that a disposition and desire for both religion and learning should exist, together with a general conviction that piety without learning is as incapable of forming a theologian, as is learning without piety.

A desire for both religion and learning needful to the study of theology.

Young men who approach the study of theology do not invariably bring from their homes an assured religious consciousness, so as to be able to say, with Schleiermacher, "Piety was the maternal womb, in whose sacred darkness my young life was nourished and prepared for entrance on the as yet inaccessible world." Not all of them are Timothies, of whom it may be said that they have "known the Holy Scriptures" from their childhood (2 Tim. iii, 15), although such characters are not, upon the whole, very uncommon. It is, after all, the correct principle, that the desire to study theology should spring from religious impulses, even though much that is confused and sickly be in particular instances involved. It is the office of study to clear up the uncertain, and to correct the sickly tone of the mind. Experience has shown that an unconquerable religious impulse to become a minister of God whether as pastor or as missionary has enabled many, even in advanced years, to surmount the difficulties which opposed their resolution; and, however superciliously the fact may be criticised (comp. § 4, note 2), it is true that the writer's desk, the cobbler's or the tailor's bench, have contributed servants to the Church of whom she has no cause to be ashamed, while the same boast will not apply to all who have simply stepped from the schoolroom into theology.

Such, however, are exceptional cases. The rule probably is, that with a majority of persons who have received a proper preparatory education, the resolution *to study* is formed before they come to decide upon the particular course in which they will engage. Practical considerations have less effect upon their determination than theoretical; and this again is proper, provided the religious factor be not reduced to zero in making the decision. When religious motives are not ignored in such a case, a real study of theology serves naturally to increase their power; for scientific interest is as certainly conditioned by religious interest, as the religious by the scientific. Each must increase with, and be nourished by, the other

Within the circle of the sciences persons may, moreover, be determined to theology by a variety of endowments. So philology becomes for some the bridge into theology, while others come to it through philosophy, oratorical, or artistic gifts, or a talent for teaching. The future theologian may be suspected in the person who at school displays readiness in the acquisition or use of languages, just as a mind turned toward the natural sciences indicates the future physician, political economist, or technician.¹

As a preliminary qualification, the existence of a genuinely scientific spirit must be considered important. The more a religious mind is in earnest about the determination to study, the less will it yield to the vagary that piety can take the place of learning; and the more thoroughly the studious disposition enters into science, the more powerful will be its conviction that a sound theology cannot exist without piety, since all theological truth becomes intelligible only in the light of religion. The sharp contrast between "pious" and "scientific" students can be obviated on no other principle.

SECTION VII.

Without anticipating the discussion of the special place belonging to the clergy (§ 17), we now include them in the category of *teachers*, whose high importance demands recognition first of all. We therefore remark that the order of teachers stands first among the cultivators of man's spiritual nature, and is superior, in this regard, to the legislative and artist classes.

This exaltation of the teaching order is, however, in no wise intended to excite learned or spiritual pride. The agriculturist and the soldier are likewise of great importance to the organism of society; and they, too, may, in the hand of God, become an element of culture and development. The cultivation of the soil was the most ancient teaching of mankind, and the sword of the warrior

¹Great importance should be attached to such natural indications; nothing is more hurtful than a human predestination to any study, and especially that of theology. The days when it was believed important to dedicate children in the cradle to God by devoting them to the pulpit, are probably over. But how many sons of clergymen adopt the paternal calling in obedience to family custom, without being inwardly moved thereto either by religious or scientific considerations! The inclinations of a child or youth are not, of course, to be held decisive in every case; but Goethe is probably correct when he says, "Our desires are premonitions of the abilities that lie in us, intimations of what we shall be able to perform. The things we can and wish to accomplish present themselves to our imagination from without and as future; we feel a longing for that which we already secretly possess." *Autobiography*, vol. i, pp. 381, 382.

opened the earliest furrows into which the seed of culture might fall. Commerce and manufactures became the most powerful levers of culture in the Middle Ages. It accordingly is a blinded judgment which conceives of the height that industrial life has reached in our day, as being purely material-istic. The range of encyclopædic culture involves rather that such facts, however distant from the field of theology they may lie, should be estimated in accordance with their social importance; and to theology in particular, unless it prefers to perish in monastic isolation, belongs the task of comprehending these "secular matters" in their relations to the household of God and the sacred order of his kingdom, in harmony with the apostle's thought, "all things are yours." (1 Cor. iii, 21.) In that divine order each thing is linked with every other thing, and the most material elements strive to become spiritualized. Accordingly, the military calling finds its spiritual expression in legislation, and the handicraft rises to the dignity of an art; but both legislation and art rise above the preliminary conditions illustrated by the soldier and the artisan, since the former not only controls wickedness by the restraints of law, but also establishes the fundamental principles of behaviour in the State, and the latter does not confine itself to the adorning of the sensual life, but, in addition, spiritualizes the sensual in harmony with its ideal character, and employs it for ideal purposes.

The legends of immemorial times, and the traditions of later ages, have always represented artists and legislators as the spiritual leaders of mankind, and as revealers of the godlike, who derived their origin from heaven.¹ They, too, are *teachers* of mankind in a certain sense, although not in the complete and highest sense; for with the one the teaching element is subordinate to the purposes of illustration, and with the other it is secondary to the idea of absolute rule. Mere law has in itself no life; its whole importance depends upon external conditions; it can only determine the outward character of human action with reference to a given case. Habit and custom may enable the power of the law to penetrate into the depths of the moral disposition, and from thence to put forth shoots; but law will never be able to develop the actual root of the moral life from within itself. Art, on the other hand, is uncertain and undecided in its effects. Every work of art is a concealed symbol, to be interpreted only

Teachers not an isolated order of society.

The relation of teaching to art and legislation.

¹Odys., xix, 179. Herod., i, 65. Plutarch. vita Lycourgi, c. 5; vita Numæ, c. 4. Anthol. græca, iv, 81. Philostrat. vita Apollonii, vi, 19. Jacobs, akademische Reden, i, 362.

by the cultured person who has been initiated into the interior life of art; to the uncultivated mind it remains an unexplained hieroglyphic.¹ But what is beyond the ability of both law and art is accomplished by the *living word of teaching* alone. It goes down into the depths of human dispositions, taps every vein, passes through every stage of culture, addresses both the child and the adult; and as the magic of art calls forth a god from the rough block of marble, so does the powerful magic of the word bring into view the image of God from the undeveloped spiritual tendencies in man. In this regard the teacher unites in himself, and with increased efficiency, the functions of both legislator and artist with reference to the cultivation of mankind. He is the bearer of the divine, an administrator in the domain of holy things, a priest of God. Without an order of teachers men would still be in a savage or half-civilized state. The heritage of *culture* is forever secured and guaranteed to a people only where wise men, scholars, philosophers, orators, poets,² prophets, authors, in one word, the *instructors of mankind* have by vivid employment of the vernacular given their intellectual treasures to the public, and, through the medium of a free circulation of ideas, have developed a common consciousness, the results so gained being embodied in history for the benefit of succeeding generations.

SECTION VIII.

Inasmuch as the teaching-order is preëminently the spiritual trainer of mankind, it follows that only a religion which has a body of doctrine, and consequently an order of teachers, will correspond to the idea of religion in its highest form.

Religion (on its nature see *infra*, § 12), which we consider for the moment, in its general character, as the highest interest of man, could only appear, in any period, under the three forms of *Law*, *Art*, and *Teaching*, discussed in the preceding section. The laws of ancient peoples were religiously sacred; priests and scholars were at the same time political and religious personages. This fact rests upon the truth that ideas of right have their origin in the eternal laws of reason, and,

¹ Grüneisen, referring to Grecian art, observes very correctly: "It was the lack of positiveness, power, and depth, the unsettled and undecided elements in the moral consciousness, and its influence over the world-view and artistic conceptions of the Greeks, that permitted illusions and immorality to intrude upon this field also, and that in the end opposed with steadily decreasing energy the superior force of moral corruption." Compare his treatise, *Ueber das Sittliche der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen*, p. 14.

² Poets convey art and instruction through spirit and word.

therefore, in the Divine; but what was true in the idea became perverted by the abuse of the spirit in the letter. The law can only represent the eternal by an inadequate comparison with the temporal, whose conditions are limited and modified by existing states. When circumstances undergo a change, the law becomes a dead statute. Law is moreover deficient in seizing upon only *a single aspect* of religion—that of unconditional obedience and the consequent recompense. It knows nothing of an unconstrained love and enthusiasm. Upon this latter point *art* is in advance of law. It assumes the infinite (ideal), and makes that its object; but in the qualities in which law is too rigid, art appears entirely too free and unrestrained. The *moral* element, which appears in the law under the rigid form of commandment, is here entirely subordinate; it is neither desired nor allowed to become prominent, for fear that it might injure the purposes of art which accounts for the mongrel character of all didactic poetry; but art can never displace doctrine, because its function is not, primarily, to teach.

A merely æsthetic religion, a mere “worship of genius,” is quite as deficient as a merely legal religion. The latter lacks the *power*, the former the *discipline*, of the spiritual element; the one is deficient in not providing for the free exercise of the religious disposition, the other in not possessing the strict principles and the impelling power of the ethical.¹ It follows that the doctrine, the word, instruction, and sermon (*διδασχῆ, λόγος, κατήχησις, κήρυγμα*) occupy a higher place than either law or art, the two inadequate modes of revealing the life of religion. Teaching possesses the ability to excite the entire man to action. It arouses feeling—to create it is beyond *its* ability also—develops the understanding, and gives direction, although not ability, to the will. It lifts man out of the undecided chaos of impressions into a harmoniously-developed rational life, and treats him as a free, self-determining nature. It is the “fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death” (Prov-
erbs xiii, 14).

SECTION IX.

The conclusion reached in the foregoing discussion may be historically illustrated by the Jewish, heathen, and Christian religions, since the development of Judaism has been chiefly in the direction of law, of heathenism in the direction of art, and of Christianity in the direction of doctrine.

The Jews were the people under the law (*οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου*). The

¹ Valuable observations on this point in Wilmann's work, *Der Cultus des Genius*, Hamb., 1840.

law was conditioned by the theocracy. So long as the latter continued, the law retained the peculiar importance assigned to it in the Divine economy (John iv, 22). It contained elements (*στοιχεῖα*) of Divine training that tended toward a higher development, and became a school-

master (*παιδαγωγός*) working toward perfection (Gal. iii, 24; iv, 3).

The prophetic institution was already introduced as the necessary complement of the law, and of the priesthood founded upon law. A still more decided turning toward *doctrine* is apparent after the Captivity. Provision for teaching is made in the synagogues, which, however, affords opportunity for the perversions of Pharisaism to vaunt themselves, until the true Teacher, sent of God, appears in Israel. In ancient heathenism art formed the leading element of religion, attaining its highest development in Hellenism (the gods of Greece).¹ While, however, the Jews strove in vain to express from the rind of the law the last drop of the juice of life, and the statues of gods left the heart as cold as the marble from which they were carved, and while only a dreamy suspicion of the existence of an "unknown God" pervaded the nations, the humanized divine *doctrine*, the Logos, the Word from heaven that was made flesh,² was walking quietly and humbly among men in the form of a servant, and scattering the seed which should produce the Divine regeneration of the nations. Preaching gave birth to faith (Rom. x, 17), and faith to love, while love bloomed in the life that conquers death. The worship of God in spirit and in truth took the place of the law, and the altar of "the unknown God" received name and significance.

The inter-relation of these elements should, however, be observed. In each of the religious systems to which we have referred, the three, law, art, and doctrine, exist, although in vary-

¹ "Heathenism," says Rust (*Philos. u. Christenthum*, 2 ed., p. 108), "had no *luminous teaching* in which the result of the development of its religious life was laid down, and it had no need for it. Instead of doctrine, it cultivates a mighty *symbolism*, which has emanated from its own being, a concrete representation of its religious spirit to the senses." (Also in Grüneisen, at § 7.) "Nowhere in heathendom does the human spirit rise above natural conceptions. In the figures of his gods the heathen beholds simply the form of his own being." Schenkel, *Der ethische Charakter des Christenthums*, in Gelzer's *Prot. Monatsbl.*, 1857, p. 44; comp., also, p. 47: "The pagan systems of religion exhaust their strength in the effort to construct a thoughtful and frequently artistic symbolism. They are extravagant in ceremonial manipulations and changeless customs, but indifferent about moral manifestations, and unconcerned about the eternal nature of things."

² It is scarcely necessary to observe that no attempt to exhaust the Logos idea, in an exegetical or dogmatic way, is here implied.

ing proportions and combinations. Not only does Judaism, by virtue of its worship, include artistic elements, and the law stand forth in religious dignity among the heathen, but *doctrine* also seeks to gain acceptance with both Jews and pagans. The prophetic order toiled for this among the Jews, as did philosophy among the Greeks. The great importance of Socrates consists in this, that he turned the attention of philosophy away from nature and toward *man*, that he aroused reflection upon moral and religious questions, and that he represented in himself the noblest work of art—a moral renovation. Christianity, on the other hand, includes in its constitution both *law* and *art*; for to the extent to which “man’s highest work of art is man,” will appear the representation of a pure man, which existed in Socrates only as an effort, in absolute perfection in Christ, the Divine Son of man; hence the ideal Christ represents art’s highest task. Christ, in like manner, came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it; in harmony with which principle, it cannot be disguised that modern art and the public life of modern nations are essentially determined by the teachings of Christianity. That Christianity is not a *mere* abstract system of *doctrine*, but a living *word*, a higher law, and independent (art-) work of the Spirit, will appear from what follows.

Law, Art, and
Doctrines co-re-
lated.

SECTION X.

The teaching function of Christianity is more strongly emphasized by Protestantism than by Roman Catholicism, since the latter elevates law and art, at least to the level of doctrine, while with the former doctrine holds the first place.

In the apostolic age teaching was the leading element, most fully developed in the Pauline Christianity, while the Ebionitish Judaizing Christianity retained a legal character, and Gnosticism severed the doctrine from its historical foundations, and carried it back into mythology. At a later period the body of doctrine, after having been speculatively and ecclesiastically developed, was held in the unyielding restrictions of dogma, and became rigid. A theoretical legalism was developed side by side with a practical righteousness of works, and as the latter manifested itself, as formerly in Judaism, only in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, a superabundance of symbolic and artistic matter was produced, which, in its turn, served to encourage the legal spirit. The two elements are combined in the established canon of the mass. The unlicensed sensuality of common life at last resulted again in heathenism; but

The teaching
function more
prominent in
Protestantism
than in Rom-
anism.

¹ Ullmann, *Cultus des Genius*, p. 57.

while art celebrated its prosperous condition in modern Rome over the ruins of the Apostolic Church, the restoration of the *word* to its primitive authority, and the preaching of the free doctrines of the Gospel, were being accomplished in Germany and Switzerland.¹ From this time forward the sermon became the heart and centre of Protestant worship, to an extent which compels the admission that in some instances the element of teaching received undue prominence, to the exclusion of every thing artistic, and even that doctrine itself hardened into legalism, which gave rise to reactionary movements endangering the existence of the Protestant faith.

SECTION XI

Although the religious instructor belongs preëminently to the order of teachers, he is still so far to be distinguished from the scientific instructor, as religion is not bare knowledge, and therefore cannot be taught and acquired directly, and without the intervention of other agencies.

The position of the religious teacher as to other teachers. We have now reached that point in the field of learning at which the different courses and methods of study may be distinguished from each other. With respect to *methods* of instruction the clergyman, as a teacher of adults, holds a position midway between the teacher of youth and the academical professor. Being addressed to adults, his teachings will assume a more elaborate character, and take a higher range than those of the teacher of youth; but as they do not subserve a purely scientific purpose, they will be more popular and less purely didactic than those of the academical instructor. The sermon, moreover, is not to become a *mere* intellectual discourse, though the preacher should never cease to be a teacher.² The clergyman, in the exercise of both his catechetical and his pastoral duties, divides the function of training with the teacher of youth. The subject-matter of his instructions is determined by the peculiar nature of religion itself, to which we now direct attention.

¹The Lutheran Reformation in Germany bore predominantly the character of a reaction against the Judaism that had intruded into the Church, while the Reformed, in Switzerland, was chiefly a reaction against paganism. This distinction is, however, only relative. Comp. Al. Schweizer in the Introduction to the Glaubenslehre der evang.-reformirten Kirche, Zurich, 1844.

²"The clergyman should be both preacher and teacher of religion. It is even impossible, in various regards, for him to be a genuine teacher, without being, at the same time, a preacher, and introducing one element of the sermon—illustrative discourse—into his teaching; and he cannot be a true preacher of religion without being at the same time a teacher, and basing his entire preaching upon his teaching function, so as to connect it with, and ground it in, the doctrine itself."—K. Sack, Werth u. Reiz d. Theologie, Sixth Discourse, p. 92.

SECT. XII.

RELIGION.

Elwert, *Das Wesen der Religion*, etc., in *Tüb. Zeitschr. für Theologie*, 1835, No. 3; Reich, *Das Schleiermachersche Religionsgefühl*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1846, No. 4, p. 845; Herm. Reuter, *Die Religion als die Ureinheit des Bewusstseins*, in *Hanov. Vierteljahrschrift*, Gött., 1846, No. 4; J. P. Lange, *Phil. Dogmatik*, p. 185, *sqq.*; E. Zeller, in *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1845; D. Schenkel, in *Herzog's Encycl.*, s. v., *Abhängigkeitsgefühl*; Tholuck, id., s. v., *Gefühl*, iv, p. 704, *sqq.*; C. D. Kelbe, *psychischer Ursprung u. Entwicklungsgang der Religion*, Brunswick, 1853; Carblom, *Das Gefühl in seiner Bedeutung für den Glauben* (*Religionsphil.*); H. Paret, *Einteilung der Religionen*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1855, No. 2; Jul. Köstlin, in *Herzog*, s. v., *Religion*, xii, p. 641, *sqq.*; Jens Baggesen, *Phil. Nachlass*, 2 vols., 1858-63; Jäger, *Was ist Religion?* in *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, x, No. 4, p. 118, *sqq.*; Bobertag, *Einige neuere Bestimmungen d. Begriffes d. Religion*, id., xi, No. 2, p. 254; Tölle, *Die Wissenschaft der Religion*, 2 vols., 1865-71; Pfeiderer, *Die Religion, ihr Wesen u. ihre Geschichte*, 2 vols., 1869; Fauth, *Ueber die Frömmigkeit*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1870, No. 4; Biedermann, *Bilanz üb. d. rationalen Grundbegriffe der Religion*, in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theologie*, 1871, No. 1. (Comp. the literature on the philosophy of religion, § 30.)

Religion (piety, the fear of God, godliness, *יְהוָה יִרְאָה*, *φóβος τῷ θεῷ*, *εὐσέβεια*) is, primarily, neither knowledge nor ac- Definition of tion, but rather a definite state of feeling, which is to religion. be developed into a clear and rational consciousness through the exercise of intelligent reflection, and into a firmly established disposition through the moral determination of the will. As the true principle of life, it is to permeate the whole inner man (*ὁ ἕως ἀνθρώπου*), and to manifest itself externally as the highest fruitage of human nature.¹

An objection might be raised at the outset against the use of the Latin term religion (from religio), and "godliness" be suggested as a substitute; but if Hase's definition,² that, objectively considered, religion is man's relation to the infinite, and that, subjectively, it is the determination of human life by that relation, be accepted, "godliness" and similar terms will be inadequate, as indicating only the subjective side of religion. The word "faith" is likewise not entirely sufficient; for, as David Schulz (*Die Chr., Lehre von Glauben*, 2 ed., p. 104) observes: "In the word religion, for which the Bible

Scope of the word religion, and the distinction between it and various other terms.

¹ On the etymology of the word (whether from *relegere*, Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, ii, 8, or from *religare*, Lactantius, *Inst. div.*, iv, 28; or even from *relinquere*, M. Sabin., in Gellius *Noct. Att.*, iv, 9), comp. Nitzsch, *Religionsbegriff d. Alten*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, i, No. 3; *J. G. Müller, *Ueber Bildung und Gebrauch d. Wortes Religio*, Basel, 1834; C. A. Dietrich, *De etymol. vocis religio*, Schneeb., 1836; K. F. Bräunig, *Religio nach Ursprung u. Bedeutung* *erörtert*, Leips., 1837. Also, Röhr's *Krit. Predigerbibl.*, xviii, 3, p. 248, *sqq.*; Redtsloh, *Sprachl. Abhandl. zur Theologie*, Leips., 1840, and *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1842, No. 2.

² *Lehrbuch der ev. Dogmatik*, 1838, § 2.

has no special term, but which in the New Testament is generally represented by πίστις and πιστεύειν, was conceive of all the relations of man to God in their entirety and their connexions with each other. The fear of God, trust in God, love, reverence, piety, hope, all express definite and particular relations of the rational creature towards the Deity, and therefore constitute separate features of religion." However inadequate this term may be, therefore, when the object is to illustrate a decided piety, it is yet convenient and even indispensable, whenever choice or necessity compels a more general discussion, as in scientific exposition.

Thus much on the word. With reference to its interpretation, it is to be observed that the older method, dating from Buddhæus, by which "religio" is taken as equivalent to "modus Deum cognoscendi et colendi," has been shaken in both its members by the more recent definition, which, according to Schleiermacher,¹ denies that religion is either bare knowledge or action.

1. It is not simply knowledge. Cicero's derivation (from relegere), and, to some extent, the scriptural and popular usage² (Religion is not merely knowledge. רִיבּוּן, ἐπιγνώσις τοῦ κυρίου), seem to justify the rendering of religion by "knowledge," inasmuch as it may be both taught and learned. But, practically, religion presents a somewhat abnormal appearance among the courses of study in an institution of learning; and it cannot be said, with the same propriety, that a student is a good religionist as that he is a good philologist, mathematician, geographer, etc. The maxim that re-

¹ Glaubensl., i, § 8. Schleiermacher, however, was neither the first nor the only person who regarded religion as a matter of feeling. Without recurring to the earliest period and to mysticism, we may notice that Zwingle defined religion to be devotion to God, hence an inclination and determination of the feelings, (De vera relig., p. 51; Vera religio vel pietas hæc est, quæ uni solique, Deo hæret.) Among moderns the emotional theory, with various modifications, has been adopted by Herder, Jacobi, Lavater (Biographie von Gessner, iii, p. 181), Clodius, Fries, de Wette, Twisten, Benj. Constant, and, with special thoroughness, by Elwert. The philologist, J. G. Hermann, expresses similar views (in his oration at the jubilee of the Leipsic reformation, p. 6): Non enim mentis, sed pectoris est pietas; and also Bulwer (England, i, 2), "Religion must be a sentiment, an emotion, forever present with us, pervading, colouring, and exalting all." An additional question concerns the adequacy of the term "feeling" itself, which must be settled by what follows in the text.

² It is evident, however, that the exercise of reflection and the scrupulous examination into questionable features, which are involved in the term religio, in their direct attention to a state of feeling that lies at the basis of all such questioning. The knowledge, moreover, to which the Scriptures refer, is a practical heart-knowledge. It is also significant that the Hebrew regarded the heart (לֵב) as the seat of knowledge.

ligion is a concern of the intellect is, moreover, subject to various interpretations. The lowest view would be that which makes it a mere matter of memory, which is often done in practice. The memory should certainly not be excluded, for all positive religion rests upon tradition, and religious instruction properly begins with impressing on the memory the facts of religion and its truths as conveyed in proverbs, hymns, etc. This, however, must be regarded simply as a method of reaching the heart, in which the scattered seed is to take root and grow, so as to exert an influence over the dispositions and the character. Such one-sided cultivation of the memory, and the contentment with such religious knowledge, constitutes a dead orthodoxy.

Another doctrine advocates a different view. Religion is not to engage the memory alone, but is to be received into the understanding and wrought over by it. Some try to improve on this by substituting the word *reason*, though they often mean the understanding simply, i. e., the logically analytic and synthetic faculties of the mind, or also a sound common-sense, which, without being conscious of its processes, instinctively discovers the right. No sensible person will deny that understanding is necessary in all things, and religion among the rest, and the Scriptures concur in attributing proper dignity to this faculty.¹ Experience teaches, however, that bare intellectual knowledge is by no means identical with religious knowledge. The work of the understanding in the field of religion is strictly critical, and, therefore, negative. It strips off the robes of figurative speech from religious conceptions, guards against misapprehensions and stupidity, and, like a current of fresh air, becomes a healthful corrective to religious feeling; but there is unceasing necessity that it be confined within its proper limits and reminded that the infinite cannot be embraced within the range of finite ideas. An exclusive tendency to cultivate the understanding constitutes a false rationalism.

Science, however, presses its claims from a third point of view. In opposition to both a formal orthodoxy and an intellectual rationalism, it contends that religion belongs to the department of a higher knowledge. It takes exclusive possession of the term *reason*, and declares that religion belongs to the field of the thinking spirit, which mediates all con-

It is not bare knowledge as grounded in the memory.

It is not bare knowledge as grounded in the understanding.

It is not a transcendental knowledge of the absolute.

¹ Jesus was pleased when the scribe answered him "discreetly" (*σοφειᾷ*), Mark xii, 34; and St. Paul counsels Christians to be children in malice, but men in understanding. 1 Cor. xiv, 20. The Old Testament, likewise, connects the religious disposition with the understanding (*יָדָעַת*), Prov. ix, 10, and elsewhere.

trasts, and penetrates and energizes all things (knowledge of the absolute). Not the dead conception, but the living idea, forms the element in which religion lives. Short-sighted understanding cannot penetrate to the highest ideas of reason. We agree to this: but we question whether reason as here described is innate to the mind, instead of being the product of the feelings and the understanding—a resultant higher unity of the two. It is a further question whether the grasping of this idea or whatever phrase may be applied to it is itself religion and eternal life, or whether reason as thus conceived is not rather a mere phantom of the mind, so long as it is not the reflex of a profound personal feeling and experience. As the word *reason* is, with rationalists, often merely a sort of Sunday suit in which ordinary understanding clothes itself, so the same word serves with idealists to conceal an arbitrary poetizing fancy, which is incapable of satisfying either the feelings or the understanding.¹ That imagination in its proper character is not the source of religion will be universally conceded, although it must be allowed, like every other faculty, to share in the religious life.²

The following general considerations should be brought to bear against the assumption that religion is merely an intellectual affair:—

1. If religion were simply this, it would follow that knowledge and right thinking concerning it would determine the measure of piety. Our own age ought to be more pious than former ages, philosophers than the public, men than women, adults than children. Why was salvation transmitted through the Jews, rather than through the schools of Greece? Why did God conceal it from the wise men of this world, and reveal it to babes and sucklings? Why did the *renaissance* of learning simply prepare the way for the Reformation, instead of completing it? Why is the finely-cultured Erasmus eclipsed by Luther, his inferior in culture?

2. If knowledge were to constitute religion, the Church (communion of believers) would possess no value, and must become transformed into a community of the learned, or school. The different degrees of learning among its members would produce an

¹ Comp. C. A. Thilo, *Die Wissenschaftlichkeit der modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien beleuchtet*, Leipsic, 1851—a book that deserves to be noticed, despite its prudish bearing towards all religious speculation, since it urges soberness and watchfulness.

² Ullmann has beautifully developed this idea in *Theol. Aphorismen*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1844, p. 417, sqq.

esoteric and an exoteric class, so that "many men of many minds" might be said of this community, but not "one heart and one soul." If such descriptions are heard even now, it is the result of the fact simply, that in the Church undue importance has been attached to learning, and theology has been allowed to supplant religion. Sec-tarianism and controversial tendencies have their origin chiefly in a false assertion of the claims of knowledge, and in a lack of purity and simplicity of faith.¹

3. If *thinking* and *investigation* constituted the peculiar organs of religion, their exercise ought to produce religious satisfaction, and religious inspiration ought to reach its highest energy during the process of thinking; and in like manner religion should decrease in moments when the faculty of thought is impaired or restrained, e. g., in old age,² and upon the sick and dying-bed, while the truth is, that, under precisely such circumstances, it often appears in its highest perfection. The emphasis placed upon thinking is misplaced; for in the vocabulary of religion the emphasis rests rather upon feeling. When the Quietists asserted that the most perfect prayer is that in which thought has no place, they were guilty of exaggeration verging upon the absurd; but a profounder truth lies at the basis of the apparent absurdity, which is wholly overlooked by those whose views would reduce even prayer to a mere arithmetical example.

II. Religion is not merely action. The idea that re- Religion not
ligion is altogether a *doing*, a moral determination of merely action.
the will, has even more support than that which identifies it with
knowledge. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them"

¹ A fact stated by an old Reformed Theologian, Keckermann, is generally forgotten (he himself overlooked it occasionally), namely, that theology is not simply a disciplina contemplatrix, but also operatrix. See Al. Schweizer's Ref. Dogmatik, p. 103. The members of the general synods of Bergen, beginning with A. D. 1680, were, on the same principle, required to pledge themselves to the studium pietatis as well as the studium orthodoxie. The excessive importance attached to the so-called Confessions is evidently owing to the misconception that religion has its seat in the cavities of the brain instead of the chambers of the heart, or that it may be preserved in formulas, as anatomical subjects are preserved in alcohol.

² For a remarkable psychological proof of the fact that religious ideas are capable of being clearly present to the consciousness, independently of other processes of thought, and even under circumstances when the power to think is departing, comp. John Spalding's Life of his Son, G. L. Spalding (Halle, 1804), p. 188, *sqq.*, note, and also the death of Schleiermacher, in W. von Humboldt's Briefe an eine Freundin, II, p. 259. Schenkel's remark is, therefore, of great force: "The religious consciousness is infinitely greater than the world-consciousness, even as God is infinitely greater than the world; and it, therefore, contains a fountain of inexhaustible power and perennial comfort" — Dogmatik, I, p. 182

(John xiii, 17.) It is sustained also by the expressions רָחַץ יְרוּחַ, ὁδὸς τοῦ κυρίου, עֲבֹדָה, θρησκεία, θεραπεία, ἔργα, καρπός, etc., religio (in the sense of conscientiousness), and by popular usage, according to which a pious person is the same as one who is good or upright (δικαίος), and which conceives of *virtue* and *godliness* as being identical. There are, however, different methods of conceiving religion as confined to the sphere of action. The lowest view, a counterpart of that which places it in the memory, regards piety altogether as a work to be outwardly performed (opus operatum), a mere dead, mechanical doing. It is evident that this does not deserve the name of religion. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that they who contemplate religion chiefly with the *understanding*, generally identify it with *moral-ity* (the Kantian, rationalistic view), or, at any rate, regard as essential to religion only such elements as will promote the moral autonomy of reason. A higher view (corresponding to the speculative theory, among those who assign religion to the intellect) makes religion an internal activity, or an action of the spirit in us. If the latter expression be not a mere speculative phrase, behind which moral indifference may hide, it may be understood, in the Christian sense, as a work of the Divine Spirit in us, and therefore as equivalent to "regeneration." The supporters of this opinion add that at bottom piety is concerned to bring about the improvement or sanctification of our dispositions and our walk; so that here rationalism and pietism agree in the practical demand that religion *must produce results*. To insist upon religious action does not, however, constitute a proof that religion in its last analysis is action. In opposition to this view we present the following:—

1. While religion and morality coincide in their highest development, so that a true religion without morality and a true morality without religion are equally inconceivable,¹ they are yet clearly distinguished in their details as well

¹ Rothe (Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche, p. 27) remarks: "A complete morality, which is not in its positive aspects substantially religious, does not exist. In the same proportion in which morality should not have acquired the certainty of religion (the certainty of conscious dependence upon God) would its development as morality be deficient." Kym (Die Weltanschauungen und deren Consequenzen, Zurich, 1854, p. 9): "A religion that should not pass over into morality, and through this into life, would be a centre without circumference, therefore a half, and accordingly untrue, unreal religion. A morality that should have no connexion with the Deity would be without depth and without a last (?) central point. . . . The morality which separates itself from religion is likely to become self-righteousness and self-satisfaction, because it lacks provision for the judgment of self. Hence faith is the creative reason of love."

as their general character. A genuine piety is found to exist in which the moral element leaves much to be desired, but which cannot be justly rated as hypocrisy; and there are many poorly-behaved and ill-bred children of God who yet know that God is exercising discipline over them, and submit to his authority. This was true of David and other Old Testament characters. Without this presumption it becomes impossible to understand the Old Testament as a whole,¹ and also the Middle Ages, with their profound apprehension of God and their boundless immorality.

The period of the Reformation and modern pietism might also furnish illustrations of this point.² On the other hand, morality and the piety of many is put to shame by the existence of a praiseworthy and correct morality, which has grown beyond a mere legality, and become moral self-respect and self-control, in a measure compelling approval and admiration, which yet lacks the sanctions and the impulse of religion; *i. e.*, a definite relation towards God and eternity. This applies not only to the stoicism of the ancients, but also to the categorical imperative of Kant, and the morality of cultivated persons in our day. While, therefore, morality and religion belong together, and in their ultimate development must coincide, they may yet be logically distinguished, and bear a separate character in the lower stages of their development even in actual life. It is, however, the mark of a truly *religious* disposition, that, when moral imperfection or sin is recognized, it should be acknowledged as *sin*, and as a wrong committed against *God* ("I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight," Luke xv, 21); and that the soul should bow before God, and humble itself and repent. Morality without religion knows nothing of sin as such, but recognizes only moral deficiency; and it therefore substitutes "self-improvement" for repentance. *Sin* and *repentance* are *religious-ethical* ideas.

2. Morality presupposes *capacity*, developed by practice, and evidencing itself in a series of moral actions or denials. Religion is original *power*, original *spiritual life*, and is concentrated upon a single point. It stands related to

¹ All objections against the moral character of the patriarchs are founded on this misconception.

² What a contrast exists between the spiritual songs and the passionate polemical writings of Angelus Silesius (Scheffler)! a contrast so great as to apparently require that two different persons be assumed in explanation of their authorship (comp. Kahlert, Ang. Silesius, Breslau, 1853, conclusion). A similar contrast is presented by the Lutheran poet Philip Nicolai, whose hymns breathe a profound piety, while his controversial works bear witness to a morality by no means refined (comp. Schweizer, Prot. Centraldogmen, p. 584).

morality as genius to talent in the sphere of art. Men of genius may exist who possess a rich fund of intellectual conceptions, but who nevertheless are exceedingly awkward in the application of technical rules, while others may work in obedience to the highest rules of art to represent utterly commonplace ideas; and a similar distinction holds good between morality and religion. The real master, of course, is he whose talent has become subservient to genius, and impregnated by it.

3. Moral action is determined by the external conditions of life, and its range is confined within the limits of such conditions. The castaway cannot employ his morality in the solitude of his island, unless moral self-respect should become for him a mode of worship, and thus idolatry supply the place of religion. The religious life, on the contrary, may appear in its highest perfection under circumstances of quiet seclusion from the world.¹ Anchoretism, like Quietism, is a morbid phenomenon; but it arises from the truth that a religious person, unlike the merely moral man, has occasional need of solitude; and the ideal element in such phenomena can be properly estimated only from a religious point of view.

4. The moral life needs no worship; the moral action constitutes its cult. The religious life likewise finds expression in action: "By their fruits ye shall know them." But it seeks, in addition, to manifest itself symbolically in words and imagery. It seeks to express itself in prayer, to portray itself in art, to communicate itself to others, and, when rejected by them, to commune with God himself. It was because of this that the conduct of Mary Magdalene was incomprehensible to the prosaic company of banqueters; and similarly a rational morality still asks, "Why this waste?" whenever the religious life finds expression without regard to utility: "The money might be given to the poor," etc. A community founded simply on morality would not, as Kant conceived, exhaust the idea of the Church. It could only have either a negative tendency, like a temperance union, or an instructive purpose, as in schools of morality and lectures, which, however, are no longer necessary to the advanced learner, or, finally, it must aim at practical results in the outward life (benevolent and mutual aid societies). The Church-union is grounded in a totally different want, and it is a misconception of the religious idea to re-

¹ In the exercise of religion man is primarily concerned for himself; he alone is involved therein, in his relation towards God. In this he is alone with his God. . . . For this very reason the view that religion in itself is the relation of the individual to the community, or of the community to the individual, is erroneous. Schenkel, l. c. p. 156.

gard a congregation of worshippers as belonging to any of the above classes. Are prayer and the sacraments simply means for the promotion of virtue? and are they necessary only to the weak? Let it be remembered that the ideal of the Church is not the *ecclesia militans*, but the *ecclesia triumphans*, the glorified community of heaven, which is exalted above all conflict. Religion is not only to *accomplish* something for God, but to *receive* something from him (the idea of grace), and is ultimately to rejoice in God, and find its perfect rest and satisfaction in him (the idea of glory).

5. Morality is based on the ideas of independence and self-determination; religion on those of dependence and direction from above. The two do not exclude each other, and are even necessarily conjoined, though they may be separately considered. The religious element may predominate at one time, and the moral at another, in the life of every individual, and as the result of his circumstances and disposition. The most perfect state, however, is that in which religion transfigures morality, and in which the moral attests the religious character.¹

Morality is based on independence, religion on dependence.

III. Should religion, then, be considered a matter of *feeling*? Loud protest is raised against this view. Baumgarten-Crusius has most forcibly included the various objections to it in the sentence, "No one who understands himself, and who is concerned to attain to an assured and definite life, will make feeling the basis of religion."² The problem presented will be solved, however, if we set the idea of religious feeling in a clear light, and show that a "definite and assured life" may exist in connexion with it when properly understood.

In what sense is religion rooted in feeling?

A clear apprehension of this subject is certainly necessary, for the name of religious feeling is not due to all that lays claim thereto.³ It will be needful, first of all, to exclude the *sensuous feeling*,

¹ "Although religion and morality are two noble buds upon a *single* stalk, they have nevertheless their respective shoots and crowns. For religion is nothing else than a conscious life-connexion with God, a conscious dependence of the finite spirit upon the infinite. The flower could not lose the feeling of connexion with its roots, were it, like man, capable of feeling. Religion is in a derived sense only a matter in which the thinking and volitional spirit is concerned; primarily, it is the feeling of the relations our life sustains to God."—Tholuck, *Gespräche über d. vornehmsten Glaubensfragen der Zeit*, Halle, 1846, p. 60.

² *Hnl. in die Dogmatik*, p. 64.

³ Steffens beautifully remarks: "While the term 'feeling' may be indefinite, and not entirely appropriate, *this* feeling (of Schleiermacher) was more comprehensive; it contained a life and consciousness of its own, and designated *the sacred ground of its own origin*."—*Christliche Religionsphil.*, p. 11.

to which some have applied the term *sensibility*.¹ It would be dangerous to assume that the most impressible, emotional, sensually and intellectually excitable persons are on that account the most pious. They who are unable to conceive the subject in a different aspect from this are entirely justified in rejecting a religion of feeling at the outset, and taking refuge in a religion of action. Spalding's essay, *On the Value of the Religious Feeling*, will continue to assert its force against such defenders of sentimentalism, even though, like many others, he fails to comprehend the true nature of feeling. That Schleiermacher, the keen dialectician, whose sermons have even been described as icy-cold, should have advocated mere sensibility, can be asserted only by persons who are determined to misunderstand. Nor is *æsthetic* feeling intended. A certain relation of art and poetry to religion cannot be denied; but it would be venturesome to assert that all who are unable to appreciate art, or, more boldly still, who are not endowed with creative imagination,² are thereby unfitted for religion; or, on the contrary, to maintain that the greatest poet, painter, or, possibly, even the most eminent actor, is therefore the most pious man. We are compelled to acknowledge that often the devotees of the beautiful and the priests in the service of genius resemble the parasitic plants, which fix themselves upon the sacred blossom of religion, and extract from it the life-giving sap;³ while, on the other hand, the

Religious feeling not mere sensibility.

Religious not the same as æsthetic feeling.

¹The usage upon this point is, apparently, not yet settled. It is as allowable to speak of a sensibility for religious and material things, as of feeling for them. We shall not err greatly, however, if we consider sensibility as excited more particularly by impressions received from without, while feeling is a spiritual faculty that is rooted in the inmost depths of our being. Hence it might be more proper to attribute sensibility than feeling to brutes. Sensibility is more especially related to the perceptive faculty, and to the individual object upon which it is engaged (thus, the eye is sensible of the entering ray of light); in feeling, the subject and the object are more intimately combined (I feel myself blessed). In this view we coincide with Carlbom, who finds in *sensation* single points of contact between the subject and the object, while in *feeling* he discovers the collective relations between the two—"the collective impressions made upon the subject by the object as a whole," or "the uplifting of the subject through the ideal power of an object" (inspiration). *Comp.* p. 2; also, Twetten, *Einl. zur Dogmatik*; Kym, l. c., p. 5.

²Ullmann, l. c., makes the just observation that "feeling and imagination, although they connect in the unity of the spirit and condition, and excite each other, are yet not one and the same."

³An evidence of this is found, upon the one hand, in the degenerate romancing of a Zacharias Werner; and, on the other, in the observations of a now defunct "Young Germany." The course which the young German school of poetry believed itself compelled to adopt, in its reaction against an overwhelming romanticism, serves, however, to illustrate also the damage inflicted upon poetry when it is separated from religion.

fulness of religious life, existing side by side with imperfect forms of art and a neglected æsthetic culture, justifies us in overlooking such deficiency. What else gives attractiveness to a badly-modelled image of some saint, or endows the excruciating church music of an assembled village congregation with the power to edify, nay, to excite profoundest emotion? We would not approve the bad taste which, under the influence of religious zeal, appears to have conspired against whatever is beautiful. An unæsthetic piety, and that miserable absence of taste which is so often commended as being originality, are assuredly more hurtful than beneficial to religion. Who would venture to assert, however, that a lack of religious feeling in Zinzendorf is evident, because he sometimes wrote verse in bad taste, or in Abraham a Santa Clara, whose preaching was of a like character? Such men have religion, but they lack the sense of beauty; a proof that the two are different.¹

But are religious and *moral* feeling identical? They are certainly closely related, and touch upon and interpenetrate each other. It is possible, however, to distinguish the two in thought, for the purpose of scientific inquiry, in the same way as has been done with religion and morality themselves. The *moral* feeling manifests itself more particularly in its negative aspects as tact, and on the positive side as impulse or instinct. The substance in which it adheres is conduct—the doing of things, or leaving them undone. It impels or restrains. *Religious* feeling is self-centred, and finds its satisfaction in itself. It is, in short, the *sacred chamber of our inner being*, that *дѣлов* of the soul, in which all earthly changes cease to agitate, together with all opposition of desire and aversion, within whose limits the merely sensuous has its range. This inner sanctuary,² which is first disclosed

Religious not identical with moral feeling.

¹ Kähler, *Sittenlehre*, p. 289, distinguishes in a similar way between the religious feeling, and the pathological or æsthetic.

² The internal basis of life, the Ego, in which are comprehended all distinctions in their individual simplicity and their concrete lack of dissimilarity, must be regarded as the soil and ground of religion.—Deinhardt, *Beitr. zur rel. Erkenntnis*, Hamb., 1844, p. 5. "Religion is and must remain an immediate influence, a something that lies as near to man as do the impressions which are made upon the senses by the outer world. If, for this reason, religion be defined as the 'feeling of dependence,' a real truth will be conveyed, provided a *spiritual* feeling is understood thereby; for in matters relating to the spirit there can be no reference to sensuous impressions."—Fritze, *Ideen zur Umgestaltung der Kirche*, Magdeb., 1844, p. 2. We can readily approve of the substitution of the term *heart* for *feeling* (in popular language), as being justified by scriptural usage, and including both the intellectual and the moral elements (כח). "The assurance with which genuine culture retains words like heart in their higher significance, despite the definitions of the sciences, unquestionably rests upon the assumption that the *animal* life is the counterpart of *human* being, even as

to the *penitent* alone—this heaven in the soul, whence shine the stars of faith, and love, and hope, to cheer the darkness of our night—this anchor that holds firm, upon which every thing depends and must depend if it shall not founder in the current of fleeting time—is *religious feeling*.

We designate it more closely as the *feeling of dependence*; that is, dependence upon God, the Infinite One. Objections are raised against this also. It is said, "The very dogs have the feeling of dependence!"—a cynical reflection, which is beautifully disposed of by Matt. vii, 6, and xv, 21-28. Comp. Isa. i, 3, and Athenag. Apoloog. for Christ., p. 16 (ed. Oxon).¹ Dependence is construed to mean servility, and the saying of Jansen, "*Dei servitus vera libertas*," or of our Lord in John viii, 32, is forgotten. We likewise discover a twofold character in religious feeling—a discouraging (humbling) and an encouraging (exalting) element; but in their inmost nature the two are one. Even the feeling of liberty and of communion with God must be derived from God; and St. Paul's exclamation, "I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me," is as thoroughly pervaded by the sense of dependence as that other word, "Without me ye can do nothing."² To be dependent is equivalent to being conditioned

the former finds its counterpart in the organism of the visible body; or, that in this life, at least, the anatomical and physiological organization corresponds to the spiritual forms of the human soul, that it was constructed *for* and determined by it, so that it still conveys the shadowy image where the soul itself has fled. From this point of view the cultivated person, whom we request to undertake an explanation of the idea *heart*, will describe it as the centre, or the pulse; or, better still, as the proper source of our entire inner life."—Steffensen, *Das menschl. Herz u. d. Philosophie*, in *Geizer's Monatsabl.*, 1854, p. 281.

¹ Deinhardt, l. c., p. 9, strikingly observes: "The genius of religion lies in the *recognition of our limitations and our nothingness*. The limitation does not of itself lead to religion, for the very beasts would in that case become possessed of religion; but the consciousness of our limitations involves at the same time the recognition of the infinite, and of our relations to the infinite." And Carblom writes (l. c., p. 180): "The feeling of unqualified dependence, freed from pantheistic and Pelagian elements, can only work advantage to our time, as a scientific principle."

² Kähler's remark is therefore correct (*Sittenlehre*, p. 324): "In their relation to God or the absolute, dependence and communion hold the same position; they are inseparable. Upon what is such communion based, if it be not upon dependence? We do not invite him to fellowship, he calls us; and we attain to the feeling of communion with him only through that of dependence upon him; through the fear of God to the love of God." Comp. Nietzsche, *System of Christ. Doct.*, p. 18, "There is nothing religious in free consciousness but the consciousness that we are free *through* God and *in* God; that is, dependent on him." Kähler nevertheless endeavours to limit the idea of dependence, against which see Elwert, p. 79, *agg.* It may be true that, with Schleiermacher, the feeling of dependence is connected with pantheistic assumptions; but if so, the attacks of criticism should be directed simply against his

and determined by an outward power, as is sufficiently apparent in the relations that exist between men. Who so dependent upon others as he whose life is interwoven in such a way with another life as to justify the language, "Without thee I cannot live?" The religious man depends on God in this sense, that he cannot be without God, that his life is guided and controlled by God, and that he knows himself to be so determined and controlled. It is impossible to see how *such* a feeling of dependence can impair or negative our freedom. It is, on the contrary, itself the highest freedom.

If we have been successful in isolating religious feeling in the way of analysis, so that it becomes available for scientific observation in a pure and unmixed form, it will now be required that, in the way of synthesis, we shall again connect it with the faculties of the soul, by which, and through which, it finds expression. The "theory of feeling" is not antagonized simply because its opponents misconstrue the term, but because they deduce the radically erroneous conclusion that feeling alone is implicated therein, and that cognition and action are excluded by the fact that they are not made the immediate seat and organ of piety. A "definite and assured" life would, of course, be impossible, if religion were so restricted to the feelings as to never venture out of its sanctuary, either into the light of knowledge, or into the fresh air of active exertion. As the germ contains within itself the principle of development, so the nature of healthy religious feeling involves the disposition to strive for the attainment of clearness on the one hand, and of steadiness, firmness, and thoroughness on the other. The infant in the manger grows to maturity, and becomes the *light* and *joy* of the world. Kähler¹

The synthesis of religious feeling with our other faculties.

methods of deduction, not against the principle itself. Nor can we acknowledge that the feeling of dependence is "wanting in the moral element" (Schenkel, in Herzog's Encycl., p. 64). What is *obedience*, the source of *religious* morality, but the ethical outworking of the feeling of dependence? or sacrifice? or the devotion of love? moral self-denial? humility? When Biedermann (Dogmatik, p. 32) observes that the necessary correlative of "liberty in God," that is, in an "infinite dependence," is "freedom from finite dependence," that is, "from the world considered as world," he is simply stating in speculative language what we have expressed merely as a dictum of experience. In the same connexion that author gives some noteworthy observations concerning the interrelation between God, the infinite, and man, the finite spirit, and also concerning the "correlation of revelation and faith," although we find it impossible, from our point of view, to accept his conclusions.

¹Christl. Sittenlehre, p. 195. Comp. also Dav. Schulz, Vom Glauben, p. 112: "When a person has attained to self-consciousness, he cannot avoid observing the movements of his feelings, which at first are possibly involuntary, and, as it were, passive, but which he will now elevate, by his free activity, into a condition of greater clearness, and consequently into convictions."

strikingly remarks: "From feeling, as it sends forth its roots, proceeds the more definite activity which is termed *thought*, and *desire* when it grows the bud." It connects itself with the understanding, and thereby attains to clearness; it joins with itself the power of the will, and thus acquires steadiness and firmness. The knowledge that is rooted in religious feeling, and supported by it, is religious *faith*. Faith, in its turn, is capable of a further development, and ripens toward a state of, as yet, conditioned sight. The *moral* power arising from religious feeling manifests itself in analogy with faith in the form of *conscience*,¹ and develops into moral disposition or firmly-established religious-ethical *principle*, ultimately resulting in that certainty of action, that devotion to virtue, which is the highest expression of true liberty.

Religious feeling should become a conscious feeling. The religious feeling has correspondent religious conceptions, and with reference to these receives aid first from the *imagination*, which clothes the conceptions in figurative garb. "It is the sculptress who collects the heavenly treasure into earthen vessels." The *understanding* comes to its support in the service of imagination, arranging the figurative conceptions, and combining them into a whole. Thus arise mythology and mythologizing symbolism, bare, or more refined; and the greater the supremacy acquired by logical sequence over the original fresh and vivid poetical conceptions in such a system of symbolism, the less will it be able to satisfy the *reason*, which seeks to discover a higher unity. It will be only a shell, a dry skeleton, from which the life has departed. It is the office of *reason* to recognize, by virtue of its ideal nature, the eternal character of the contents of the feelings, though given under a finite form, and to combine and reunite in a higher unity the elements *distinguished* by the understanding. While unable (*supra*) to regard reason as the *source* of religion, we yet consider it the pure *mirror* (reflex) of all that has its birth in the feelings; it is reason that catches and reflects the ray which emanates from that source. It does not *create* the religious life out of its own substance, but it *watches over* that life as over every other impulse, and it stamps it with the mark of intelligence. We, therefore, consider a religion

¹ We cannot regard the *conscience* proper as the original seat and organ of religion, after the noteworthy observations made by Schenkel upon this subject, though we cordially recognize the importance of conscience, as the moral factor within the sphere of religion.

² Ullmann, l. c., p. 480.

of reason as impossible as a poetry of reason or a commonwealth of reason; but we demand a rational religion as we demand a rational poesy or a rational government. True reason cannot be hostile to religious feeling, but is rather necessary to the recognition of the latter (*πίστις* develops into *γνώσις*). Religious knowledge, thus borne upon the feelings, is no longer mere dead knowledge, but a *living consciousness*.

An objector might now admit that the primitive form of religion was feeling, and that the feelings constituted its earliest seat; but he might add that this was the *worst* form, and that religion has no more urgent duty to fulfil than that of removing its seat from the feelings to the reason, from the heart to the head. This, however, is not correct.¹ It is important that the double meaning of the word "feeling" be not forgotten. Feeling certainly involves a preliminary perception. There is a spiritual as well as a physical sense of touch, which often instinctively discovers the right in either case. It must not be assumed, however, that such feeling and touching (*ψηλαφᾶν*) is all that is required (Acts xvii, 27); for he who does no more than feel in religious matters, "is blind and gropes with the hand," where he ought to avail himself of the eye of knowledge. The merely anticipative consciousness of feeling must accordingly give way to a clear understanding. A different principle applies to feeling in its proper character (the feeling of love, of gratitude, of devotion, etc.). This cannot be dissolved into reason, any more than music may be resolved into one of its parts, or may petrify into a building. Reason does not love, give thanks, or pray, any more than it eats or drinks; but love, gratitude, and prayer, may be justified to the reason as highly rational matters, as readily as eating and drinking. Religious feeling is the *root* of the religious life; and we certainly do not aid the tree to put on its

Objection:
"Feeling is the primary is the worst form of religion."

¹ Rousseau has already observed, "Quand on commence à penser, on cesse de sentir." On the other hand, Passavant (to Diepenbrok) says truly, "This statement is false, for the reason that *only a certain class of feelings are displaced by thought*; while the pure thought and the pure volition carry with them a higher feeling in steadily increasing power and exaltation. So the feeling of pleasure, in which the unskilled person shares, becomes a higher and more intelligent emotion to the connoisseur in music when observing the harmony of some grand composition. So, too, the indeterminate feeling of immensity caused by a view of the starry heavens changes into an intelligent admiration with the astronomer, whose thought embraces not only the magnitudes of masses and their distances, but also the laws which govern the most distant worlds and the falling grain of sand, and who realizes that he has apprehended in nature one of the thoughts of God."—Briefe von J. M. Sailer, M. Diepenbrok, u. J. K. Passavant Frankfurt. 1860, p. 100 sq.

crown of bloom when we cut off the root, or permit it to decay. The soundness of the root determines the brightness of the foliage and the perfection of the blossom; for "as feeling is the point at which all spiritual life begins and breaks forth in man, so it is also the goal of perfection in the cultivation of the spirit."¹

Religious feeling should be firm and steadfast. As it develops into definite convictions, it should also become a settled disposition. In this regard the conscience renders the service in practice which reason performs in theory.

As the religious feeling is *enlightened* by reason, so it is *established* and morally *strengthened* by the conscience. In practical matters *law* stands related to *conscience* as the understanding to reason in the domain of theory. In the latter province, that is, theory, the cognitions, being merely logically arranged and combined by the understanding, may harden into a lifeless dogma, and become rigid; and, in like manner, the law of outward morality may become a dead statute, for the letter of the law kills, the spirit makes alive. A conscience enlightened by reason will doubtless be one in which religious feeling manifests and approves itself. But

as feeling could not be resolved into reason, *so here it cannot be resolved into conscience*. What we are accustomed to term a *good* conscience, which gives us boldness before God and happiness in him, is of itself an indication that conscience is rooted in feeling. But the fervent love-life of communion with God, which forms the crowning point of all religion, the blessed life, which, as being designed for eternity, makes use of the finite forms of earthly worship to find expression in a rich anticipative symbolism as "joy in God"—this surely is not a mere matter of the conscience! The contrary is true: for if a system of worship were to assert itself in the character of a concern of the conscience, it would degenerate into work-righteousness. Worship is altogether an expression of the feelings. Religious impulses may possibly emanate from the conscience under certain circumstances (*e. g.*, the impulse to pray); but this will be the case only when religious feeling has become dull and listless, so as to need a spur. Where the religious feeling is in a healthful state, it overflows in thanksgiving, praise, etc., without requiring

¹ De Wette, Vorlesungen über Religion, p. 73. Carlblom uses similar language (l. c., p. 184): "An absolute feeling of dependence is the proper expression for religion, even in the highest stages of its development. The Christian's heart is moved because he *believes*; he conceives himself in feeling as a personal unit before God. In the character of devotion, feeling combines *clearness of understanding* and *force of will* in a mighty ardour, that is inspired by the present God."

the admonitions of conscience. The same reasoning applies to love. Conscience may admonish to works of love, but the love that is dictated by conscience is not the highest and truest love, which loves because it must, and cannot refuse. Conscience does not love, give thanks, pray, and praise, in its own character; and for that very reason is no more capable than reason, which likewise fails in this regard of being the *organ of religion*.

We sum up in the following paragraph what has been presented:—

Religion, far from being, in the first instance or exclusively, confined to knowledge or to action, has its seat in the centre of man's spiritual and moral nature—in the *heart*¹ (which is the Summary of the argument. scriptural and popular term for what we have hitherto designated as *the feelings*, and what others call *the spirit*). This religion of the heart, however, must develop into a living *consciousness* through the intellectual process of *rational thinking* (reflection), and must ripen into a settled disposition, and attest itself in action, through the moral processes induced and perfected by the *conscience*.

We may accordingly say that religion is a subject in which the whole inner man is engaged,² but whose pivotal point is in the feeling of dependence. "A healthy religion," remarks an excellent

¹ On the heart, as the seat of religion, see Prov. xxiii, 26; Josh. xxiv, 23; 1 Sam. vi, 6; Ezek. xi, 19; xxxvi, 26; Matt. v, 8; Phil. iii, 7; Col. iii, 15; Heb. xiii, 9, and many other passages. A new objection might arise here, based on the language of the Scriptures, viz.: that the heart is represented as the seat of evil, of ungodliness also. Gen. vi, 5; viii, 21; Psa. xiv, 1; lili, 1; Jer. xvii, 9; Matt. xv, 19. These passages, however, illustrate this very point, that the heart is man's central organ, the hearth, upon which both pure and impure fires may burn, the soil, capable of propagating both good and evil seed. Comp. Luke viii, 15. Hence we do not make the heart the *source* of religion; if it were, man might devise a religion in accordance with the desires of his heart. The source is in *God*; but God addresses his revelations to the heart, as the *receptive organ* of religion. God's word takes root in the heart; regeneration proceeds from the *heart*, and the peace of God, in the character of a good conscience, dwells in the *heart*. The non-identity of heart and conscience, which forbids the substitution of one word for the other, is apparent from the usage of ordinary speech, which approves of a *large* heart, but not of a large (elastic) conscience. We therefore commend the language of Julius K stlin: "According to the ordinary usage, conscience is simply the organ for the recognition of requirements as such, etc. The recognition of gracious impressions, and, more emphatically still, the *feeling* of blessedness, which steadily becomes more profound, and connects more and more intimately with God in the truly religious, Christian life, cannot be assigned to it; for which reason the conscience may not be designated the religious organ, in an unqualified sense." Comp. also Immer, *Das Gewissen, seine Gesundheit u. a. Krankheit*, Berne, 1866.

² This is strongly asserted also by Mynster (*Ueber den Begriff der. Christl. Dogmatik*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1831, 8, p. 449); Olahausen (*Begriff der Religion*, *ibid.*, 1830, 8, p. 644);

theologian, "exercises power over all the circumstances and conditions of life. Where its authority is acknowledged it is the heart, the silent pulse-beat of our entire being. It there consecrates and transfigures all things, however humble; and it applies a correct rule to all things, however proud and ambitious they may be. Not in states of spiritual excitement and exaltation merely does the consciousness of God's presence express itself, but in discouragement and deepest sorrow likewise does it convey peace, and exert a sanctifying power."¹

SECTION XIII.

The task of the religious instructor is consequently threefold:
Threefold task of the religious teacher. (1) to excite and quicken religious feeling itself; (2) to cultivate the understanding and develop perception, under the guidance of reason, into a clear consciousness; and, (3,) to bring moral influences to bear upon the conscience and the will, until the religious consciousness becomes an abiding disposition. The three lines of effort in the one task are not, however, entirely separated, but are mutually dependent on each other for their successful prosecution.

Neither an exclusive attention to feeling, nor a bare exercising of the understanding, nor yet the mere inculcation of moral maxims, will satisfy the conditions of this task. The religious teacher must, at the outset, fix his attention upon the *entire man*. He is to edify, to arouse, to teach, to guide, to admonish, to reprove. The modes in which the separate features of the task acquire a more distinct prominence in the work of the Christian Church will appear hereafter.

SECTION XIV.

THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY—CHRISTIANITY.

The religious community constitutes the soil in which the religious life of the individual is rooted, in which it develops, and upon which it reacts. Hence the teacher who desires to achieve permanent results in the religious cultivation of other minds should not only be penetrated by religious principle, but also stand connected with a religious society, and hold an active relation thereto.

A purely subjective religion and a corresponding culture, after the manner of Rousseau's *Emil*, are conceivable; but they will exist in the imagination only, and be without a corresponding object in but they do not indicate what constitutes the controlling element in this whole. For a contrary view, see Elwert, l. c., p. 46. Deinhardt, l. c., p. 4, defines religion as "the life of God in man, and the life of man in God," and joins us in limiting the term "man" to the inner nature, and in understanding by religion the living presence and efficacy of the Deity in the inner self-conscious man or Ego."

¹ Ullmann, Ueber den Cultus des Genius, p. 52.

the world of realities, besides being deficient in depth. However earnestly we may have sought to locate religion in the feelings, we have not implied that the *subjective feeling* of one person alone is sufficient to meet the requirements of the case, or that any one may construct his religion according to the likes and dislikes of his heart. Religion is certainly subjective and personal in its root, and is a natural principle, as being grounded in the human constitution, instead of being the result of accident; but that which animates a single person is designed to quicken *all*. Religion is a common interest of the entire human race. Subjective feeling must expand into the feeling of brotherhood; it requires prompting; it is rarely powerful enough to be self-stimulating.¹ When it does so manifest itself, its subjects are, humanly speaking, religious geniuses, comparable with the creative minds of art in its religious aspects; men endowed and inspired of God.

Religious feeling common to a community.

Such "elect persons" become founders of religions, about whom gather congregations of believers. An erroneous and misdirected feeling may, no doubt, likewise display such energy (as in the case of false prophets) as to be successful in founding a communion; and for this reason the communion to which one belongs is by no means a matter of indifference. He only can be a genuine and properly qualified founder of a religious system, in whom the religious feeling exists in absolute strength and purity, and in a spiritual harmony with all the faculties of the soul; in whom the God-consciousness and the self-consciousness are so *one* that all friction is removed. That such a Being has actually appeared, and that he has founded a religion which not only deserves a place beside and above all others, but which, accurately considered, is *the only religion*;² and that, consequently, the salvation which the individual vainly seeks in himself or others is to be found in him alone, are necessary assumptions, if we would extend our way farther into the field of *Christian* theology, within which a proper place (apologetics) will be found for justifying what we now take for granted.

¹ This should especially be asserted against the mistaken objection that the religion of feeling excludes all objectivity. Against this, see Elwert, l. c., p. 69, *seq.*, and Schleiermacher, Glaubenslehre, i, p. 188. The feeling of beauty is excited in like manner by the study of real works of art, the sense of justice by the study of positive laws, etc.

² All the statements we have made concerning religion as such are actualized in Christianity. God was in Christ, and *his* life was involved in the life of God. This psychological-historical fact is the root of the entire tree. In no other positive religion does religious feeling, as a primary feeling, possess such fervid, energetic power; and no other religion has so clear a consciousness and such free determination of the will.

SECTION XV.

THE CHURCH AND THEOLOGY.

H. Schultz, *Die Bewegung innerhalb der evang. Kirche u. d. Aufgabe d. Theologie derselben* (Zu den kirchl. Fragen d. Gegenwart). Frankfurt, 1899.

The teacher of the *Christian* religion belongs to the *Christian Church*, or to the visible religious communion of believers in Jesus Christ, and must regulate his course as a teacher of religion by that fact. To qualify himself for the duties of his calling, Qualifications of the religious teacher. he must, first of all, come to regard Christianity, the kingdom of God in its historical manifestation, as divinely ordained, and a necessary, rather than accidental, fact. He must trace its origin and recognize its bearings in every direction, and appropriate to himself all the knowledge and skill made necessary by the historical progress of the Church and its present state. The scientific treatment of a positive religion as here indicated constitutes the *study of theology* in the narrow sense.

Every positive religion which is rooted in the facts of history presumes positive intellectual acquirements. The necessity for such historical mediation should impress the theologian at the very beginning of his studies, that he may avoid the danger, on the one hand, of falling into a false idealism, and, on the other, of pursuing, in a merely mechanical way, studies whose importance to religion he is not able to estimate. Our ideal suggests a man filled with religious fervour entering the theological school, and finding there the critical, historical, and philological apparatus, which must be regarded as the source from which theological wisdom is to be drawn. He may, no doubt, be discouraged by the thought of such a mass of apparently dead and unproductive material. It would The true spirit of the theological student. certainly seem more attractive and profitable to draw simply from the depths of the soul, and with strong draughts to drink what nature, art, and, perhaps, history (chiefly regarded, however, in the large perspective outlines of its development), may have to offer, than to toil laboriously with grammar, and devote the greater part of student-life to the interpretation of single letters, which frequently have but a very distant relation to the word of God.¹ We cannot do otherwise than rejoice in the question, *Cui bono?* the very question to which encyclopædia is to furnish the answer. There is a certain kind of self-denial which does not pause to inquire about the utility of prescribed studies, but rather enters on them in the conviction that the future will throw light on this point. Such modesty is rare, however, and differs greatly from the indifference and the listlessness which lead so

¹ Goethe, *Faust*, I.

many to be directed by, instead of directing, their studies. They hear lectures on exegesis, Church history, dogmatics, etc., simply because these belong to the course; they would, in the same way, pursue any other study—heraldry, for instance—if an examination at the end of the term should be required. The object of Encyclopædia is to deliver from the dullness that asks no questions.

SECTION XVI.

The theology developed by a positive religion will assume a scientific character in proportion as its body of doctrine is intelligent and complete. In this regard the highest place is held by the theology of Protestant Christianity.¹

So long as a religion contents itself with the transmission of myths and legends, and with the observance of symbolical usages, it confines the wisdom of its priests within narrow limits. A higher scientific character belongs to a the-
Conditions of a fully developed theology.
 ology which stands related to existent *sacred writings*, whether they be found in a sacred language and accessible to the priests alone, or whether they be the common possession of the people, and consequently require interpretation. But wherever the letter of the writing is not animated by the spirit which pervades the community, and wherever the religious idea laid down in such writings is permitted to remain undeveloped, the theology will speedily become a lifeless letter. That religion only which adds to its sacred writings a *living history*, to its standard and unchangeable elements others capable of being modified, can produce a sound theology. This character belongs to Christianity. It has sacred writings in languages which, though ancient, are accessible to all. The writings are not the exclusive property of a priestly order, but belong to the people as a whole; on this account they require a thorough exposition, based on the original meaning. It has also a historical development in a higher degree than any other religion. More than any other, historical Christianity has become
These conditions fulfilled by Christianity.
 the religion of the world, seizing upon every language and popular custom, and entering so thoroughly into the culture of modern times as to seem, during an extended period, its sole support. These remarks are preëminently true of Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church, which has an authorized version of the sacred writings, but reserves their interpretation to itself, cannot demand of its servants that each individual shall so carefully go back to the first meaning of the original; and, in view of the limited use of the Bible by the people, it does not place an

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, § 2 and 4

equal value on the practical exposition of the Scriptures. The principle of historical development is more apparently present in Roman Catholicism (tradition) than in Protestantism. As, however, development in Roman Catholicism is restrained by outward authority, and stability is exalted into a ruling principle instead, it results that even *history* has a higher importance in Protestantism. This does not imply that, on the one hand, many individuals will not pass beyond, or, on the other, that many will not fall behind, the requirements of their Church in scientific matters. The scientific character of Roman Catholic theologians is, accordingly, a very praiseworthy *opus supererogativum*, while a similar character is, with Protestants, a *conditio sine qua non*.¹

SECTION XVII.

THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AND THE CLERGY.

K. Ullmann, *Theologie, Theologen u. Geistliche zu dieser Zeit*; preface to *Studd. u. Krit.* for 1849; K. Lechler, *D. neuest. Lehre vom heil. Amte*, Stuttg., 1857; W. Preger, *d. Gesch. vom geistl. Amte*, Nördlingen, 1857; Nesselmann, *Ueber Priester-u. Prophetenthum in ihrer Bedeutung f. d. Christl. Kirche*, Elbing, 1890; G. F. Magoun, *Theological Education in England*, *Bib. Sacra.*, xxiv, p. 531; E. A. Park, *Bib. Sacra.*, xxviii, pp. 60-97.

In proportion as theological science widens, and its treatment becomes more profound, will a division of the work be found necessary. To some persons will be presented the duty of cultivating the science for its own sake, while to others it becomes simply a means for the practical ends of the teaching office in the Church. The former constitute the theological school, and are termed theologians, in the strict sense; the latter form the teachers of the Church (*clerus*), and are variously designated in accordance with local or denominational usage, or as their stations in the Church and their leading duties may suggest; *e. g.*, priests, clergymen, ministers of God's word, rectors, preachers, pastors, *curés*, and confessors.

It should be remembered that the Church is more ancient than the school. The latter sprang from the former. Pastors of the congregation existed before doctors of theology. The distinction between them, which has now become necessary, is not designed to result in their alienation from each other; for the life of the Christian community depends for its soundness largely upon the effects produced by the school and Church upon each other. The scientific theologian can only form a correct estimate of his science when he views it as having living

¹The future must decide the extent to which the "Old Catholic" party, which denies the infallibility of the Pope, but nevertheless, in its own fashion, acknowledges the authority of the Church, shall secure an independent organization as a Church, and develop a theology corresponding to its character.

relation to the Church and its specific needs; while the practical clergyman can successfully measure up to the duties of his calling only when he holds friendly relations to theological science and its cultivators.¹ The pretended gentility of scholars, which, instead of seeking to train faithful servants for the Church, rather aims to deprive her of their aid whenever possible (on the ground that good heads are too valuable for such business, is quite as perverse as the boorishness of unscientific empirics, which looks with suspicion upon the advantages of learning, and seeks, to the extent of its ability, to repress all inquiry. It is, therefore, important to the preservation of the union between the school and the Church that men should be found in whom the scientific and the clerical characters combine, so as to fit them for successful labours in either field (as was the case with most of the reformers, and in a qualified sense with some in recent times; e. g., Tzschirner, Schleiermacher, Sack, Nitzsch, Tholuck, J. Müller, Al. Schweizer, Rothe, Schenkel, Barrow, Wesley, Chalmers, Jonathan Edwards, Hopkins, Moses Stuart, etc.). The same rule, however, does not apply to all. All that can be required is that men should be open to influences from the one department, even while exclusively employed in the other. The Church must not be excluded from the school, nor the school bolted out of the Church.

A few words on the appellations above cited. We do not take the title *doctor of theology* in the empirical sense, which implies that the holder of it has received a diploma, Terms by which pastors are known. but in its more pregnant meaning as involving scientific acquirements. It applies not only to academical teachers, but to all who are called to give material aid in the further development of theological science as such, and also to theological writers.²

All Christians are priests (1 Pet. ii, 5), for the spiritual priesthood, to which all are called, must for that very reason lead to the universal priesthood. But, inasmuch as the priestly character is to be especially exemplified in those who are called to minister in holy things in the name and in behalf of the congregation, it is not improper that the Protestant clergyman should bear the title, although not in the exclusive sense of the Roman Catholic Church. Viewed in its etymological bearings, it is very simple; for if the word priest be derived from *πρεσβύτερος*, *πρεσβύτερος*, a *presbyter*, it follows that every pastor is a priest, or even a *bishop*, since *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* denoted the same officer, in the apostolic Church. But it is

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, § 12.

² Comp. De Wette, *Opusc. theol.*, v. 149 sq., who compares doctors of theology to the prophets of the Old Testament.

evident that we think rather of the *Sacerdotium* (ιεράτευμα¹) than of the *Presbyterium*, when we use the word, and in that sense the Protestant clergyman cannot properly appropriate the title exclusively to himself.² This consideration, however, has not prevented defenders of the priestly character (as the possession of a privileged class) from arising even in Protestantism. When Spalding expressed a purely economic view of the utility of the clerical office, (*Nutzbarkeit d. Predigtamtes*, 1772), Herder replied in the *Provinzialblätter* for 1774, defending its priestly character, but guarding against erroneous conclusions.³ Marheineke⁴ and Harms⁵ likewise came to its support, the latter remarking that the priest need not necessarily be conceived as armed with the sacrificial knife, while the former held that the sacrifice and the priest are most intimately connected, because "every one who sacrifices is a priest, and, on the other hand, the priest exists only for the sake of sacrifice."—Lect. ii, p. 14.

In the Reformed Churches the clergy are usually designated as *the spiritual order* (*geistlicher stand, geistlichkeit*), and the expression is employed in the confessions. Many have protested against the phrase, among them Harms (l. c.), who insists that the spiritual class should include all Christians (Gal. vi, 1, *πνευματικοί*). The language, however, is not intended to oppose the *πνευματικός* to the *ψυχικός*, or the *σαρκικός*, but has reference to the distinction between *κληρικός* and *λαϊκός*. The organized body of teachers in the Church (*ordo*) is now known as the

Various designations of the clergy.

¹ Some derive the word *priest* from the Persian *Perestar*, *one who prays*, equivalent to the *ἄνηψ* of Homer. Comp. Unger, *Reden an künftige Geistliche*. Leipsic, 1834.

² Comp. Conf. Helv., ii, c. 16: *Diversissima inter se sunt sacerdotium et ministerium. Illud enim commune est Christianis omnibus, hoc non item.* Luther is particularly emphatic: "In the New Testament we find no external, visible priests, except those raised up and established by the devil through the lies of men. By the testimony of the Scriptures the external priesthood is hurled to the earth in the New Testament, for it makes prayer, access to God, and teaching the privilege of all."—Werke, Walch's ed., vol. xix, p. 1811. Similarly Spener.

³ "We are not set apart to sacrifice for the people, to be intermediate between God and man, half divine and half human, theurgists and theanthropists, in short, exorcists of the devil—nor do I know what rabble could suppose this. Not the bearer of an offering for the people, but bearer of God's gift to the people, teacher of his revelation, scatterer of the truest means of culture, and to that extent really a separated, chosen, mediating person, a messenger and an instrument of God! Not an anointed administrator of sacred usages, especially as based on human arbitrariness, but something nobler: an anointed, i. e., chosen administrator of sacred functions, of the holiest duty on earth, the cultivation of the soul through the influence of religion." See *Werke zur Religion u. Theologie*, vol. x, p. 342, sq.

⁴ *Grundlegung der Homiletik in einigen Vorlesungen üb. d. wahren Charakter der Prot. Geistlichkeit*. Hamb., 1811.

⁵ *Pastoral theologie*, ii, 1st and 2d discourses.

clergy, and the above designations are simply familiar versions of this term. The clergy are not termed "spiritual" in the subjective sense, as being more spiritual than other persons, but in the objective sense of having in their official character to perform certain functions. This of course does not forbid that the laity also may and should be a spiritual order; and, in any case, the designation may serve to continually remind him who bears it by reason of his office, that he should be spiritually-minded beyond all others.¹

Minister of God's word (*verbi divini minister*) is an expression that prevails especially in the Reformed Church. It forms the direct contrast to the term *priest*, but by that very fact becomes one-sided, since it limits the service to the Word, and disregards the liturgical element. The proper term to apply to the body of servants of the Word would, accordingly, be the *ministry* (*ministerium*, not *clerus* or *clergy*).

The term rector properly denotes the person who has a parish, as distinguished from the unappointed candidate, the mere administrator (*vicar*), or the assistant (*diaconus*). In this sense some derive its German equivalent, *Pfarrer*, from *πάροικος*, *παροιμία*, comp. *δοίκτης*. If it be derived from *πάροχος*, (*παρέχω*), it is equivalent to *dispensator*, administrator, and then every person who administers the Word and Sacraments might assume the title.²

¹ The German language makes a keen distinction between the outwardly spiritual and the inwardly spiritual. The outwardly spiritual should always be spiritual in its inward essence, but the latter does not always fall into the category of the former. Differently expressed, not every thing that is spiritual is the object of spiritual functions. It has been said (Wechsler, *Charakter u. Zukunft d. Protestantismus*, Königsb., 1844, p. 6, sq.) that "the great mission of Protestantism consists in promoting the subjectively spiritual (*das Geistige*), rather than the spiritual in its outward bearings, as relating to order, functions, etc. (*das Geistliche*). The latter merely indicates likeness to the spiritual, and is related to it about as reddishness is to red." This is an entire perversion. The subjectively spiritual is the demonstration of the spirit in the most general way, including its worldly (cosmical) relations, while the objectively spiritual expresses the relation of the finite spirit to the infinite spirit, and thus becomes a powerful exponent of the religious idea.

² Another etymology that is urged with much confidence—*from pfaren* (*faren*), the same as to *beget* (*Vorfahren*, *ancestors*, those who have previously begotten), or even from *Farr*, a bullock (*Parr*, the *herd*), is adduced simply as a curiosity. See Clesmor, *Die Zustände d. Christl. Kirche in d. ersten 6 Jahrhunderten*, Halberst., 1856, p. 46, note. The word *Pfaffe* (out of *πάππας*), which had a good meaning in the Middle Ages, now denotes the caricature of the priestly character. The danger of becoming a *Pfaffe* threatens every clergyman more nearly than may be supposed; for, while the teaching order is a necessity for the Church, the merely professional administration of religious duties is always an unhappy indication. Only a high and enthusiastic devotion can secure against falling into the depths of vulgar frivolity or of hypocrisy. See Zollikofer's *Predigten üb. d. Würde des Menschen*, ii, p. 474.

Preacher (predicant) is a name derived from the leading function of the Protestant clergyman, to which those of the pastor and overseer of souls are added in a complementary way; but as the liturgical element is not included, the term is insufficient and one-sided.¹ Pastor (ποιμήν, ἡγῶν) is taken from John x, 11, *sqq.*; xxi, 15, *sqq.*; Eph. iv, 11; Heb. xiii, 20; 1 Pet. ii, 25. Comp: the *Pastor* of Hermas, and the *Shepherd* (*Hirte*) of Zwingli. Every person who, in the love of a disciple, feeds the sheep and lambs in healthful pastures, is accordingly entitled to this name. As an official title it corresponds to rector (Pfarrer). Curate (Seelsorger) in the Reformed Church, and Confessor (Beichtvater) in the Lutheran, have reference more particularly to the relation sustained by the clergyman toward the individual members of his charge.² In the Church of England, the word curate denotes a rector's assistant or substitute.

Supplement 1.—No reference has been made to the *missionaries*, who constitute a distinct class in the theological order. *Missions in Theological Encyclopædia.* The increasingly scientific method with which missionary affairs are administered in recent times, renders it more and more imperative that Theological Encyclopædia should make room for the science of missions in its organism.

2. The officers of the apostolic age (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers Eph. iv, 11; comp. 1 Cor. xii, 28) have in recent times been regarded by members of the Catholic Apostolic Church, better known as Irvingites, as obligatory for the future also, but without sufficient exegetical or historical authority. The fact that the lists of officers in the two passages do not correspond, is of itself sufficient to suggest a more independent view. Neither passage, moreover, refers to the office of *angels*, which is taken from the Apocalypse, nor to that of *deacons*, which occurs in Acts vi.

SECTION XVIII.

RELATION OF THE THEOLOGIAN TO SCHOOL AND CHURCH.

The Protestant student belongs to the theological school during the period of his academical studies, and derives his culture from

¹ The reason for this is found in the history of Protestantism. The *teaching* and *pastoral* office, which certainly demands the most various gifts, was exalted, in opposition to the mechanical duties of the "mass-priest." The *true* liturgist, however, deserves to be termed a *priest* (with Harms), in so far as he represents the priestly character of the entire congregation in the liturgical act—but in *this case* only, and in *this* point of view.

² Other, provincial, designations (*e. g.*, domine among the Dutch), or such as relate to the government of the Church, or to special official stations (bishop, abbot, superintendent, antistes, provost, dean, archdeacon, deacon, etc.), do not come under review in this place.

that source, rather than immediately from the Church. The latter is entitled, however, to demand from persons who seek a place among its teachers such evidence of theological acquirements and Christian disposition as may be necessary.

The Church itself prepared its servants in the earliest period. The apostles trained their assistants, and the latter trans- Sketch of the history of ministerial training. mitted to others, in a purely practical way, what they had received. Science was as yet in the possession of the ancient (heathen) world, and Christians were in the habit of attending the schools of heathen philosophers and rhetoricians, and of appropriating to their own uses whatever of good they could thus obtain.¹ Specifically Christian training-schools were soon introduced, however, as that for catechumens at Alexandria (in the third century), and the schools at Antioch, Cæsarea, Edessa, Nisibis, etc. The monasteries, also, afforded training-schools, and during the Middle Ages the episcopal and convent schools, founded by Charlemagne and his successors, in which the *trivium* and *quadrivium*—grammar, logic, rhetoric, and arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, the seven liberal sciences—were taught, were especially valuable for the purposes of ecclesiastical education.

The rise of universities (*studia generalia*) in the twelfth century introduces a new era in the history of the sciences. At The rise of universities. the first, certain universities were managed more particularly in the interests of a single faculty, the schools at Paris, Oxford, Cologne, and Louvain, being especially prominent for theology. In these scholasticism set up its throne. New universities, whose beginnings were due, to some extent, to the conflicts of the hour, were founded in or about the time of the Reformation, and generally became the exponents of some theological tendency (Wittenberg, Jena, Halle, Helmstedt). This exclusive character was gradually laid aside, and in more recent times the superiority of a university training over that received in institutions devoted to a specialty came to be properly recognized,² more particularly as manifested by the wide culture, the mutual exchange and free intercourse of different forms of thought, and the unrestrained liberty of teaching and study, which it involves. Against this, however, it has been remarked that a wise limitation with regard to the matter of instruction, and a more definite ideal governing the methods of instruction, would in no wise impair the object for which universities exist.

¹ Comp. Augustine, *De doctr. Chr.*, ii, 40.

² See Schleiermacher, *Ueber Universitäten*, p. 52.

SECTION XIX.

THE UNIVERSITY.

*Schleiermacher, *Ueber Universitäten in deutschen Sinne*, Berlin, 1806; H. Steffens, *Idee der Universitäten*, Berlin, 1809; Id. *Ueber Deutschlands prot. Universitäten*, Berlin, 1820; F. C. v. Savigny, *Wesen u. Werth d. deutschen Universitäten*, in *Ranke's Histor.-polit. Zeitschrift*, Hamburg, 1833; L. F. Froriep, *Ueber das Eigenthümliche der deutschen Universitäten*, Weimar, 1834; G. O. Marbach, *Universitäten u. Hochschulen in dem auf Intelligenz sich gründenden Staate*, Leipsic, 1834; (Fr. Thieremin, *Ueber d. deutschen Universitäten*, Berlin, 1836; A. Diesterweg, *Beitr. zur Lösung d. Lebensfrage der Civilisation*, Essen, 1836, 1838); Fr. Thiersch, *Ueber d. neuesten Angriffe auf d. deutsch. Universitäten*, Stuttgart, 1837; J. E. Erdmann, *D. Universität u. ihre Stellung zur Kirche*, in his *Vermischte Aufsätze*, I, Leipsic, 1846; V. A. Huber, *Ueber akad. Convicte, zur innern Mission auf d. Universitäten*, Berlin, 1832; Henry P. Tappan, *University Education*, New York, originally an article in the *Bib. Repository* for July, 1850; Noah Porter, *American Colleges and the American Public*, New Haven, 1870, from the *New Englander* for 1869; also *Index to Bib. Sacra.*, pp. 242-244, title *Universities*.

The period of academical study is the time spent in the college or university. Usage has limited it to a brief term of years, which would seem to be scarcely sufficient, in view of the present state of science. Much has been said for or against the exclusive adoption of the lecture system in university training.¹ Scientific instruction can evidently be conveyed only in connected, uninterrupted discourse, and the mind of the hearer is stimulated to higher energy by quietly receiving and inwardly digesting what it hears, than by hastily interrupting and throwing in replies. It is by this very feature that the academical lecture is to be distinguished from that employed in the seminaries (gymnasias) and grammar-schools. A lecture of this kind² should of course be extempore and fresh, carrying the hearers along with the current of thought; not declamatory or pathetic, but strictly methodical, dignified, and earnest, and accomplishing its purpose by clearness and depth of thought instead of foreign ornamentation. It should even be edifying, not, however, in the manner of a moving pulpit discourse, but through the silent power of the truth. As it is not

¹Theremin demands a more conversational method of instruction. Diesterweg goes still further, and traces much of the existing corruption to the present character of the universities. Comp. also C. F. Fritzsche, *De ratione docendi Socratica in institutione academica*, in the *Opuse. academ.* (Tur., 1846), p. 361, *eqq.*, and more recent treatises on the same subject.

²Comp. especially Schleiermacher, p. 62, *eqq.*; L. Thilo, *Grundsätze des akad. Vortrags*, 1809; Scheidler, p. 108, *eqq.* "What Pyrrhus says to his Epirots, 'Ye are my pinions!' is felt by the zealous teacher toward his hearers, whom he loves, and whose entire soul is interested in his discourse. His investigations are not facilitated merely by the desire to be clear, and not to present any thing as the truth that could be at all doubtful; but much more by the view of his audience, to whom he sustains personal relations that awaken a thousand thoughts even as he speaks." (Niebuhr, in Preface to the second edition of his *Roman history*. Eng. edition (Hare & Thirlwall's), pp. xi, xii. Compare also his letter to a young philologist, published by K. G. Jacob. *Leip. etc.*, 1830, p. 38.

designed for immediate effect, but to excite thought and mental activity on the part of hearers who think and act for themselves, it is desirable that these latter should seek to retain the mental image brought before them in the lecture by sketching it on paper, or reproducing it in its main outlines. College sketches of this kind, the work of the student's personal power of independent mental reproduction, and accompanied with marginal notes of inquiry, doubt, etc., form the most valuable journal of the years of academical preparation, whose direct relation to the writer forbids that any printed book should ever take its place. The mere attendance on lectures and listening to them, without subsequent writing, is often simply intellectual sloth, or, at best, awkwardness, which, however, not unfrequently conceals itself behind a screen of easy indifference. The sort of copying to be commended, by which we mean the independent recording of thought from the mind of another person, is, of course, very different from a thoughtless writing of dictated matter. Formal dictation can only become necessary through the force of circumstances, and with regard to a few leading postulates (for want of a printed guide). In other respects the teacher is no more to be degraded into an instrument of dictation than the student is to become a copying-machine.¹ While, however, the lecture should not be displaced by any other method of instruction, it is certainly beneficial to combine with it other methods. Teaching by question and answer seems adapted to primary scholars, and involves a painful element; but semi-annual examinations, following a completed course, have their beneficial side. Especially stimulating, however, are *disputations* under the guidance of the teacher; and independent societies for practice among the students, or presided over by a teacher, are likewise of value (comp. § 20).

The true method of profiting by lectures.

SECTION XX.

Public instruction should be supplemented by private industry, whose efforts are not to be limited to careful preparation for the expected lecture, and to a subsequent exact recapitulation of its matter; it must also approve itself by independent inquiry and exercises.

Private industry the supplement of public instruction.

¹ It should never be forgotten that some things can be better conveyed through the eye, and others through the ear. Names, figures, the titles of books, etc., should be before the hearer in printed form, as also the necessary documents. Against dictation, see Schleiermacher *ut supra*, p. 65. It is remarkable that the Jesuits in the sixteenth century were the chief originators and promoters of dictation, although the Jesuit Possevin clearly points out its disadvantages. See his *Bibl. selecta*, i, 26. The Pietistic school (Lange) of Halle likewise opposed the practice, while the Wolfians favoured it greatly.

Attendance on too many lectures at once works injury and confusion. In this regard the study of encyclopædia and methodology helps to produce system and rule. But private industry is not to prevail at the expense of public instruction, else the sojourn at the

Preparation and repetition to be added to the lecture. university will be without an object. Preparation and repetition (*repetitio mater studiorum*) constitute the

bonds of union between private industry and the objects sought in the hearing of the lecture. The one, preparation, sharpens the vision to perceive the objects that may be presented; the other, repetition, impresses them more deeply on the mind. In one department of study, however, more of preparation will be needed, in another more of recapitulation. The former is especially necessary with studies that present philological and other difficulties which must be overcome at the outset; the latter applies here also, and likewise in the historical and systematic departments. But inasmuch as the mere appropriation of knowledge is of less importance than its digestion, the recapitulation will increasingly

Utility of oral discussion. expand into a "*volvere et revolvere in animo*," while discussion with fellow-students will provide the intellectual gymnastics by which the faculties are strengthened and made trustworthy. Care must be taken, however, to prevent the spirit of disputation in religious matters from degenerating into a petulance which eats out the heart, and attacks the root of the deeper life.

The most approved antidote against disorderly disputes and a sceptical temper is found in severe mental labour; and to this every student should subject himself during one or more periods of his course, by engaging in the *thorough investigation of some specialty*; this, too, if his aim is to prepare for the simplest duties in the Church, rather than for the work of theological scholarship. They who have themselves untied knots are alone capable of appreciating the labours of others, and they only who possess the patience and the courage to go to the bottom of what is individual and special can attain the power to comprehend the universal. It may be added that only such persons can possess the ability to derive profit from intercourse with scientific men, or deserve their notice. The chatterer will be avoided. Much, and especially discursive, reading is to be avoided; let "*non multa, sed multum*" be the rule in this regard.¹

¹ Plin., *Epp.*, vii, 9; Quinet, *Inst. orat.*, x, 1, 59; Senec. *Ep.*, 45; Non refert, quam multos, sed quam bonos habeas (libros). *Lectio certa prodest, varia delectat*; Herder's *Briefe*, No. 49, Niebuhr, *Brief an einen jungen Philologen*, p. 145: "Give up the miscellaneous reading, even of ancient authors; there are very many worthless ones even here. Eolus allowed only the single wind to blow that should bring Ulysses to his goal, and bound the others; when loosened and sweeping through each other, they prepared him endless wanderings."

Writing, whether of compilations¹ or original articles,² is far more profitable and improving.

SECTION XXI.

THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

While attaching all importance to thorough scientific culture, it should be a principle never lost sight of, that the character of a religious teacher is not only determined by the measure of his knowledge, but also by the measure of his religious and moral convictions, and the thoroughness of his spiritual culture, and, consequently, that the formation of a *theological character* upon the basis of previous Christian training is as important an object as the acquiring of knowledge and the development of skill.

Importance of character in the theologian.

No theological teacher who has comprehended his duty should avoid entering into intimate relations with earnest students. We must certainly require that he shall personally illustrate a theological character that, with all its deficiencies, shall yet possess certain features which are the involuntary expression of spiritual achievements. The whole may be

Relations of the teacher to the student.

¹The younger Pliny boasts (Epp., iii, 5) of his uncle. *Nihil legit, quod non excerpere*; dicere enim solebat, nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset. Comp. C. Meiners, *Anweisung für Jünglinge zum Lesen, Excerptiren, und Schreiben*. Hanover, 1791; Scheidler, *Hodegetik*. Herder (Sophron., p. 153) calls excerpts the cells which bee-like industry constructs, the hives in which it prepares its honey.

²Herder, l. c.: "Nulla dies sine linea, not a day should pass in which a young person does not *write* something for himself, whether he record what might otherwise be forgotten, or notes and answers his doubts. The pencil, which for us means the pen, sharpens the judgment, corrects the language, develops ideas, and excites the soul to activity in a wonderfully pleasant manner. Nulla dies sine linea." Much writing with the object of teaching before having learned, or a conceit of authorship, may, however, involve its own dangers. Niebuhr—rather strong and almost extreme—expresses a contrary opinion (Brief, etc., p. 134 sq.): "To learn, my friend, to learn conscientiously, and always to test and increase our knowledge, this is our theoretical life-calling, and it is especially so for youth, which has the good fortune to be able to expose itself without restraint to the charm of the new intellectual world revealed in books. The writer of a treatise assumes to teach whatever he may say; and teaching is impossible without some degree of wisdom, which, if pursued, is given by God to replace the evanescent bias of youth. A wise youth is a monster." (Accordingly, Niebuhr counsels only fragmentary writing, without any attempt at completeness and finish [?]). He continues: "Well is it with the young tree that has been planted in a good soil and is surrounded by favourable conditions, whose erect growth is preserved by careful hands, and that forms a solid heart! Should excessive moisture accelerate its growth, should it be soft and weak, exposed to the storm-wind's blast without protection and support, the result will be that its wood is spongy, and its growth deformed throughout the entire period of its life."

comprehended in the language of one of the most esteemed theologians:¹ "Decision without exclusiveness and repulsive boldness, independence freed from all vain self-sufficiency, dignity without unkindness, firmness without harshness and passion, and all these resting on the basis of a Christian spirit, together with wealth of intellect and of knowledge—these are the elements that constitute the theological character."

The student of theology who is in earnest will speedily discover that this ideal cannot be realized by the way of study alone, however indispensable this may be; the causes that so often dampen the courage and intensify the struggle are more deeply rooted in the moral nature. If newly-gained conceptions excite alarm and fears arise that faith may become unsettled, while the desire to avoid the conflict suggests that it would be better to leave things as they are, it is wise to inquire whether *indolence* has not begotten the desire, and *cowardice* the unwillingness to sustain the fight. When novelties impress us, and we feel ourselves driven into opposition against the existing order, we may ask what share in our condition is due to *vanity, dogmatical or quarrelsome dispositions*.² In this way the student has opportunity to constantly apply to himself that beneficial discipline of spirit, to which all were obliged to submit who attained to eminence in theological character. In this way, too, the maxim of the ancients, "Oratio, meditatio, tentatio, faciunt theologum," receives its meaning and confirmation. The practice of quiet and frequent self-communion, even though it may oblige him to read some pages less, *meditatio*,³ the trustful look and elevation of the soul to God, the Living One, in prayer, *oratio*,⁴ courage, and endur-

The temper in which doubt should be met.

¹ Ullmann, Theol. Aphorismen, in Studd. u. Kritt., 1844, No. 4, p. 448.

² "We can battle for nothing nobler than the truth; and it is worth battling for when the mode of conflict leaves love and liberty unharmed. But to quarrel, hate, and become alienated about opinions or the authority of councils, synods, faculties, journals, or human decisions and forms of doctrine in general, is the most miserable business under the sun for men to follow."—Menken, *Leben u. Wirken*, ii, p. 108.

³ It was an early custom at commencements to open a book and *close* it again, in order to suggest reflection upon the instructions now brought to a close. But incessant reading deprives our generation of the opportunity for thinking.

⁴ "Dimidium studii, rite precatus habet," said the Fathers, and Herder recommends prayer and reading of the Bible in the morning and the evening as a daily food (l. c., p. 174). In like manner, a Swiss theologian of recent times remarks: "I therefore hold that no person is suited to the sacred office of proclaiming the word, who does not come before God with prayer and pleading and sighs day by day, and who, with every new hour in which he is to learn some lesson, does not beseech the Lord anew in his heart, and so secretly as to escape observation, that he would bless him in that hour, so that he may be able to learn the grace and mercy of God, and the

ance in the conflict against doubt, and against the influences of sloth and pride, hypocrisy and passion, bitterness and discouragement, *tentatio*—these are the methods by which the theologian is developed into a *man of God*; and such he must become if he would be a divine in the favour of God.¹ A theologia irregeneratorum is, when carefully examined, a contradictio in adjecto.

true welfare of man, from the study upon which he is now to enter.”—Zyro, *Die evang. ref. Kirche*, p. 12, *sq.*

¹It is usual to demand physical qualifications, also, of the future servant of the Church, and not without propriety. The Old Testament was prescriptive in this as well as other regards. Lev. xxi, 17, *sqq.* In the Roman Church, too, the authoritative Canon law recognizes the principle, *sacerdos ne sit deformis*. The greater liberality of Protestantism appears in this respect also, since it prescribes no formal rule. A sound, physical constitution is, however, a fundamental condition of ministerial effectiveness. Good lungs are a manifest necessity for the preacher. Much may be accomplished in this direction by dieting, and imperfections of the vocal organs may be modified by continued exercise of the parts (Demosthenes). *Reading aloud*, and also *singing*, are to be particularly recommended, and no less *outdoor exercise*. Even study may be carried to excess, and a walk in the open air is as important for the mind and feelings, no less than the body, as a few hours spent beside the student's lamp. Lord Bacon read much, but never to weariness and satiety. The beneficial change of a walk, a ride, or a daily game of ball, always succeeded the time devoted to study (see Rawley in Vauzelles, *Hist. de Bacon*, ii, p. 197). There has been a narrow age which condemned physical exercises like gymnastics, as not suitable for a theologian to practice (through a perversion of 1 Tim. iv, 8). We had supposed that such opinions were no longer held, until an article in Hengstenberg's *Kirchenzeitung* for 1863 endeavoured to show the incompatibility of gymnastics with a Christian disposition; it, however, received an answer, to which we assent, in the columns of the same journal. On the advantages of gymnastic exercises for students, comp. Scheidler (*Hodegetik*). The great importance of *social intercourse* for the cultivation of manners is admitted, and it is greatly to be desired that students associate together in a cheerful, joyous way; nor should they isolate themselves from other society, lest they fall into unbridled license. Schleiermacher, *Ueber Univers.* p. 126, *sq.*

PART I.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER SCIENCES, AND ITS AIMS.

SECTION I.

THEOLOGY AS A POSITIVE SCIENCE.

THEOLOGY is a positive or applied science (Schleiermacher, § 1), and its scientific character is consequently not determined by any thing within itself, as is the case with a pure science, but from without by an existent and historically-conditioned fact, namely, the Christian Church and its manifestation in time.

The word *positive* is sometimes employed in a more limited sense, so as to denote, not simply what is conditioned in the circumstances of outward life, but also what is at the same time commanded by outward authority—positive law in distinction from natural. The

progress of our discussion will show, when treating of the relation between reason and revelation, that theology is a positive science in this sense also—which is likewise true of jurisprudence, but not of medicine. But the three sciences referred to may be termed “positive” without referring to that question, if the word be interpreted to mean “a combination of scientific elements whose collocation is not required because they form a necessary constituent in the idea of science, but simply because they are needed for the solution of a practical problem” (Schleiermacher).¹ In this view natural philosophy is a *pure* science, in so far as it investigates nature and its phenomena for their own sakes and without reference to the relation of nature to the practical necessities of the human race; while medicine, although based on a knowledge of natural philosophy, is still a positive, or applied, science, because it selects and collocates simply

¹ Similarly Pelt: “The whole of theology has reference primarily to an external phenomenon, whence its positive character is derived; for we designate a science as *positive* when it does not originate in a supreme principle developed by free investigation in harmony with its own peculiar laws, but when it relates to an organism having its beginning in time as an object, such as the ethical associations of the State or the Church.”—Encykl., p. 15, sq. Comp. Harless, Encykl., p. 25.

what concerns the relation of the human organism to the organism of external nature; i. e., the relations of health and disease.¹ If diseases should cease, medical science would come to an end. And similarly, in connexion with theology, Hellenistic Greek and Hebrew have a different significance for the philologist,² and Church-history for the historian, than they have for the theologian; and the comprehension, e. g., of exegesis, Church-history, etc., in a single course, can be understood only in view of the common object to which they relate. "These very sciences cease to be theological, and take their places respectively with the particular science to which they belong by reason of their contents, if they have been acquired and are held without reference to the life of the Church and its direction." "The great varieties of scientific knowledge stand related to the purpose of participating in the guidance of the Church, as does the body to the soul; and without such purpose the unity of theology disappears, and its constituents fall into distinct elements." (Schleiermacher, § 6, 7). This, however, is not universally admitted.³

The guidance of the Church the object of theology and its kindred sciences.

While in former times empiricism prevailed, and the mere thought of future practice frequently served to prevent thoroughness in study, we now find dominant a scientific spirit that mocks at life, and, with cruel harshness, drives from its presence the most crying demands of actual conditions. The example of Dr. Griffin (in the *Mémoires de Paris*) affords a melancholy illustration of the manner in which the very hospitals are made to afford opportunities for scientific observations on the part of medical men. In like manner, a certain theology claims the right to undertake its merciless vivisections on

Dangers of the excess of the scientific spirit.

¹ The anatomy of man, for instance, is simply a contribution to comparative anatomy with the natural philosopher, while with the medical man it forms the soil upon which his practical activity is based. To the botanist each plant is of equal value with any other; while the physician has a distinct science of therapeutics (*materia medica*), etc.

² A genius for language is generally regarded as at the same time a theological genius, and a certificate of philological talent passes for the best assurance of theological fitness; but real philologists (by profession) have themselves comprehended that the one does not necessarily involve the other. "The connexion of theology with philology is more properly an accidental one, arising from the fact that the principal documents of the former are written precisely in that language to which the latter ascribes the highest classical character."—Passow's *Leben u. Briefe*, pp. 38, 12.

³ Sartorius, *Die Lehre von der heil. Liebe*, Part I, 8d ed., Stuttgart, 1851 (new 1 vol., ed. 1861)—in harmony with the Victorines and Middle Age mystics generally—makes the sound observation: "Theology is a practical science, a knowledge that pervades the affections, and stands connected with the disposition." (The term "pectoral theology" has been invented for purposes of ridicule; but the adage, "*Pecus est, quod disertum facit*," cannot be limited, in its application, to the orator alone.)

the body of the Church, in order to observe the palpitating spasms of the heart which the anatomical knife has laid bare to the view. The recent times furnish terrible illustrations of this spirit. Are men determined not to comprehend that such inconsiderate assertion of the claims of science forces science itself to become unnatural, and that, whatever may be thought about the height to which such methods may seem to force it, they yet sever the root upon which the life of science depends, and thus ensure its death?¹ Let it be observed, however, that the very organization of universities in *faculties*, which has hitherto prevailed, is based on the distinction between the pure and the positive or applied sciences, which we have indicated.² Philosophy, as a distinct university science, has to do with pure knowledge, and therefore deserves, not the last, but the first, place.³ Medicine, jurisprudence, and theology are *internally* allied with it, though in their *external* bearing they face toward actual life, and derive from life their peculiar character as determined by its conditions.

When compared with law and medicine, the remaining positive Relations of sciences, theology is found to present numerous points of contact with both, and even to manifest a closer relationship with either than they bear to each other. It rests upon the foundation of historic fact, like jurisprudence, and presupposes the Church, as jurisprudence does the State. The courses and apparatus of study in law and theology present a similar appearance (exegesis, history, dogmatics, Bible, and Corpus Juris), and in their practical application each involves public discourse and the functions of direction and administration. The two meet and interpenetrate each other in the department of ecclesiastical law. But the regulative principle of theology is, nevertheless, wholly unlike that of law; the latter has to do with firm and legally-determined forms, the former with a free development of life. A judicial theology is not what we could wish, for it would appear as a false positivism. (See the remarks on Law and Doctrine, § 7). Theology does not deal with an element of human life, such as the principle of right, in the abstract, but with the living

¹ There is a papacy and hierarchy of learning and science, a fanatical tyranny exercised by the learned classes. Their motto is, "*Fiat scientia et pereat mundus*."—Lücke, p. 10.

² Schleiermacher, Ueber Universit., p. 78 *sqq.*, p. 75: "The three faculties (excluding philosophy) do not derive their unity immediately from learning, but from an external employment, and they combine from different studies whatever is needed for that work." Comp. Herbart Phil. Encykl., chap. 2. (On man in his relations to nature, the State and the Church, whence the author deduces the three faculties).

³ Schleiermacher, l. c., p. 78; Kant, Ueber den Streit der Facultäten.

man in all his relations. Its work is not mandatory, but curative, and this connects the theologian with the physician, particularly in the field of pastoral theology.

The care of souls reaches over into the physical realm, in view of the intimate connexion between soul and body. The physician and the clergyman meet beside the sick bed, not only in outward form, but also in the profoundest depths of man's need of healing (*medicina clerica*). The moral and intellectual qualities required in the physician are also to be in many respects demanded of the clergyman, and vice versa. Humanity, apart from what is specifically Christian, forms here the connecting link. An individualizing method of treatment is even more apparent in the work of physicians and clergymen than in that of jurists; their personal contact with the subjects of their labours is more frequent, difficult to determine, and constant. The theologian is accordingly required to unite in himself qualities which are usually presumed The qualities which should be united in the theologian. in both the jurist and the medical practitioner. He

must possess the historic sense, the disposition to labour in a legitimate way in behalf of a historically-developed society, and the gift of oratory, in common with the lawyer; and with the physician he must possess the talent for giving direction to the life of *individuals*, and for noting the mysteries of the psychical life, an observing eye, keen discrimination in the treatment of different persons, and, finally, the desire to heal and to change diseased conditions into states of health. In former times theology embraced both the other sciences, and nourished them in its maternal womb; and their subsequent separation, though resulting in advantage to them all, does not warrant a disregard of their continued relations to each other. It forms one of the advantages of a university course (in contrast with the opportunities afforded by schools devoted to a specialty), that such relations become apparent and are partially actualized before its studies are completed. The theologian may gather information from the jurist and the physician, and each is able to aid the others in behalf of science and future usefulness from his own possessions.

SECTION II.

THEOLOGY AS A PRACTICAL ART.

The relations arising from a positively determined field of activity not only demand a certain measure of intellectual acquisitions, but likewise a high degree of practical ability; hence, theology is not to be onesidedly regarded Practical life the object of theology. as a speculative or historical science, but also as a practical art or art-theory.

Pelt (Encykl., § 3) has properly called attention to this fact; for "the general interest of the thought does not predominate in theology as in philosophy; the object is not to gain a consciousness of the truth, without reference to its application;" the leading idea is, rather, that by means of such consciousness the Church should be brought nearer to its consummation" (ibid. p. 34). The word art (*τέχνη*) is here taken in its most general meaning, as denoting free action in conformity to recognized principles.

SECTION III.

THEOLOGY IN ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Zenischwitz, G., *Der Entwicklungsgang der Theologie als Wissenschaft (particularly its practical development)*. Leips., 1867.

Christian theology, regarded as the aggregate of the various methods and forms of positive knowledge which have reference to the Christian religion and Church, is wholly conditioned by the existence of that religion and Church; and its scientific character can accordingly be understood only in connexion with the actual state of Christianity in the corresponding period.

Comp. Schleiermacher, § 4. The attempt to explain theology from the etymology of the word will surely lead to error. In its highest character it is unquestionably *divinity*, the doctrine of God and divine things; and apart from this idea it becomes a dead aggregate of the most various learning. This learning, however, enters into the body of theology, however variously modified the latter may be by the conditions of each successive period. The man who should attempt to become a "theologian" in the way of simply speculating about God, would speedily find his expectations crumbling into ruin. The theologian is obliged, rather, to give attention to very human matters, as grammar, history, etc., the knowledge of which has become necessary through the progress of historical development. The incipient theologian, placed at the very center of the present, will be unable to appreciate the complexity of his science unless he has a preliminary knowledge of its history.

The word theology passed over from heathen into Christian usage. They who, among the ancients, were able to furnish information respecting the nature and history of the gods, were termed theologians; the word was so applied to

¹ Fichte, however, demanded that the university should not simply transmit knowledge to the students, but that it should become a school for teaching the *art* of scientifically employing the understanding. Comp. his life, by J. H. Fichte, Part I, p. 522.

Pherecydes of Syros (Olymp. 45–49; B. C. 600) and Epimenides of Crete (Olymp. 64–68), a contemporary of Pythagoras.¹ In the earliest Christian age the word theology was understood to signify the doctrines of the divinity of the Logos, and of the Trinity; and, in accordance with this view, John the Apostle and Gregory Nazianzen were called theologians. The Middle Ages were the first to include in Christian Theology the whole body of Christian doctrine; and some (e. g., Abelard) continued to employ the word preferably in connection with the doctrine of the Trinity even then. It was the leading characteristic of the scholastic theology that it was chiefly concerned with speculative representations of the Divine nature and its attributes. The mystics, on the other hand, whose modes of speech were adopted by Luther and also by Spener and Francke, understood by theology a courageous entering into the nature of religion itself, or the absorption of the mind in God—hence the title of the book, *Theologia Germanica*, and the maxim, “Oratio, meditatio, tentatio faciunt theologum.” The modern interpretation, by which theology denotes the aggregate of the knowledge which bears upon the life of the Church, could only originate after a more definite organization of its several sciences had taken place; but the thing itself was previously known under different designations.

The scientific treatment of religion, or rather of its doctrines, was called *θεολογικὴ πραγματεία, σύνταγμα πίστεως*, institutio divina, doctrina Christiana (Augustine), etc.² A distinction was made between *πίστις* and *γνῶσις* (*ἐπιστήμη*), the latter denoting the speculative apprehension of the doctrines of religion; and a further distinction existed between the true and the false gnosis.³ Theological schools were formed, the speculative tendency predominating in that of Alexandria and the grammatical in that of Antioch. Various considerations led to a scientific treatment of theology: 1) the needs of apologetics; it became necessary to resist the attacks of scholars and philosophers with similar weapons (Justin Martyr *et al.*, Clement and Origen, Minucius Felix, Tertullian); 2) the interests of polemics, the various tendencies within the Church having resulted in doctrinal contro-

¹ Cicero, De nat. deor., iii, 21; Ernesti, Clavis on that passage; Plutarch, De defectu oraculor., xiv, p. 323, ed. Hutten; Plato, Polit., lib. ii; Arist., Metaph., x, 6; Diodor. Sic., v, 80; Stephani Thesaur. lingua, gr. s. v. θεολόγος; Pollux, Onomast., i, 19, 20. The priests of the ancients were called *ιερείς, νεωκόροι, ζάκοροι, προφῆται, ὑποφῆται, θῦται, τελεσταί, ιεροῦργοι, καθαρταί, μάντις, θεομάντις, χρησμοφόδοι, χρησμολόγοι, χρησμοδόται, παναγείς, πυρόφοροι, ὑπηρέται, θεουργοί, θυηπόλοι*. Ibid. 14.

² Semler, Introd. to Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre, i, p. 110, sqq.

³ See Smith's Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctr., § 25, vol. i.

versies and in the rise of heresies. The councils, beginning with the fourth century, settled the doctrines of the faith, and furnished and prepared the material out of which a later age constructed the edifice of church doctrines (Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, among Orientals; and Augustine in the West).

The contents of theology continued to be Christian; but the form of the various doctrines was influenced by the philosophies (Platonism and Aristotelianism) which had from the first been transplanted from heathen into Christian soil. Various intellectual tendencies made themselves felt even within the orthodox catholic Church; one of these attached more importance to what had come down from previous ages, and contented itself with a simple figurative phraseology, while the other combined the whole of the material so transmitted into a body of doctrine, (Isidore of Seville and John of Damascus, in the seventh and eighth centuries), and sought to penetrate it intellectually, by means of a speculative apprehension

and dialectic treatment of the several dogmas. The effort to reconcile theology and philosophy, faith and knowledge, the prescribed and the results of personal thought, revelation and reason, was especially apparent in scholasticism in various directions (Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, Abelard and Anselm in the eleventh). Philosophy, however, became more and more dependent on the established teaching of the Church, and filled, while deceiving itself with the appearance of independent action, a servant's place in the house of its mistress. But theology, the mistress, likewise failed to emancipate herself, and continued to bear the fetters of a dialecticism imposed upon it from without. Aristotle ruled the Bible.

Exegetical and historical studies, formerly cultivated, were neglected in comparison with systematic inquiries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Peter Lombard to Thomas Aquinas. Such studies finally degenerated into an intolerable rage for disputation, and dogmatism gave way to scepticism. The mystics, however, especially in the fourteenth century,

were inwardly preparing for a regeneration of the Christian life and thought, when, in connexion with the so-called humanism, philology, criticism, and history again became prominent, and exegetical studies, immediately before the Reformation, resumed their flourishing condition. (Laurent. Valla, Reuchlin, and Erasmus.) Theology was obliged to renew its youth under the influence of the Protestantism of the sixteenth century (Luther, Zwingle, Calvin), which postulated the

Origin of form-
al Christian
theology.

Early relations
of philosophy
and theology.

Middle Ages
dogmatic.

Mysticism the
preparation for
the Reforma-
tion.

Scriptures as the only certain rule of faith, and based every thing upon them. The study of the Bible took a freer range and became more independent, and was made the broad substructure of the body of Protestant doctrine. This body of doctrine was developed by the Lutheran and Reformed theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with great thoroughness, but not without retaining something of the scholastic spirit and of polemical bitterness.

Development
of doctrine in
the Protestant
Churches.

The effort was finally made, from the stand-point of science (Calixtus), and especially from that of practical life (Spener and Pietism), to return to the simple faith of the Scriptures, and to direct attention to properly *religious* needs, in contrast with a dead orthodoxy. When Pietism began to lose its savor at the beginning of the eighteenth century, philosophy gave it polemical support. Wolfianism, having been preceded by Descartes and Leibnitz, brought into theology a new (mathematically demonstrative) formalism, and though still wearing an orthodox garb, prepared the way for rationalism, which was still further supported by the critical tendencies of Semler and others in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Influence of the
Wolfian philos-
ophy on theo-
logy.

"Dogmatics" was confined within increasingly limited bounds and became more and more undecided in its bearing, while exegetical beginning with Ernesti, and historical theology from the time of Mosheim, acquired a more independent position. Extraordinary changes in the other departments of life (e. g., the awakening of German literature in Lessing, modern pedagogics, philanthropism) exercised both an inciting and enlightening, a levelling and a secularizing influence upon the life of the Church. The *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* threatened injury not only to the doctrines of the Church, but also to the historical basis of Christianity. "Apologetics" showed itself embarrassed, and

The Wolfen-
büttel assault
on historical
Christianity.

allowed outwork after outwork to be taken. At this juncture *Kant* appeared and marked out the limits of reason, within which a religion that renounced all knowledge of the supersensual and confined itself to the morality of the categorical imperative was obliged, with its practical ideas of God, liberty, and immortality, to content itself for the time. The speculative pressure of German philosophy, in Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, soon again made that its real object, which others, like Jacobi, reserved for a faith based on the feelings. Schleiermacher was as earnestly engaged in the work of separating theology from the philosophy of the schools, as in penetrating all its branches with a philosophic glance and in pointing out the germs of their life. From that time

it has been the task of modern theology, before all else, to comprehend its own nature in the light of history, and to secure a clear idea of its relation to the present age. There is no lack of persons, however, who ignore the whole of the historical development of theology, and believe it necessary to reconstruct every thing anew from the beginning; while others still desire to conjure up the theology of the seventeenth century much rather than that of the sixteenth.¹

SECTION IV.

THEOLOGY AS RELATED TO THE PREPARATORY SCIENCES (PROPÆDEUTICS).

Theology, like every other positive science, presumes a strictly scientific school-training, since it treats the pure sciences as in part preliminary to its work, and on the other hand continually employs them as auxiliaries.

A distinction may be made with Bertholdt, between preliminary knowledge (propædeutics) and auxiliary sciences (boethetics). The former gives to every person the necessary qualification, and indicates his fitness for entering upon one of the university courses; the latter are, in addition, special aids to the study of theology. A study is frequently at once preparatory and auxiliary, *e. g.*, Latin, Greek, and history. The Hebrew language—even where it is taught in gymnasia—is included among the ordinary branches of the school-curriculum solely for the sake of theology; we therefore reserve its consideration, in common with that of biblical philology in general, until the discussion of properly theological studies, where auxiliary sciences will receive attention.

SECTION V.

THE PREPARATORY SCIENCES.

Among pure sciences the languages and history hold the first place with regard to their application to theology, and mathematics

¹In this historical *resumé* we have had reference primarily to German theology, and more particularly to that of Protestantism. Roman Catholic theology, wherever it was living, passed through the same phases, especially in Germany. All that in other lands (in either the Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church) has acquired reputation as theological *science* (which alone is here referred to, and not the practical church-life), is more or less closely connected with the course of development in Germany. In recent times a change has certainly taken place. The conflicts of German theology have been shared by other lands more and more fully as time progressed, and the liberal tendency in particular, or even the negative, has found representatives in England, France, and Holland. With reference to England, comp., among others, Mackay. "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology." London, 1868. Also, the "Essays and Reviews," Colenso, etc.

and the natural sciences the second—and this both in a formal and a material aspect. We therefore observe, that a liberal classical culture forms the only assured basis for a sound, Protestant, Christian theology.

Theological learning rests on a classical basis.

“Like him who leaves his country in his youth, so the departing student looks back over the course of studies pursued while in the school.”¹ Without taking philosophy into consideration for the present (comp. § 7), we may place the remaining mass of empirical knowledge in two principal divisions, the one of which presents to us the world of bodies in space, and the other the world of spirits, or the moral world as it is developed in time. To the former belong the natural sciences in their entire extent, together with mathematics, which constitutes their formal side; to the latter belong history and its formal medium and organ, *language*.² While medicine, among the applied sciences, is based upon the conditions of nature, jurisprudence and theology rest upon an ethical and historical basis (comp. § 1). Without desiring to reconcile here the pedagogical dispute about humanism and realism,³ we may say, without hesitation, that

Divisions of knowledge—philosophy, nature, and history.

¹ Herder, *Anwendung dreier akad. Lehrjahre* (Werke zur Rel. u. Theol., x, p. 164). Upon this entire section comp. vol. i of Noesselt's *Anweisung* (Niemeyer's ed., 1808, 8vo), which, however, leaves much to be modified in accordance with the present condition of the science.

² The French apply the term *sciences* to the so-called exact sciences, but class philosophy and history with “*lettres*,” a distinction that is well-founded, although such designations are misleading, and rest upon too realistic an idea of science. It is, of course, understood that an absolute separation between the different sciences is impossible, because they stand organically connected, and the transitions from one into the field of another are frequent. Thus geography (both physical and mathematical) must be classed with natural sciences, and is seen to be most intimately related to several of them, *e. g.*, geology; but it forms, at the same time, the basis of history, and is connected with ethnography and statistics. The conditions of nature are, similarly, also the first conditions of language; and orthoepy may be connected with physiology. From this point of view J. Grimm called attention to the mysterious laws that control our organs of speech; to demonstrate these laws is the office of natural science. Comp. the preface to the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. iii. W. Wackernagel, in his preface to his work, *Voces Variæ Animantium*, a contribution to natural science and the history of language, 2d ed., Basle, 1869, likewise refers to this intimate connection of the sciences with each other. It may be added, too, that history has its mathematical side, in chronology, etc., and that its first beginnings (inquiries respecting the primeval world) are wholly lost in the investigations of natural history, *e. g.*, concerning the lake-dwellings. Nor can even the most recent history be properly comprehended without duly estimating the revolutions in natural science, and their influence upon civilization.

³ Comp. F. J. Niethammer, *Der Streit des Philanthropismus u. Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit*, Jena, 1808; A. Rauchenstein, *Bemerkungen über den werth der Alterthumstudien*, Aarau, 1825; F. Thiersch, *Ueber ge-*

a classical, liberal culture,¹ which is of advantage to the medical scholar also, is yet of peculiar service to the jurist and the theologian.

On a detailed review of the preparatory studies, the first rank Philology the first of the preparatory studies. will be occupied by *philology*, which possesses great importance for the cultivation of the mind, irrespective of all inherent value. The whole work of instruction is based upon the power of the word; and for this reason the study of the mother-tongue alone is important. The power of language to cultivate the mind does not become manifest, however, until the ability to compare several languages with each other has been acquired. That especially the Greek and Latin, the (by way of eminence) so-called *ancient* languages, are adapted to perform this service, by reason of their wealth of forms and their definiteness, is conceded by scholars. The style of classical expression reacts upon the mother-tongue to purify and strengthen it;² and it is

lehrte Schulen, etc., Stuttgart, 1826, 2 vols.; A. W. Rehberg, *Sämmtliche Schriften*, Hanover, 1828, i, p. 238, *sqq.*; F. W. Klumpp, *Die gelehrten Schulen nach den Grundsätzen des wahren Humanismus u. den Anforderungen der Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1829; L. Usteri, *Rede am Schulfeste 1829*, Berne, 1830; *Selections from German Literature*, Edwards & Park, Andover, 1839.

¹ "The humanities, indeed, took a much wider range with ancient Roman writers, and included every kind of science that could contribute to human culture. See the passage in Gellii noctt. Att. xiii, 15, and J. A. Ernesti, *Prol. de finibus humaniorum studiorum regendis*, Lipsa., 1738, 4to. But since knowledge among the Romans was really acquired by the reading and through the influence of good authors, and in more modern times the whole of science was restored and started on its course by the same means, that view gave way to the more limited sense in which polite literature or the humanities is now taken." Noesselt, i, p. 106.

² Luther well illustrates the formal as well as the instrumental value of the ancient languages in the following: "Let us cling to the languages as earnestly as we love the Gospel. . . . And let it be remembered that without the languages we could not well receive the Gospel. The languages are the sheath in which this sword of the Spirit is contained. They are the casket in which this jewel is confined. Should it ever come to pass, which God forbid, that the languages should escape our careless grasp, we should not only lose the Gospel, but finally reach the condition of being able to speak and write in neither Latin nor German. Let us be admonished by the wretched, horrible example of the high schools and monasteries, in which not only has the Gospel been lost, but also the Latin and German tongues have been corrupted, so that the miserable people have been reduced almost to the level of brute beasts, unable to speak and write either German or Latin correctly, and almost deprived of natural reason itself." "Where the languages are cultivated there is animation and energy, the Scriptures are examined, and faith continually derives new inspiration from other and still other words and works." See the address, *An die Rathsherren aller Städte Deutschlands, dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen*. Werke, Walch's ed., x, p. 538, *sqq.* Similar passages occur in Zwingle; see Werke, Usteri and Vögeli's ed., Zurich, 1819, 1820, ii, pp. 255, *sqq.*, 268, *sqq.*

therefore necessary that the talent for philology should be developed and the intellect be strengthened by the study of the classical models themselves rather than by that, for instance, of later ecclesiastical writers. Nothing but narrow-mindedness can discover danger to Christianity in this.¹ Besides a formal value for the cultivation of the mind, however, the theologian finds the languages, and particularly the ancient languages, to be of practical utility, a point upon which but little need be said, as it is self-evident.

The study of the ancient languages will of itself lead to the study of *history*, for which reason modern philology combines in itself both linguistics and historical inquiry.² It becomes absolutely necessary for the theologian to attain to a clear idea of the ancient world, if it were only to enable him to contrast it with Christianity.³ But, in addition, the habits of

Value of the ancient classic languages.

The study of history should follow philology.

¹The Church-fathers already questioned how far the reading of heathen authors might be beneficial or injurious to Christians; comp. the celebrated dream of Jerome (Ep. xxii, ad Eustochium), the oration of Basil, *Πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ὅπως ἂν ἐξ ἑλληνικῶν ἀπολαίντο λόγων* (published separately by Sturz, Gera, 1791; in German, by F. G. Uhlemann in Ilgen's *Hist. theol. Zeitschr.*, part ii, p. 88, *sqq.*, and by F. A. Nueszlin, Mannheim, 1830). The monks in the time of the Reformation branded all Greek learning as heretical; but their opponents likewise doubted whether heathen antiquity could supply the Christian theologian with the most healthful food; comp. the letter of Felix Myconius to Zwingle (Opp. vii, 1, p. 258). In modern times the value of classical studies has also been abundantly debated. Comp. E. Eyth, *Classiker u. Bibel in den niedern Gelehrtschulen*, Basle, 1838, 8vo. *Per contra*, K. Hirzel, *Die Classiker in den niedern Gelehrtschulen*, Stuttgart, 1838. With more direct reference to theology: C. H. Stirn, *De Classicis, quos dicunt, scriptoribus in usum theol. christ. legis*, in den *Studien der Würtemb. Geistlichkeit*, Stuttgart, 1838, vol. x, No. 2; L. Baur, *Die Classiker u. deren Einfluss auf den Geistlichen*, *ibid.* ii, 1, p. 127, *sqq.*; J. G. Krabinger, *Die Class. Studien u. ihre Gegner*, Munich, 1853; K. L. Hundeshagen, *Die Natur u. geschichtl. Entwicklung der Humanitätsidee, in ihrem Verhältniss zu Kirche u. Staat*, an oration, Berlin, 1853; J. E. Erdmann, *Das Heidnische im Christenthum*, Berlin, 1854; S. Hirsch, *Humanität als Religion, etc.*, Treves, 1854; J. G. Müller, *Verhältniss der Classiker zum Heidenthum*, in *Gelzer's Prot. Monatsbl.*, 1856; E. Voigtherr, *Der Humanismus, a synodal oration*, Glogau, 1857; F. C. Kirchhoff, *Die Christliche Humanität, an oration*, Altona, 1859; G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Class. Alterthums, od. das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, Berlin, 1859; A. Boden, *Vertheidigung deutscher Classiker gegen neue Angriffe*, Erlangen, 1869.

²Schiller, *What Means and For What Purpose do we Study Universal History?* Works, vol. ii, pp. 346–352, Phila., 1861; J. G. Müller, *Briefe üb. das Studium d. wissenschaften, besonders der Geschichte*, Zürich, 1817; E. B. Rühls, *Entwurf einer Propädeutik des hist. Studiums*, Berlin, 1811; W. Humboldt, *Die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers, in werke*, 1841, 1; Gervinus, *Introduction to History of Nineteenth Century*, Lond., 1866; Droysen, *Grundzüge der Historik*, Leipa., 1868.

³Christianity is assuredly appointed to overcome the world, including the heathen world, and therefore what remains in us of pre-Christian culture. This subjugation, how-

thought presented in the Bible and Christianity, so contrary to those of heathenism, can only be appreciated by him who has come to understand the *spirit of antiquity*. It is necessary to have regard, not only to the history of the Greeks and Romans, but also to the history of Oriental peoples in its relation to the Bible; and likewise to that of the Middle Ages and more recent times, without which Church history cannot be understood. But history and the attention given to it are not only of material value, as making us acquainted with matters of fact; there is also a formal, fashioning element, the quickening of the historic sense, which must not be overlooked. History should not, therefore, be considered simply as dealing with nations and states, but, in the spirit of Iselin and Herder, as comprehending in its province the entire human race. In harmony with this conception, the history of man's spiritual culture should be made prominent as its subjective feature.

While the study of languages and history thus forms the real basis for theological study, mathematics and the natural sciences are not without value to its prosecution. The formative value of mathematics is unquestioned; it affords the test of the mind's demonstrative power,¹ and is sometimes called a practical logic, like the science of language. Its philosophical value has, however, been overrated. Mathematical modes of thought are as unsatisfactory in theology as juridical. Mathematics has to do with mensurable and calculable quantities (form and numbers), while the immeasurable nature of ideas cannot be forced into circles and equations. The wonderful blending of spiritual and intellectual life, the numerous and various shades of thought, which often elude the grasp of the most flexible and skillful language, cannot possibly be compressed into an expression like $a+b$. Not unfrequently that which, when broadly considered, is entirely true, becomes an untruth when the attempt is made to fix it and to grasp it with an unimaginative and ideal-less understanding. Many misconceptions have arisen in this way.² A notion that

ever, is not to be an expulsion, as if of demoniac powers which must be cast out to make way for the Divine Spirit. If we have recognized the connection running through the different stages of development in the human history of the past, we can regard as the ultimate task nothing else than the reconciliation in us of the contrast between the two spiritual powers which may be termed the leading factors in the history of civilization, viz., Hellenism and Christianity." Curtius, in Gelzer's Monatsbl., August, 1858, p. 85.

¹ "Hence," says Herder (Sophron., p. 89), "that which Pythagoras inscribed upon a hall of learning, 'Without geometry let none enter here,' might properly be written on the doors of the higher classes in gymnasia."

² Goethe remarks (Farbenl., ii, p. 158), "A great portion of what is commonly called superstition has its origin in an erroneous application of mathematica." Let memory

meets with special favor among cultivated laymen, is that *astronomy* sustains a near relation to theology, because each is a science of heaven. But the astronomical heaven is not that of theology, nor does "the sublimity we seek" in the world of morality and religion, dwell even in infinite space; for not all the evidences of the stars are able to lead to the star of Bethlehem. This was acknowledged by Lalande when he had measured the entire heavens without finding God. The knowledge of the starry heavens will, nevertheless, adorn the theologian as well as other cultivated persons, and the two sciences, however they may diverge in other respects, may meet in a poetical transfiguration in the symbol of Urania. The natural sciences in their whole extent lie nearer to the theologian than does astronomy as a distinct science.

These sciences were formerly considered from a theological point of view as supports to theology; while, in recent times, they are often compelled to do duty as sign-boards of infidelity, as though their progress could no longer harmonize with the theistic belief in God and immortality, nor yet with the more distinctively Christian faith in the truths of Revelation. It will be found that they whose understanding of the subject is least perfect appeal most frequently to such progress, while many who are ignorant are afraid of ghosts.¹ With regard to the Bible it is necessary first of all to comprehend its relation to the natural sciences (which belongs to apologetics), and afterward to secure a thorough understanding of the matter in question, partic-

Astronomy not necessarily related to theology.

Acquaintance with the natural sciences important.

recall, for instance, the mathematical figures with which Gerbert (Sylvester ii) sought to demonstrate the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist. Similar attempts were made in ancient times in connection with the trinity. Franz Baader, and even Hegel, toiled mightily for a time, to apply triangles and squares to the doctrine of the trinity; comp. Rosenkranz in life of Hegel, pp. 101, 102. "Mathematics," says Bengel, "affords useful aid in certain directions, but it dethrones the understanding in relation to truths that are wholly foreign to its forum. The desire for only *definite* conceptions is fatal to *living* ones. There are different organs for different conceptions; the eyes will not serve for hearing, nor the ears for seeing," etc. Burk, *Leben Bengels*, p. 71. Comp. also the passage from Melancthon, *infra*, § 81, note 10.

¹ A single word of Goethe's: "Let intellectual culture continue its progress, let the natural sciences increase more and more in extent and depth, and the human intellect expand to the utmost of its desire—they will never pass beyond the sublimity and moral culture of Christianity, as it appears in the Gospel." Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, p. 568. Fr. Fabri, *Briefe gegen den Materialismus*, Stuttgart, 1856; Böhner, *Naturforschung und culturleben in ihren neuesten Ergebnissen*, etc., Hanover, 1859. A peculiar attempt to illustrate the Bible by the book of nature, and to interpret the latter by the former, is made by Zöckler, in *Entwurf einer system. Naturtheol. vom offenbarungsgläubigen Standpunkte aus*, Frankfurt, 1859.

ularly with reference to the primeval world and its relation to the Mosaic history of creation.¹

SECTION VI.

THEOLOGY IN ITS RELATION TO THE ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE.

An *artistic* preparation, the habit of regarding life in its ideal aspects, and of engaging in original efforts, particularly in the field of language is required in addition to the preliminary scientific training; a Christian culture resulting from religious instruction previously imparted, is presupposed.

This artistic preparation is still too greatly neglected. More attention should be given to stimulating the sense of the beautiful in early youth, for an imagination nourished by poetry is as necessary a condition for the theologian as is an understanding practised in history, language, and mathematics.² Early practice in written as well as oral expression, and also in free discourse, will especially be of inestimable value to the future

¹ Comp. William Buckland, *Geology and Mineralogy Considered with Reference to Natural Theology*, London, 1837, 2 eds., 2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1 vol. 12mo, and in Bohn's Library, 12mo; Fr. Pfaff, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte*, Frankf. on the Main, 1855; Böhner, *Die freiforschende Bibeltheologie u. ihre Gegner*, Zurich, 1859; the review by P. Kind (in the Swiss Ministerial Association, 1863, and the subsequent discussions); Reusch, *Bibel u. Natur*, etc., Freiburg, 1870; Zollman, *Bibel u. Natur in der Harmonie ihrer Offenbarungen*, 3 ed., Homburg, 1871; Jos. Huber, *Die Lehre Darwin's, kritisch betrachtet*, Munich, 1871; and the English and American reviews of Darwinism.

The theological works of Paley, Sander, Bonnet, Reimarus, Brougham, and the Bridgewater Treatises, nevertheless contain much that is stimulating; but far superior to these is Humboldt's *Cosmos*. Bengel, *l. c.*, observes: "It is not right that the study of physics is so neglected, and that such a parade should be made of a sublime, metaphysical comprehension of the universe. But it was likewise true of the ancients that the general ideas of philosophers were made a cloak to conceal their ignorance." In our day the neglect of certain theologians to acquaint themselves with natural science is especially inexcusable. In the face of the ignorance that results, unbelief will be able to appeal more shamelessly and defiantly to the progress of those sciences. To close the eyes against facts, and, Bible in hand, to fight against infidelity, or to meddle in a desultory way with a science which is but superficially understood, can only serve to make theology ridiculous in the eyes of specialists; and if the attempt result from a well-meant apologetic purpose it will produce more harm than good.

² It may be boldly asserted that a lack of poetic apprehension, for which precocious speculation is no substitute, has led to thousands of orthodox and heterodox absurdities. The secret of Herder's theology and its refreshing influence lies in this poetic vein, which the most learned minds so often miss. On the pedagogical value of the fine arts comp. Herder, *Sophon*, pp. 32, *sqq.*, 80, *sqq.*; concerning the improvement of the vernacular, *ibid.*, p. 197, *sqq.* How unjust is the charge of Staudenmaier that Herder pursued theology in the spirit simply of an æsthetical coquetry! (Comp. his *Dogmatik*, vol. i). He was simply no scholastic.

theologian. Rhetoric and poetry in the field of art are parallel with philology and history in that of science. A practical acquaintance with the plastic arts may not be *required* of the theologian, but his mind should not be indifferent to painting, sculpture, and architecture, more than it should be closed to the charms of nature. The great importance of art will become apparent in connection with liturgics. Architecture holds the same relation to the theologian in the domain of art that astronomy does in that of science, without regard to the historical relations sustained by art toward the history of saints and the Church. Music, especially, which stands midway between the oratorical and the formative arts and is closely allied to poetry, is truly theological, and was cultivated by Luther.¹ The skilful fingering of an instrument is not the principal object to be desired, but much more the cultivation of singing and of acquaintance with the nature of music. Without the latter knowledge the theologian will be debarred from entering on an essential department of Christian worship. Inasmuch, however, as all theology stands related to *religion*, and can only be comprehended through that relation, it will be necessary that the incipient theologian should not only

possess religious feeling in a general way, but that he should have acquired religious culture in the preparatory schools. Much, in this connexion, depends of course upon the character of the religious instruction imparted in such schools, which, though not designed for future theologians alone, may nevertheless be very stimulating and adapted to their needs.² To these must be added, moreover, the influence of the Christian home, and the impression of Christian fellowship which is produced by the worship of the sanctuary. How many an excellent theologian, especially among the older men, was first impelled to consecrate himself to this calling by beholding the shining example of some distinguished preacher. The first guiding impulse came from thence, not from the school, which can only forward the development.

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¹ Luther judged "that next to the word of God nothing is so deserving of esteem and praise as music, for the reason that it is a queen over the heart, able and mighty to control its every movement, though such emotions often rule and control man as if they were his master. . . . I therefore desire that this art be commended to all persons, and especially the young, and that they be admonished to love and cherish this precious, useful, and joyous creature of God." Werke, Walch's ed., part xiv, p. 407. "Music is a beautiful, glorious gift from God, and *near to theology*" (in Table Talk).

² Comp. Hagenbach, *Bedeutung des Religionsunterrichts auf höhern Lehranstalten*, Zürich, 1846.

SECTION VII.

THE RELATIONS OF THEOLOGY TO PHILOSOPHY.

F. E. Schulz, *Selbstständigkeit und Abhängigkeit, oder Philosophie und Theologie in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnisse betrachtet*, Giessen, 1823; K. Ph. Fischer, *über den Begriff der Philosophie*, Tübingen, 1820, 8; Heinr. Schmid, *über das Verhältniss der Theologie zur Philosophie*, in der *Oppositionsschrift*, edited by Schmid, Fries, u. Schröter, vol. i, 1; J. H. Fichte, *über Gegensatz, Wendepunct und Ziel heutiger Philosophie*, Heidelberg, 1826; A. Gengder, *über das Verhältniss der Theologie zur Philosophie*, Landshut, 1826; G. A. Gabler, *de Vera Philosophiæ erga Religionem Christianam Pictate*, Berl., 1826; K. Steffensen, *das Menschliche Herz und die Philosophie* (in *Gesler's Protest. Monatsblätter*), 1854, p. 285, sqq.; L. P. Hickock, *Theology and Philosophy in Conflict*, *American Presb. Review*, vol. xii, 204; E. Hitchcock, *The Philosopher and the Theologian*, *Bib. Sacra.*, vol. x, 166.

Philosophy should be the constant companion of theology, but each is to retain, without interchange or confusion, its own peculiar field. Its work does not consist in the merely logical process of connecting thoughts together (arrangement), nor in the exercise of an occasional criticism (reasoning); but rather in combining the great variety of matter into a higher unity for the consciousness. This can only be done after the material has been furnished from without, by experience and history. Philosophy can neither invent the needed material in the exercise of its own authority, nor destroy or make it other than it is through a pretended transformation or idealizing process.

We purposely designate philosophy as the *companion* of theology, in opposition to the view that the study of philosophy may be finished before that of theology begins, which affords the surest way to disgust the theologian with philosophy. The application of philosophy to theology has been the subject of controversy from the beginning. A warning against false philosophy occurs as early as Col. ii, 8. Irenæus and Tertullian opposed the Gnostic, speculative tendency in theology, while other Church fathers, the Apologists, Alexandrians, and especially Origen made use of it. The quarrel between the schoolmen and the positive theologians, Roscelin, Abelard, with Bernard of Clairvaux, turned especially upon the relations of philosophy to theology, and the philosophical dispute (realism and nominalism) between the schoolmen themselves likewise reacted on theology.

The perversion of philosophy by the scholastics, and the mistaken habit of relying on authorities, which served to poison philosophy in its inmost nature, gradually led from dogmatism to scepticism. A point was reached where it appeared necessary to distinguish between philosophy and theology in such a way as to admit of

truth in either science becoming untruth in the other. It is not surprising that, as the result, philosophy again declined in favour, and that empiricism was opposed to it as being the only trustworthy method of reasoning (Roger Bacon). Philosophy was still in its decline when the Reformation came, and the Reformation did not at all favour what then passed for philosophy; for its own origin was not due to the desire for a better philosophic system, but to the longing to possess the true sources of salvation which were found in the Scriptures. Luther employed even violent language to oppose the philosophy of Aristotle and "old Madam Weathercock, the reason;" but not so Zwingle, who made use of philosophy in a peculiar manner (his relation to Picus of Mirandola). The dogmatical works of Calvin and Melancthon give evidence that they, too, were not unacquainted with philosophic thought; but in the Lutheran Church many, nevertheless, accepted Luther's opinions in opposition to philosophy.¹

Luther's opposition to philosophy.

In the Roman Catholic Church the Jansenists opposed and the Jesuits favored philosophy; but which one was the Jesuitical philosophy? After the Reformation Aristotle was more favorably regarded in the Protestant Church, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century Martini, in his "*Vernunftspiegel*," defended the use of philosophy against the Magdeburg centuriators.² When Descartes (1569-1650) appeared, powerful voices were raised against him in the Church, and disputes about this matter took place in the Netherlands. The populace applied the name of "*Glöbenichts*" (believe nothing) to the great Leibnitz, and the zealous clergy gave their approval. Spinoza stood alone, identified with no ecclesiastical communion.

Philosophy in the Church after the Reformation.

When, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Wolf lectured on a modified Leibnitzian philosophy in his strictly demonstrative method, he was opposed in Halle by the Pietists and expelled (in 1723), but afterwards recalled (in 1740). Philosophy now received recognition, at least in its formal aspects, and its proofs were regarded as supports to orthodoxy, until Kant (1724-1804) de-

¹ Bugenhagen, too, was accustomed to write in family albums: "*Si Christum discis, eatis est, si cetera nescis;*" but he added, "*Hoc non est philosophiam et artes liberales ecclesiæ et scholis necessarias contemnere, sed sine Christo nihil prodesse.*"

² *Vernunftspiegel*, i. e., a statement of what Reason, together with its product Philosophy, is, its extent, and especially its use in religious matters, in opposition to all assailants of Reason and slanderers of Philosophy, but especially in opposition to some uncouth libels which have gone out of Magdeburg these two years. Wittenb. 1618. 4.

stroyed these supports. The progress of philosophy could not henceforth be ignored by theology, without degradation to its own scientific character. The one-sided influence of the Kantian philosophy upon theology was clearly apprehended by men like Herder; but the age, nevertheless, became rationalistic, possessed neither of a speculative nor of the more profound religious spirit. It was reserved for Fichte's idealism, Schelling's doctrine of the absolute, and Hegel's doctrine of the immanent spirit, to exalt the profound life-issues of Christianity, which Kant imagined he had disposed of by the introduction of a one-sided morality, into speculative questions of philosophy. Others, as F. Jacobi, Fries, etc, who laid stress upon the distinction between faith and knowledge, assigned to subjective feeling what the philosophers already named (particularly Hegel) sought to elevate into demonstration through the energetic action of thought; while Herbert and his followers assumed indifference toward theology. Schleiermacher, who was by no means averse to really profound speculation, and who was the most skilful dialectician of his day, yet desired that philosophy and theology should remain distinct, though he applied philosophy to the treatment of theological questions. His simple object was that theology should no more be lost in speculation, than religion, which he regarded as an affair of the feelings, should be lost in thinking. The Hegelian school was divided into two wings after the master's death, one of which (the right) took sides with Christianity, and the other against it, sinking even to the level of common freethinking (nihilism).¹ The speculative tendency served, on the other hand, to stimulate certain parties to attempt an independent philosophy of Christianity and to seek its reconciliation with theology. A period of exhaustion and suspicion with reference to speculative thought was, however, gradually introduced among theologians, which, in the end, resulted in the serious alienation of the two connected sciences from each other, if not in placing a gulf between them. Under the influence of the natural sciences a systematic scepticism was developed, which, on its religious side, passed over into Buddhism (Arthur Schopenhauer).

In England, the Deism which appeared in the time of Charles I., and was represented by a succession of writers until Hume (1776), profoundly affected the development of apologetic theology. Hobbes (1588-1679) resolved all politics into absolutism and religion into statecraft. He held it to be the business of the king to

¹ Comp. J. W. Hanne, *Der Moderne Nihilismus*, Bielefeld, 1842.

prescribe the religious faith of his subjects. His atheistic opinions were attacked by Cudworth (1617-1688), particularly his denial of free-will and the immutability of moral distinctions. Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581-1648) attempted to fix the principles of universal religion, which he made to be five, and denied all of Christianity not included under these. Locke's (1632-1704) "Essay on the Human Understanding" confirmed the disposition to apply the so-called principles of reason to the judgment of Christianity; he remained himself a devout believer. Toland (1669-1722) carried the development of rationalism still further in his "Christianity not Myste-rious." He denies that there is any mystery in Christianity. Anthony Collins (1676-1729) in his "Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," is the first English writer to accept the title of Free-thinker. He examines the historic foundations of Christianity, and asserts, as Strauss has asserted in our day, that Christianity is only ideally true. Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713) argued from his doctrine of innate ideas (in opposition to Locke) and the disinterestedness of virtuous conduct that a supernatural revelation is superfluous. Matthew Tindal (1657-1733) in his "Christianity as Old as the Creation; or, The Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature," tried to show that natural religion is complete in itself and has, therefore, no need of supernatural additions. Thomas Morgan († 1743) in his "Moral Philosopher" makes moral law the test of religion, and finds reason therefrom for rejecting Christianity. These philosophers of the deistical school were thoroughly met by numerous Christian apologists. Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), besides his attempted *a priori* demonstration of the being of God, wrote on the "Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation." Bishop Berkeley (1684-1753) used his system of philosophic idealism as a means of establishing the truth of the existence of God. Bishop Butler (1692-1752) summed up the replies of the Christian apologists to the deistical writers of his age in his immortal Analogy. This work still holds its place as one of the most complete defences of Christianity ever written.

Hume (1711-1776) by his essay on "Miracles" and his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion" gave the sceptical philosophy a new impulse. His objections to miracles received more replies than can be here named; his objection to the idea of causality, as usually received by philosophers, awakened the mind of Kant, and led the latter to work out his "Critique of the Pure Reason." Philosophic thought, as applied to Christianity, in our time has been greatly influenced by James Mills and Coleridge, the one a representative of

the sensational, the other of the intuitional school. Each has had numerous successors.

In America speculation received its first impulse from Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), who framed a theory of the philosophic speculation in human will as a philosophic basis for the Calvinistic America. theology. His principles were further developed by his son, Jonathan Edwards the younger (1745-1801), Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), Nathanael Emmons (1745-1840), and Timothy Dwight (1752-1817). Some of these followers pushed the opinions of their master to extreme conclusions. Among the opponents of Edwards's theory of the will may be named Henry P. Tappan (Review of Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will), and D. D. Whedon (The Freedom of the Will). Dr. James McCosh has applied the inductive method to the examination of the divine government with a view to the reconciliation of nature and revelation (The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral). Theodore Parker elaborated an absolute religion, intuitional in its character, but subversive of historical Christianity. The denial of Theism has been combated by various writers, among whom may be named Laurens P. Hickock (Creator and Creation), Asa Mahan (Natural Theology), and Borden P. Bowne (The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer; Theism). The denial of all philosophy by Comte has also received much attention from metaphysicians in the United States.

Thus far the historical review. It shows that theology has never been able to separate itself from philosophy, but that, on the other hand, no lasting union between the two, or rather, between theology and any particular philosophy, has been practicable. To give no attention to philosophy would be the simplest expedient, but also the most objectionable, and impossible; for in this age no one can have the hardihood to pursue a theological (dogmatical) discussion without a preliminary training in philosophy, which, moreover, must not be confined to the ancient and wholly formal logic of the schools. The necessity of formal logic has always been understood, although its scientific value has been variously estimated; but the conviction has been reached that the arrangement of a system and the line of evidence to be adopted, are themselves dependent on the intellectual point of view from whence the system is controlled. The main matter is to secure the point of view. The reliance upon so-called sound common sense, with which, no doubt, many seek to supply the lack of philosophical acquirements, is likewise misplaced in the field of science; eclecticism is of little benefit to the student who

is misinformed about the things among which he is to choose.¹ It thus becomes absolutely necessary to undertake the study of philosophy; and since it can rarely be reached in the preparatory schools, it is desirable that students of theology should begin philosophy in the first period of their course, in order to be nourished by it into strength, before they approach dogmatics, the heart of theology.² Philosophy is simply a clear recognition by the mind of its own constitution, and all sound philosophy should take its rise in that recognition, or, in other words, *in legitimate thinking upon the ultimate grounds of all thought.*³ It should aid every student in attaining to a clear understanding of his own nature, and thus place him in a position to easily comprehend the organic connection of the different departments of knowledge, which is the objective goal of philosophy.⁴ Unfortunately, many students are more confused at the end of a course in philosophy than they were at its beginning; like the pupil before Mephistopheles, they feel as if a mill-wheel were revolving in their heads.

In view of this danger, the choice of a teacher and the method to be adopted are deserving of consideration. At this point the

¹ "Philosophy is most of all opposed to that intellectual barrenness, which generally ventures to assume the name of enlightenment. The elevation of the ordinary *understanding* to the position of arbiter in matters of the *reason*, will, as its necessary consequence, bring about an ochlocracy in the domain of the sciences, and, sooner or later, the further consequence of a general revolt on the part of the rabble." Schelling, *Methode des akadem. Studiums* (comp. *Anthologie aus Schelling's Werke*, p. 112.)

² Schleiermacher (*Ueber Universitäten*, p. 78) held that all students, even the non-theological, should be engaged simply with philosophy during the first year of their university career. What he exacts of all is demanded at least of theologians by Rosenkranz, *Encykl.*, Pref., xx: "The student of medicine or law, if thorough in other matters pertaining to his specialty, may be pardoned for indifference or aversion to the study of philosophy; but it is required of the theologian that, in addition to his special studies, he should pursue as thorough a course in philosophy as may be practicable." Similarly Schenkel, *Christl. Dogmatik*, ii, p. 8: "A thorough philosophical training is certainly essential to the theologian, and the punishment for its neglect will be the more bitter, as great effort becomes necessary to recover in later years what has been lightly regarded before."

³ "The recognition of self," says the younger Fichte, "is the sole substance of all (philosophical) perception, and its highest perfection is accordingly the real goal of every philosophy that understands itself, and that has thereby attained to maturity." *Idee d. Persönlichkeit u. d. individ. Fortdauer*, Elb., 1834, p. 42.

⁴ "Every person who aims to understand a particular science in its connexion with the whole of knowledge and in its ultimate grounds, is engaged in philosophical investigation, whether he be called a student of nature or a theologian, or be employed more especially upon the works of man. Every question that proceeds beyond the presumptions postulated by the several sciences, leads him who pursues it into the domain of philosophy." Steffensen, p. 303.

incomprehensible terminology, which can scarcely be avoided under the existing methods of treating philosophy, should neither dazzle nor alarm the beginner. *The leading object in the study of philosophy is, not so much the acquisition of finished results, as of readiness in the art of philosophizing.*¹

The philosophical jargon which is especially patronized by persons who seek to cover the confusion of their minds with cheap fineries, should above all things be avoided.² Let the student endeavor to express in his own language what he has heard. It would be no unprofitable exercise to engage in philosophical disputations from which certain catch words (*e. g.* subject, object, etc.) should be banished at the outset. But let there be an equal unwillingness to stamp as nonsense whatever is incomprehensible by reason of the student's insufficient preparation or practice, or worse still, to repeat the childish dictum that men like Hegel failed to understand themselves. Let philosophy not receive exclusive attention, without

providing real and positive food for the mind, especially through the continuous pursuit of historical and linguistic studies. The counsel given by Pelt,³ that the student should thoroughly examine some system of philosophy (Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel), if possible in its original sources, is likewise greatly to be commended.

The mind should accustom itself to regard each system in its relation to its own time, and the current tendency of that time, as well as in the relation of its parts to each other. Care should be taken from the first that the judgment be not biased by the influence of some one system, when matters of fact are under discussion, or when the exegetical or historical investigation of some fact is in progress, or when it is sought to comprehend some doctrine that

¹ This was Kant's desire, comp. *Anthropologie*, p. 167: "He insisted, again and again, in his lectures to his students, that they were not to learn philosophy of him, but how to philosophize." Kuno Fischer, *Kant's Leben*, p. 25.

² "It is childish to wear the ornamental rags and patches of others while we are able and expected to provide an entire garment of our own and fitted to our person. It is madness to destroy the eye or impair its vision for the purpose of learning to look through the glass of others." Herder, *Sophon*, p. 218. The Frenchman, Edgar Quinet, addresses a similar warning to his countrymen who are not in other respects unduly speculative: "Empêchez une nouvelle scolastique de naître. J'entends par là les embûches de mots, dans les quels l'instinct de la vie réelle, de la vérité politique est sacrifié à une logomachie puérile qui n'a que l'apparence et point de corps. Combien d'âmes droites sont déjà dupes de cette scolastique et s'y embarassent à plaisir! Combien surtout d'âmes serviles s'abritent aujourd'hui sous ce masque (Révolution religieuse au 19 siècle. 1857, p. 113).

³ *Encyclopédie*, p. 40.

has come down from former generations. Philosophy can invent nothing; could it hear the grass grow, it would yet be unable to produce a single blade. As natural philosophy is incompetent to originate an order of plants or a gas, so the philosophy of history is unable to necessarily deduce an historical fact.¹ It is true that reason contains the general laws by which a substance surrounded by contingencies is freed from its accidental elements and raised into the category of the universal; but in this regard also care is needed, in order that the very peculiarity of the concrete phenomenon, and the fragrance resting upon it, be not destroyed in the process of generalization.

Let an illustration suffice. A profound speculation seeks to apprehend the idea of the God-man as a necessary one, and as required for the completion of both the ideas *God* and *man*, since God most effectively demonstrates his Divinity in man, and man attains his true manhood only in God; but the truth that the Divine life has been manifested and actualized in a human form, in the determinate person Jesus of Nazareth, is not derived from philosophy. It cannot prove that precisely *this* person was needed for the most perfect manifestation of God in human nature; nor can it employ authoritative dicta, such as that nature does not usually lavish all her gifts upon a single person, to *destroy* an historical fact which is necessary to explain the existence of the Church. In like manner philosophy may be permitted to show that the abstract idea of unity is not adequate for the more profound recognition of the nature of God, and that only a God who knows himself as God in God, and is known by God as God (the Being that loves, the Being that is loved, and the love that forms the bond of union between them—God), can satisfy the religious consciousness.² The Christ-

Philosophy can-
not originate
theological doc-
trine.

The inability of
philosophy to
originate dog-
ma illustrated.

Another illus-
tration.

¹ Luther called reason (philosophy) the old weather-maker; it cannot, however, make, but only observe, or at the most, foretell the weather; and, even in this, it is often wrong. "The philosopher should know that without theology he can know nothing of the 'city of gold and precious stones,' and of the 'pure river of the water of life,' which St. John saw. A system of truths that must seem necessary to the natural mind, can never wash away the fear of death from the heart or beget heavenly affections in the place of beastly lusts, more than it can remedy a nervous fever, or remove the smell of decaying matter from the atmosphere of a death-chamber." Steffensen. We also adduce the maxim of Ficinus of Mirandola, "Philosophia quaerit, theologia invenit, religio possidet veritatem."

² Thus Augustine and all the more profound Christian thinkers. It is to be questioned, however, whether the speculative development of the Trinity is the proper task of philosophy. "We cannot, upon the whole," says J. H. Fichte (*Idee d. Persönlichkeit*, p. 86), "avoid the confession that the introduction into philosophy of this Christian dogma, which has become almost the favourite question of the day, particu-

ian doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is not to be conceived as a mere actualizing of the speculative idea, but rather as the historical development of the Christian revelation, from which, in connexion with ideas previously extant in the world, the speculative conception was itself developed, and to which it now assumes a relation similar to that of the philosophy of art to an actual work of art, or of natural philosophy to one of the products of nature. This consideration will indicate the measure of truth in the statement that philosophy stands outside of or above religion (Schleiermacher, § 38). The *above* is not to signify superiority, but simply the objective character of its point of view.¹

SECTION VIII.

THEOLOGY NOT BOUND TO ANY ONE PHILOSOPHY.

The diversity of philosophical systems should not be permitted to mislead us. The truth is, that despite such diversity, every system of philosophy, which in any way permits a distinction between God and the world, spirit and matter, freedom and necessity, may be applied to theology.

lary at this time, has produced no little confusion, not only by destroying the boundaries between the mere *a priori* knowledge of God and a positive revelation, but even more by giving rise to the thoroughly inopportune appearance of a superficial coincidence of Christianity with the prevalent philosophy of any particular time." "To combine metaphysical and theological arguments with each other for the purpose of demonstrating that a religious tradition is metaphysical truth, or that speculative developments have a Christian or orthodox character, is a deceitful process. In this way many now attempt to construct a metaphysical trinity out of three attributes of the Divine nature, and to substitute this arbitrary union of three such attributes for the original Christian doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit." Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, p. 281.

¹ Lord Bacon expresses himself strongly against the confounding of philosophy and theology with each other, *De augment. scientiæ*, ix, 487: *Quemadmodum enim theologiam in philosophia quaerere perinde est ac si vivos quaeras inter mortuos, ita e contra philosophiam in theologia quaerere non aliud est quam mortuos quaerere inter vivos.* On the impropriety of subordinating either philosophy or theology to each other, and on the necessity for making them co-ordinates, see Rosenkranz, *Encykl.*, p. 12. Comp. Fritze, *Ideen zur Umgestaltung. d. evang. Kirche*, Magdeb., 1844, p. 11: "Theology is not the mistress of philosophy, nor ought it to become the servant of any particular philosophical system." Kym, *Weltanschauungen*, p. 33: "Although philosophy serves as the handmaid of a particular science, *e. g.* theology, it is not in the way of supporting the train of some gracious lady, but in the way of going before it to afford a light that shall conduct the science home, to its origin." On the relation of religion to philosophy and its several branches comp. Steffensen, in Gelzer, 1853, p. 109: "They who fancy that religion will ever prostrate itself before philosophy and transfer to it the keys of the kingdom of heaven, are certainly very silly. Nor would philosophy accept the office if it were offered. . . . But it is equally certain that the spectacle will not be seen in our age, of philosophers subordinating their thinking to authorities in whose behalf the pious people of different denominations demand faith."

The objection to philosophy derived from the variety of systems is as shallow as an attempt to argue against revelation on the ground of the number of positive religions.¹ Nor do we mean that all philosophies are equally valuable, so that one or another may be preferred at pleasure. Only a single one can be the true philosophy, and to it, the absolute truth, all should strive to attain; but the more genuine the desire to attain to the truth the less hasty will the mind be in coming to a conclusion. Inasmuch too, as any particular system can present only relative truth, it will always be necessary to combine the truths of different systems into a higher truth, and to avoid their errors. Such an undertaking is not, however, adapted to the powers of a single mind, and should therefore be entered upon in and with the school, rather than outside and irrespective of it. Until the student has become a master, he will attach himself with preference to some particular school. Which one he shall select is not without importance with respect to both philosophy and theology; but it is a less serious matter in its bearings upon the latter, for the reason that theology is not so dependent on any system of philosophy as to stand or fall with it. A theologian of the Kantian school, for instance, might give evidence of more thorough theological acquirements, having grown beyond the limits of his system, than one belonging to the school of Hegel, for this, among other reasons, that the *Christian* consciousness, which is independent of all philosophical systems, is the principal qualification for a theologian.

No sound objection to philosophy from the variety of the systems.

Theology does not stand or fall with any one system of philosophy.

While, therefore, allowing freedom to speculation, we direct attention to the breakers, which threaten to shipwreck faith unless a competent hand is at the helm. It is self-evident that a philosophy which annihilates God, and denies the existence of spirit and moral freedom, a bald *materialism*, in short, (sensationalism), must be excluded.² But the spiritualistic philosophy (idealism), which stands opposed to materialism, which regards God and spirit as the only realities, and accordingly denies the existence of matter and the world, and which teaches an unbounded, absolute liberty by deifying the Ego, is likewise

Both sensationalism and idealism unchristian.

¹ Thus, it is well known that Schiller would identify himself with no religion out of regard for religion, and with none of all the philosophies out of regard for philosophy; but the polemical point of an epigram cannot serve as the foundation of a solid edifice.

² In opposition to the materialism of modern times, against which theology is called to contend, and whose representatives are Moleschott, Karl Vogt, and Büchner, comp. the works of Jul. Schaller, F. W. Tittmann, J. Frohschammer, J. G. Fichte, and F. Fabri, the last named in Herzog, Encykl., ix, s. v., Materialismus.

planted in an untheological position. A god without a world is not the God of theology; a spirit without flesh to subjugate is not the Christian spirit; liberty that does not involve the feeling of dependence is not the liberty of the children of God. The Bible everywhere presupposes a dualism, or rather parallelism, of God and the world, heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, etc., not as rigid and irremediable, but yet as an actual contrast to be overcome by the might of Christianity. In this way two other tendencies are obviated, the one of which regards such contrasts as rigidly immovable and out of all relation to each other, while the other, instead of reconciling them in thought, simply destroys them by an authoritative decision, while aiming to remove them.

Deism and pantheism antagonistic to Christian theology.

The former tendency is *deistic*, the latter *pantheistic*. The former was the current adversary of an earlier age, the latter is the antagonist of the theology of to-day.

The term *deism* is applied to a conception of the world which not only distinguishes between it and God, but separates God from the world, holding that the only God who exists is an extra- and supramundane Being, who once created the world, but has now left it to the operation of its established laws. This God enters into no vital relations with man; he stands over against him, indeed, as lawgiver and judge, but does not enter into human nature, nor communicate himself thereto. The deistic conception of the relation between spirit and matter, as resembling that of two laths glued together,¹ is in harmony with the separation of God from the world, and equally rigid. Nature, too, is considered a lifeless mechanism; and the tendency of deistic morality is to make every thing promote the self-glorification of the reason. This philosophy denies the power of the inclinations, the profound influences of natural conditions on the one hand, and the vital connexion of the spirit with God on the other; it is therefore unable to apprehend the nature of sin or of redemption and grace, the

Deism incapable of Christian ideas.

mysteries of religious communion, or the significance of prayer, the sacraments, etc. Over against Deism stands the *philosophy of identities*, which unites the contrasts in question. It has much that is attractive to the imagination and natural feeling, but is unable to afford durable satisfaction;² for

¹ Following an expression that is applied by the Formula Concordiæ to the two natures in Christ, Carrière appropriately remarks that "spirit and matter should neither be separated nor identified, but distinguished and combined."

² Tzschirner's Briefe on the confessions of Reinhard (Leips., 1811), are instructive upon this point. Comp. p. 47 *seq.*, where the author speaks of the impressions made on himself by the then current nature-philosophy of Schelling. The hideous charac-

inasmuch as it assumes the character of pantheism with reference to the relation of God to the world, it either loses God in the world and sinks into materialism, or it resolves the world into God and becomes idealism. In the same way spirit is reduced to matter (emancipation of the flesh) or matter is consumed by spirit (false asceticism), while moral freedom becomes a mere phantom. Upon this teaching sin becomes a natural necessity, and redemption a divinely contrived ingenious drama, while the deity attains to consciousness only through the evolutions of the human mind, and exhausts itself in time, through the endless process of the immanent development of thought.

Theological and
moral outcome
of pantheism.

It follows that only *that* philosophy can make a league with theology which recognizes a living personal God,¹ who is neither

ter of pantheism is admirably described by Lamartine (*Dernier chant du pèlerinage d'Harold*, p. 18):—

Le Dieu, qu'adore Harold, est cet agent suprême,
Ce Pan mystérieux, insoluble problème,
Grand, borné, bon, mauvais, que ce vaste univers
Révèle à ses regards sous mille aspects divers;
Être sans attributs, force sans providence,
Exerçant au hasard une aveugle puissance;
Vrai Saturne, enfantant, dévorant tour à tour,
Faisant le mal sans haine et le bien sans amour;
N'ayant pour dessein qu'un éternel caprice,
Ni commandant ni foi, ni loi, ni sacrifice;
Livrant le faible au fort et le juste au trépas,
Et dont la raison dit: Est-il? ou n'est-il pas?

With this comp. a poem by Schelling, published in the *Zeitschrift für spec. Physik*, 1800, and continued in the *Anthologie aus Schelling's Werke*. (Berl., 1844), p. 98. Much, however, may seem to be pantheism from the stand-point of abstract deism, that is not so in reality. Bunsen remarks: "The immanence of God in the world is by no means equivalent to pantheism; for the life of God and his continuance in it may be conceived without excluding the self-origination of God as the idea and will of the world, and the independence of the self-centred blessed Deity, as a necessary result." *Gott in der Geschichte*, p. 5.

¹ The word "personal" may, of course, be erroneously explained, so as to involve the nature of God in human limitations; but it has become one of the tasks of modern philosophy to settle this very idea of personality. It is of primary importance that the distinction between the ideas *person* and *individual* should be preserved. God is not an individual (though so eminent a thinker of former years as Hamann employed this designation) but person—not a person, but person in the eminent sense—absolute personality. The historical development of the doctrine of the Trinity in unity, illustrates, though in hieroglyphics, the difficulty of the problem to be solved. An idea is not to be rejected as unthinkable, simply because it is involved in difficulties to our thought; precisely the inexpressible demands the most energetic efforts of the noblest of our powers and thought. Comp. (in addition to the younger Fichte) the treatise of

excluded from the world nor included in it, and who both transcends the world and is immanent in it; and which furthermore conceives of the human soul and body as organically related, refusing to make of spirit merely sublimated matter, or of matter the precipitate of spirit, and acknowledging both personal freedom and a free personality created for eternal ends. We designate such a philosophy as *theistic*,¹ in contrast with both the deistic and the pantheistic, and accordingly observe that the only system that may be applied to Christian theology is *that of pure theism*. Whether philosophy can of itself formulate this theism, or, renouncing the attempt, whether it shall devolve the task upon the practical reason with Kant and Herbart, or upon feeling with Jacobi, or upon faith and presentiment with Fries, is a matter of little consequence; for we are not concerned to clearly demonstrate the idea of personality in a scientific light, which task may be properly reserved for philosophy. But theology can never strike friendly hands with a philosophical conception of the world, which eliminates man's personal relation to God and consequently destroys religion, the basis of all theology itself.² Nor would we venture to assert, *without a preliminary understanding*, that the philosophy must be "Christian." How is the word to be understood? If in a historical sense, it appears that all modern philosophy, having come into being through the influence of Christian ideas, is Christian; and this is true of such philosophies as are unchristian in their results, in so far as they have passed through a Christian development. But if it be made to signify that the doctrines of Christianity should constitute the subject-matter of the philosophy, that, for instance, it should undertake to develop the atonement or the person of Christ, the result is that a demand is made upon philosophy for which its power is inadequate.³ Finally,

The conditions of a Christian philosophy.

The only possible Christian philosophy theistic.

The sense in which a philosophy must be Christian.

Deinhardt, *Begriff der Persönlichkeit mit Rücksicht auf Strauss* (in *Beiträge*, p. 85 *sqq.*) and Schenkel, *Idee der Persönlichkeit in ihrer Zeitbedeutung für d. theol. Wissenschaft*, etc. Schaffh., 1850, and also *id.*, *Dogmatik*, i, p. 29 *sqq.*

¹ It must be conceded that these terms are arbitrarily applied; but they are employed in harmony with the current usage. Comp. Deinhardt, *Kategorie des christlichen Theismus*, in *Beiträge*, p. 67 *sqq.* The word *theism* is still used, however, as synonymous with *deism*, by some authors (as Kym, *l. c.*).

² Lotze somewhere makes the appropriate remark, that "the truly real, which is and is to be, is not matter and still less idea, but the living and personal Spirit of God and the world of personal spirits which he has created." Theology will doubtless be able to content itself with this philosophical result.

³ Van Oosterzee presents the distinction between the *material* of philosophy and that of theology in a very satisfactory manner. This distinction once accepted, the

if its ideas are to be derived from other sources, *e. g.*, from the Bible (the thought has expression in talk about a Biblical philosophy), it must cease to be philosophy and lose itself in dogmatics. A different judgment must be formed of the so-called *philosophy of Christianity*, which does not attempt an *a priori* explanation of the Christian Revelation, but regards it as existing, and seeks to comprehend it in harmony with the fundamental principles of reason. It is accordingly a part of the general philosophy of religion, or also of the philosophy of history, and may as readily be undertaken from an unchristian as a Christian point of view.¹

SECTION IX.

VALUE OF THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY.

No single department of philosophical inquiry can be made at will to possess special prominence for the theologian, since philosophy is an organic whole; but the field of ethics—moral philosophy and the philosophy of religion—will more particularly come into relations with theology, in addition to the formal elements of philosophy (logic, dialectics) and its general bases (psychology, anthropology).

In recent times the *encyclopædia of philosophy* has been included among the subjects usually presented in academical lectures; and its study should be urged upon the theologian, as of primary importance.² Ordinary logic, as it was occasionally taught in preparatory schools or more generally in the first stages of the university course, had temporarily lost much of its significance for many students, in view of the entire

confusion of philosophy and theology is readily avoided: "Theology is distinguished from speculative philosophy in this, that while the latter takes the pure human consciousness as its starting point, theology, on the contrary, must, above all, take account with an historical fact, with the belief of the community in a divine revelation. It makes the subject and ground of this belief the material for its investigation, in order to purify the idea, to develop it, and when necessary to defend it. It is 'une philosophie, dont la base est donnée' (Vinet), and thus, as a science, sustains a two-fold character. It proceeds from that which is given, not in order to leave it as it is given; it reasons and philosophizes, but not in the abstract. Its material is an historical product, but it must treat this in a Christian philosophical (really critical) method." (Christian Dogmatics, Amer. ed., v. i, p. 2).

¹ Comp., however, Felt, Encykl., p. 541 *sqq.*, and J. P. Lange, Phil. Dogmatik.

² Herbart, Troxler, and Hegel published philosophical encyclopædias. Oppermann, Encykl. d. Philosophie, Hanover, 1844; F. C. Callisen, Propædeutik d. Phil., Schleswig, 1846; K. Ph. Fischer, Grundzüge des Systems d. Philosophie u. Encykl. d. Phil. Wissenschaften. Erlangen, 1848-52 and 55, 3 vols.; K. Rosenkranz, System d. Wissenschaften, etc., Königsberg, 1850; H. Ritter, Encykl. d. phil. Wissenschaften, 3 vols. Göttingen, 1862-64. Comp. L. Tobler, Phil. Propædeutik auf Gymnasien in the Neue Schweiz. Museum of Ribbeck, Köchly and Fischer, 1861, No. 4.

transformation of philosophy ; but as the paroxysm wore off, the reaction caused a more zealous return to logical sobriety, without which all philosophizing becomes simply a tumultuous confusion.

Psychology, which for a period of considerable length had been moving in abstract categories, presenting the life of the soul apart from the conditions of physical life, was, after the return from this exclusive spiritualism, drawn more and more into the field of the physical sciences and brought into connexion with physiology—assuredly an advantageous change for science. This change involved the danger, however, of losing the soul-life in that of the body, and of thereby passing from spiritualism into materialism. Importance to philosophy of a sound psychology. A true philosophy of religion will always be dependent on a thorough psychology, a genuine philosophical exposition of the nature of the soul and its various manifestations (anthropology). An illustration is found in the relation between faith and knowledge, to determine which is the office of philosophy, but whose demonstration depends essentially upon psychological postulates. The old, Socratic maxim, “Know thyself,” forms the underlying basis of all knowledge. A further question arises, however, concerning the extent to which even an objective apprehension of “the thing in itself” is possible to speculative philosophy—the great question to which various answers have continued to be returned since the days of Kant. This leads into fields which are often designated by the names of *ontology* and *metaphysics*. The names have been exchanged for others, indeed ; but the departments to which they apply will constitute the field of so-called *speculative philosophy*.

If we recur to the ancient Platonic and Aristotelian division of philosophy into physics, ethics, and dialectics, we obtain an analogue to the different branches of study treated of in § 5, which are also designated as philosophical studies in the broad sense. Logic (dialectics) will correspond to philology and mathematics, physics to the natural sciences, and ethics to history. If we apply the modern terminology, we have on the one hand a phenomenology of nature, and on the other a phenomenology of mind ; on the one hand natural philosophy, on the other moral philosophy (the metaphysics of morality) and the philosophy of law (natural justice), of religion, and of history. Philosophy divisible into that of nature and that of mind. It must be left to philosophy itself to determine the relation sustained by the philosophy of nature to empirical natural science, or by the philosophy of religion to religion and its historical manifestation in actual life. We likewise referred to the arts, in addition to the sciences ; and we here find available a philosophy of the beautiful also—*aesthetics* the philosophy of art.

The *history of philosophy* is necessary to the study of philosophy itself; but as an auxiliary to the history of religion, Church, and doctrine, its consideration is referred to another place.

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SECTION X.

THE PREVAILING TENDENCIES OF THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

The estimate to be formed of the various theological tendencies and the choice of a position with regard to them, are naturally connected with the determination of the relation of philosophy to theology, though not dependent on it alone. A characterization of these tendencies becomes necessary at this point, because their influence makes itself felt throughout the entire science; but this is by no means designed to lead to a definite conclusion, which is rather to be attained through the medium of theological study itself.

The history of the subject enables us to recognize in the early Church two tendencies which came into frequent conflict with each other (comp. § 3). The one was more particularly inclined to hold fast to the legal, literal, traditional; the other, more independent, tended to pass beyond these limits. A Petrine and a Pauline tendency were manifest even among the primitive Christians. The earliest heresies took the form of Ebionitism on the one hand, and of Gnosticism on the other; but transitions from the one to the other (Clementines), or modifications of them (Montanism as a modification of Ebionitism?), took place even at this stage. The same contrast was repeated within the pale of the catholic orthodox Church, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian being on the one side, and Clement and Origen on the other. The succeeding controversies in the Church likewise presented the two opposing tendencies, though yet undeveloped and unconscious, in contrast with each other, until in a later day they assumed the forms of rationalism and supernaturalism. The strict Arians (Eunomius), for instance, insisted that Divine things could be comprehended, while the great defenders of orthodoxy in that age sought to guard their incomprehensible and mysterious character by the development of awe-inspiring formulas. In like manner, Nestorius, and with him the school of Antioch, represented a sober, intelligently discriminating tendency, pervaded by the breath of a mild piety, while Cyril of Alexandria and his party comprehended religious ideas in compact forms of expression calculated to challenge contradiction on the part of reason, *e. g.*, God has died, and similar expressions. The same contrast appears in the practical field, where Pelagius gave the first place to human liberty, while Augustine assigned the first place to the grace of God. In the domain of ethics, the former is an atomist, and the latter

a dynamist. Farther on, in the Middle Ages, the sacramental controversy shows an inclination on the part of some (Ratramnus, Berengarius) toward intelligent reflection, while others (Paschasius Radbertus, Lanfranc) hold fast the transcendental and incomprehensible even in outward things, and endeavor to embody it to the senses. John Scotus Erigena, a phenomenal character, but isolated and unappreciated, combined in himself both rationalistic and mystical elements. Among scholastics, Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Roscelin, although not absolute rationalists, yet belong to the class of rational theologians, while Anselm emphasizes faith, at the same time, however, striving to apprehend it by the reason. Bernard of Clairvaux supported strictly the positive doctrines of the Church by the weight of his personal influence. The mystics sought to intensify and give depth to the doctrines of the Church, but in their hands the positive was often transformed into the ideal, and history, as in the case of Origen, became a symbol and an allegory. They were thus unconsciously borne in the direction of rationalism. It is worthy of note that in the last period of scholasticism the prevalent nominalism introduced a sceptical spirit, which was counterbalanced by a purely external supernaturalism, based, however, on authority. The relation between faith and knowledge thus became unnatural, the renunciation of scientific apprehension on the part of faith resulting in blind credulity, while irreverent thought and speculation degenerated into frivolous unbelief.

The Reformation cannot be regarded as exclusively the precursor of rationalism or the founder of supernaturalism. Least of all was it the precursor of rationalism in its broad manifestation and its immediate results. Luther was decidedly opposed to all subtleties (comp. § 7). Erasmus manifested far more rationalistic tendencies. Many have attempted to class Zwingle with the founders of rationalism, but certainly without cause, if the language is employed in the absolute or even the popular sense. It cannot be denied, however, that Zwingle, who combined soberness of judgment, with all his impulsive energy, and sympathized with the classical humanism of the Erasmian school, stands, at first sight, more nearly related to rationalism, than the realistic and positive Calvin, with his leaning toward strict supernaturalism; but the latter was, at the same time, by no means inferior to his opponents in the critical spirit, nor even averse to the employment of such weapons as rationalism subsequently used in its conflict with the orthodoxy of the Church (comp. his dispute on the Lord's Supper with Westphal). The rationalistic principle

Theological
tendencies in
the Middle
Ages.

Theological
spirit of the
Reformers.

was clearly manifested, on the other hand, by the antitrinitarians and their open and concealed friends, and it finally became settled, although as yet not fully developed, and combined with a formal supernaturalism, in Socinianism. Seb. Franck, Schwenkfeld, and Theobald Thamer, the latter especially, combined rationalistic elements with their mystical and theosophic tendencies.

In the Reformed Church Arminianism broke through the limits of strict orthodoxy in the seventeenth century; and the influence of English Deism soon after the beginning of the eighteenth, led Christian apologists to grant many concessions to the spirit of the age. A system of natural (rational) theology took root beside the revealed (positive, Scripturally ecclesiastical), while the demonstrative method (beginning with Wolf, comp. § 7). drew the meshes of rationalistic categories through the substance of orthodoxy. Pietism, which had formerly been at odds with orthodoxy, now entered into a league with it for the defence of Biblical supernaturalism, which was being shattered by the attacks of criticism (Lessing, Semler). This continued until the appearance of Kant, who unravelled all that had hitherto been woven, discharged the pure reason from all participation in theology while assigning to the practical reason the inherited doctrines of God and immortality, and assigned to morality the categorical imperative as its basis. The more definite use of the terms rationalism and supernaturalism dates from that period (more particularly from the issue of the work, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, 1793). Kant makes a sharp distinction between rationalism and naturalism, which should always be observed.¹ German rationalism, as it was developed through the tendencies of that age, though not through the direct influence of Kant, is, in its formal character, distinguished from supernaturalism chiefly in that it considers as identical with the demands of reason, what the latter conceives to be a supernatural revelation, and in that it consequently endeavors to explain away by tricks of interpretation all that is

Theological tendencies of the 17th century.

Theology in the 18th century.

Chief traits of modern rationalism.

¹ A distinction similar to that between radicalism and liberalism in the field of politics, although they often pass into each other. Comp. Kant, *Rel. innerhalb d. Grenz. d. bloss. Vernunft*, p. 216 sq. The designation "rationalist" is, however, of earlier date. The terms *Rationistæ* and *Ratiocinistæ* were employed as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, during a controversy at Helmstedt between the orthodox and the humanists (comp. Henke, *Georg Calixt*, p. 248). A sect whose adherents denominated themselves "rationalists," existed in England in 1646; and Suero, during a disputation in A. D. 1706, classed "*Rationalistæ, Naturalistæ, Libertini, Sceptici, quin imo Athei*" together. Comp. Lechler, *Gesch. des englischen Deismus*, p. 61, and Tholuck, *Verm. Schriften*, ii, p. 26.

supernatural in the Scriptures, or else seeks to obviate its force as being merely the opinion of the time and people in question. It holds fast chiefly to the ethics of Christianity. This formal difference naturally implies the material, with reference to the specifically Christian doctrines of the person of Christ, the Trinity, original sin, the merits of Christ, redemption, eschatology, etc. Frequent approximations of the two systems to each other became apparent, however, at an early day. Biblical supernaturalism departed in many respects from the ancient orthodox doctrine of the Church, and often agreed with Socinianism in simply retaining the merely formal idea of a revelation, so that the controversy turned not so much upon the contents of doctrine as upon the way by which it had been reached. Rationalism, on the other hand, sought to demonstrate its agreement with the Bible in essential points, and established itself as Biblical rationalism, in opposition to doctrines of the Church as developed beyond the Scriptures, as well as to the more recent speculations. Mutual concessions led to a rational supernaturalism and a supernatural rationalism. Meanwhile, the active intellect of theologians like Herder, had already solved the contradiction in the last century, by regarding Revelation, not as an abstractly imparted doctrine from God to men, but as a Divine and human fact, to which the Bible gives a living testimony, without attempting to place in the hands of the systematic theologian a finished *corpus doctrinae*. Kleuker, too, insisted upon the recognition of the divinely given facts, while entertaining freer views respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures which had been identified with revelation itself.¹

Approaches of rationalism and supernaturalism to each other.

New direction given to theology by Herder and Schleiermacher.

But it was reserved for Schleiermacher, more than all others, to allay the conflict between rationalism and supernaturalism,² by making the historical manifestation of Christ, and acknowledgment of him as the Saviour of the world, the criterion by which to judge. The contrast between sin and grace, which had received a superficial treatment at the hands even of many Biblical supernaturalists, was again apprehended in its profound significance,

¹ Compare S. Ratjen, Johann Friedrich Kleuker und Briefe seiner Freunde, Göttingen, 1842.

² "I, for my poor part," says Schleiermacher, "begin to feel uncomfortable as soon as I listen to the on-rush of the 'ra-, irra-, and supra-,' because to my mind this terminology simply serves to increase the tangle of the confusion," (Zugabe zu Schreiben an Herrn Ammon, Berlin, 1818, p. 14). Concerning the influence of Schleiermacher on the development of modern theology, comp. K. Schwarz Gesch. d. neuesten Theologie, p. 29 *sqq.*, 1st ed

and the proper manifestation of God was seen to be his manifestation in Christ for the redemption of the world. Subsequent speculation likewise rendered material aid to the introduction of a more spiritual conception of the idea of revelation, and the whole of

recent theology—to whose development, in addition to Schleiermacher, de Wette, Marheineke, Daub, Nitzsch, Twisten, Hase, Ullmann, Jul. Müller, Dörner, Al. Schweizer, Schenkel, Liebner, Martensen, Rothe, and Lange contributed, though occupying very different points of view—must be considered as having passed beyond the ancient controversy between rationalism and supernaturalism. It does not follow, however, that the antagonism has been removed, but merely that it has entered on a new stage. For,

1. The more modern tendency, generally speculatively mediating, is suspected by both the older rationalistic and the older supernaturalist schools of imposing a new sense on the ancient teachings of the Church, and of using words to conceal dishonest practices. At this point everything depends upon a correct apprehension of the relation of the undeveloped to the developed, the immediate contents of the Scriptures to what has been historically and intellectually inferred, as also upon a proper distinction between the religious element and the ever-changing forms of scientific expression.

2. It cannot be denied that the pantheistic spirit has often donned the garb of superior orthodoxy in an insulting comparison of itself with rationalism, although the latter honestly denied what it believed itself compelled to deny, while, at the same time, it decisively retained a belief in God and immortality according to the theistic view.¹ The reproaches of pantheism do not apply in every case, however; and, for itself, rationalism has often found it difficult while opposing pantheism, to deny the charge of sheer deism and naturalism. The vulgar rationalism, having fallen behind in the march of progress, is, with all its understanding and practical thoroughness, deficient in intellectual mobility when engaged upon details, and is deficient also in a profound ap-

¹ "It should be credited to the memory of rationalism, that it did not reject the idea of personality, nor teach an impersonal God, an impersonal Christ, an impersonal human soul, i. e., one incapable of existing after death. In its more noble representatives, at least, the disciples and successors of Kant, it displays the praiseworthy ambition to secure dogmatic recognition for an absolutely perfect, personal God, who governs the world in the interests of moral ends, an ethically perfect Christ, who is educating the world for moral purposes, and a human personal soul, which is capable of endless moral perfection, and is being trained on earth by Christianity for the hereafter." Schenkel, *Idee der Persönlichkeit*, p. 6.

prehension of the nature of religion and Christianity, while, despite its praiseworthy morality, it also lacks the devout disposition in which all religious inspiration has its rise. This applies also, though in a different manner, to the older Biblical supernaturalism, which rests upon a more solid foundation, indeed, but without deriving an adequate benefit from this advantage.

In the current conflict modern pietism has taken the place of the older supernaturalism. The earlier pietism¹ contrasted with the orthodoxy of its time, in that it represented the independent, active principle in the Church, and the interests of practical Christianity (Spener, Francke). It assumed a weaker position after the days of the Wolfian philosophy, and often assailed science at improper points (the pietistic opposition at Halle against Wolf). Pietism joins the older supernaturalism in holding strongly to the Scriptures; but what was a dead form with the latter, has become a living body with the former. It regards the Bible as the word of life, and like the later theology, it attaches great importance to the contrast between sin and grace, with the difference that it rejects the speculative element and confines itself wholly to the practical. It is only too prone, however, to commit the error of confounding dogmatic Christianity with practical, in its zealous defense of the letter, or to be led astray, while striving to be piously intelligent, into insipidity and arbitrariness. To this must be added a fondness for dabbling with philosophy and natural science without honestly examining their claims, or, in case it renounces every pretence to scientific character, a disposition to vaunt itself in pious phraseology, which naturally assumes the appearance of cant.

The position of pietism in the conflict.

¹ The name, as is well known, came into current use in the time of Spener and Francke. At that time the pietists (as liberals) stood opposed to the strictly orthodox. Their buoyant and pious spiritual life soon, however, gave way to ascetic formalism. This was pietism on its practical side (affected piety); our concern is with dogmatic pietism. The latter clings emphatically to the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism, both the formal, as involved in the principle of the authority of the Scriptures, and the material, of sin and justification, in which connexion it strongly emphasizes the natural corruption of man and his moral inability when not aided by grace (comp. von Cölln and Bretschneider in the passages cited below). In these respects it cannot be justly charged with sectarianism; it has, on the contrary, always appealed to its orthodoxy, when brought into comparison with rationalism. But its devotion to the letter is not yet a proof of the Protestant spirit; and the words will apply here, "Duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem," and, "C'est le ton, qui fait la musique." Luther's energetic nature certainly wrought out the doctrine internally with different results, and gave to it a different outward bearing, from what a sickly languishing pietism is able to furnish. The entire life-conception of the Reformation was soundly pious, but far from being morbidly pietistic.

Mysticism,¹ which has been improperly confounded with pietism, presents a more attractive appearance. It is more ancient than pietism, being as old as the Church, and even older. It is really religion itself in the exact sense, as the latter appears when restricted to its immediate self and not aided by intelligent knowledge, or when, guided by the imagination, it wanders off into the labyrinths of theosophy, while in the practical field it either gives way to the contemplative inactivity of quietism or manifests itself as enthusiasm. Mysticism is supernaturalism, inasmuch as it rests on the assumption of an immediate enlightening influence from above and of an actual communion of the Divine with the human; it can never, therefore, come to terms with the vulgar rationalism.² But it differs from the formal Biblical supernaturalism in not limiting revelation entirely to the written word, listening rather to the internal word, and evincing a strong inclination to convert the positive features into allegory, and the historical facts into ideal vagaries. It has this tendency in common with the idealistic rationalism, as may be seen, *e. g.*, in Swedenborg.

Another new form of supernaturalism is the ecclesiastical positivism and confessionalism, which again asserts itself with power. This tendency, not content with Biblical orthodoxy, lays stress upon assent to the teachings of symbolical books as the necessary criterion of a correct belief, and aims

¹ The derivation is from *μύω, μύστης, μυστήριον, μυστικός*. The examination of what is mysterious involves neither praise nor blame, aside from other considerations. Inasmuch as religion is itself the mystery of godliness, it will involve a mystical character to the apprehension of the average human understanding; and it was not, therefore, wholly an error, to distinguish between a true and a false mysticism, as some have done. The corruption of mysticism has been designated by many as fanaticism (from *fanum, fanaticus*); but there are fanatics of every kind, even rationalistic ones. The characteristic traits of a fanatic are a cold heart and a hot head. Enthusiasm is sometimes substituted for this term; but common usage attaches a more innocent idea to that word. The enthusiast is capable of martyrdom in the defense of his principles; the fanatic erects the stake. (Bretschneider describes fanaticism as the paroxysm of enthusiasm). Nitzsch remarks, in entire correspondence with our view, that "fanaticism is, in its inner nature, unqualifiedly cold; every fanatic is, in his inmost being, a cold nature; whatever heat he has is superficial; a passionate bearing within the limits of the external and the empirical, is cultivated as a compensation for his coldness and indifference." *Akadem. Vorträge über Christl. Glaubenslehre*, p. 28.

² "In the meantime," says Hase (*Theol. Streitschriften*, No. 3, page 90), "it would not harm rationalism, if it were to receive into itself as much of mystical unction as it could contain without injury to its sound common sense; and mysticism likewise would not necessarily suffer the loss of its vessel of grace, were it to receive on board a measure of good sense, as ballast, if not as a compass."

in Germany to destroy the existing union between Protestant denominations.

England in the latter part of the seventeenth century was profoundly stirred by the Trinitarian controversy, which began with the publication of tracts on the Unitarian side, by Thomas Firmin, a wealthy London merchant. Dr. John Wallis defended the Athanasian Creed, in his *Letters on the Trinity* (1690). In the same year Dean Sherlock contributed *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity*, in which he approached tritheism, and was answered by Dr. South (1693) and Dr. Wallis. Bishop Bull's *Defensio Fidei Niceanae* (1685), collected the testimonies of the Fathers to the pre-existence of Christ and his divinity. In 1694 appeared his *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, in which he justified the anathema of the Nicene Creed. In *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1711), and the *Council of Nice Vindicated from the Athanasian Heresy* (1713), Professor Whiston, of Cambridge, set forth semi-Arianism. Whitby's *Disquisitions* criticised Bishop Bull's argument from the ante-Nicene Fathers. Dr. Samuel Clarke followed in the same line of argument, although he refused to be called an Arian. These works elicited Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*; *Defence of the Divinity of Christ*; *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, etc. (1719-1724). After this controversy had run its course the attention of English theologians was directed to the Deistic controversy, already noticed (pp. 76, 77).

A marked change in the tendencies of theological opinion in England may be dated from the middle of the eighteenth century. The Wesleyan revival led to a concentration of thought upon the atonement, justification by faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man. The effects of the revival were felt throughout the English Church in the rise of the evangelical party, and beyond the Church in the general diffusion of Wesleyan theological ideas. At the same time the attack upon the internal contents of Christianity passed on to its external evidences and called forth a corresponding apologetic literature. In this literature Lardner (1684-1768), Leland (1691-1766), Paley (1743-1805), and Lyttleton (1709-1773), became conspicuous. Towards the close of the century English Deism became infected with the French spirit, of which Gibbon, the historian, and Thomas Paine are striking examples. The evangelical movement having relaxed church principles and prepared the way for political liberalism, awakened a counter movement, which announced itself in 1833 in the issue of the first "Tract for the Times." From this series, which was finished in

Theological
tendencies in
England.

1840, the movement has taken the name of Tractarian. It maintains the regenerative efficacy of the sacraments, and the absolute authority of the Church over the individual. At the same time the penetration of the English mind by German culture has produced a rationalism which has run parallel with that of Germany. Literary Rationalism has found a brilliant representative in Thomas Carlyle, who, while urging his countrymen to give heed to the moral order of the universe, seems to deny the possibility of attaining to distinct theological conceptions. The disciples of Coleridge have endeavored to adjust modern philosophical thought and the creed of the Church of England to each other, and have produced a Broad Church party. The critical rationalistic spirit in the State Church is represented in the "Essays and Reviews," and the attacks of Bishop Colenso on the Credibility of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. Two of the theological tendencies of the age are well typified by the lives of the brothers, John Henry and Francis William Newman, one of whom passed from the evangelical school, through Tractarianism to Rome, and the other, from the same starting-point, through Unitarianism to a religious idealism which denies all historic Christianity. During the past few years a call has been made among the Non-conformists of England and Scotland for a revision of Church standards.

In the United States the Wesleyan revival spread more widely than in England, and created a theological tendency corresponding with its distinctive religious ideas. The Unitarian movement, which dates from the time of Stoddard's proposal of a "half-way covenant," obtained fresh importance under the leadership of William Ellery Channing (1780-1842). Since the time of Channing it has shown both a conservative and a radical tendency, the radicalism going to the length of wholly destructive criticism (Theodore Parker and O. B. Frothingham). The Tractarian movement has also been repeated in the United States, but without the vigor which has marked its progress in England. The Churches of the Reformed faith, under the leadership of the American Presbyterians, have formed an alliance, which has secured a collation of all the Reformed creeds.

As one extreme, however, always calls forth the other, rationalism, which was supposed to have been forever buried, ^{The modern} ^{rationalism.} has again arisen, but in a different form, and, in consequence, assumes the designation "modern." It is remarkable that the same philosophical school to which the defenders of modern supernaturalism belong, originated the speculative rationalism, which agrees with its older brother in denying the supernatural and the

miraculous, but in other respects is materially different, inasmuch as it denies with emphasis the very doctrines which the earlier rationalism energetically maintained, *viz.*, the doctrines of a personal God and a personal immortality, to which it adds incessant effort to undermine the historical basis of Christianity. Although this rationalism considers spirit a reality only as it attains to consciousness in man, it has yet often been confounded—by both friend and foe, and not always without its own fault—with the other tendency which ends with wholly denying the existence of spirit, and passes over into bald materialism and nihilism, theories which manifestly constitute the negation of all theology.

SECTION XI.

RELATION OF THE STUDENT TO THESE TENDENCIES.

The pupil will find no scientific charm, by the use of which he may avoid these opposing influences, and escape the mental conflict they naturally excite. On the other hand, let none who are conscious of being governed by upright intentions in the sight of God, permit mere theoretical doubts to frighten them from the study of theology. A pious disposition will be strengthened by the continued study of the Holy Scriptures as connected with the Church and its history, by acquaintance with the great heroes who stood for the truth, and who, in the midst of the most diverse complications, strove to secure the one thing needful, by sincere prayer to God. Love, which knows how to bear with divergent tendencies and how to appropriate to itself all that is good in any form, will increase with the growth of faith, and faith will hold fast the truth which has been secured; and wherever a living faith and love are found, hope in the full triumph of the truth will not be wanting.

The spirit in which these conflicting tendencies should be met.

Many approach theology with false expectations; either they have retained an unthinking faith, or they are affected by doubts conceived in the course of their preliminary studies. The former are easily disturbed in this study, when its critical processes threaten to destroy what they have hitherto cherished with devoted love. The latter become impatient when knotty doubts become still more involved, instead of giving way. Shall hard questions be concealed from sight, and the untenable be represented as admitting of defense? Shame on the science which would lend its aid to the attempt! Others advise, on the contrary, that persons who cannot keep from doubting should leave the study of theology untouched. They urge that believing theologians are needed, particularly in this age. The latter is certain

True method of dealing with doubt.

ly true; but we prefer a faith that has been tested in the conflict, to the dullness of spirit which is often confounded with a believing disposition. Accordingly, eminent theologians, possessing the most loyal faith, have always valued courage in youthful aspirants. So

Testimonies of
great theologians.
Bengel,¹ who expresses the idea that "all doctrinal tenets must needs pass through a conflict, and their truth be won afresh." Harms, the man of robust faith, remarked while standing by the grave of a rationalistic student, "He who doubts religiously, has the true religion."² Neander is said to have expressed an analogous sentiment, with reference to a young theologian who died before the age of youthful doubts had passed, to the effect that he died in his calling, and that to die thus is to die well. But let the questioning be in a religious spirit, and with a holy determination of heart which consents to part with every thing for the sake of securing a single pearl of truth.

An earnestly religious character, even if it exists only in its most general form, will assuredly become more positively Christian under the influence of a sound course of theological study. A vivid apprehension of Christ, even in his human nature alone, will, if joined with enthusiasm for the ideal, ere long beget in the heart faith in his Divine character, although the intellect may yet be struggling to find a satisfactory expression of its views. Such idealism³ is at all events, better than the dry prosaic disposition of a mind wholly given up to the influence of ordinary outward realities, which, precisely because of unbelief, demands that every thing shall be signed and sealed and trebly hypothecated, and which prefers to confine its attention to what lies on the surface, to the end that its sleep may be undis-

Sound theological study will increase faith.
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¹ See *Leben Bengel's*, by Burk, p. 17, and comp. the *Göttingen Memorial*, Ueber die gegenwärtige Krisis des kirchlichen Lebens (Gött., 1854), p. 18: "As in the field of morals importance attaches not simply to what is done, but even more to the reasons, purposes, and motives of our action; so in the religious field the great question is in no wise chiefly, *who* believes, but more especially *how* and *why* he believes;" and page 20: "Inasmuch as the spiritual office, however important its relation to the organism of the Church may be, does not ask to be considered a talisman before whose very appearance the diseases of our age must fly, it follows, that theological faculties will be required still further to impress upon the future servants of the Church, entrusted to their guidance and care, to the utmost of their ability, the necessity for inward religious and moral culture rather than the mere memorizing of the tenets of the creed, in order that they may not merely attain to a correct belief, but also come to hold it in a correct manner, and that thus a clergy firmly established in the faith of our Church be perpetuated among us."

² See *Rheinwald's Repertorium*, xxx, p. 54.

³ Comp. Kähler, *Christl. Sittenlehre*, p. 23, where genuine ideality is emphasized, as against a mere giddiness of ideas.

turbed. Let, therefore, the picture of a living Christ, adapted to compel the attention of every human soul struggling after God, be made the central feature of the theological school. It will then become speedily apparent that "to love Jesus is the true supernaturalism, to comprehend Jesus the true rationalism, and to illustrate Jesus in personal character the true mysticism; and that these three constitute true Christianity."¹

Let the student remember, too, that the question of rationalism is largely a question of method. He who has, through a Christian experience, attained a clear Christian consciousness, is fixed upon a rock, from which he cannot easily be moved. Anselm has taught us that we must believe in order to understand, and has also reminded us that we are negligent if, "after we are established in the faith, we do not seek to understand what we believe."² We may be rational and yet not rationalistic; inquiring and yet thoroughly believing; philosophical and yet not unchristian. In the spirit of Anselm Coleridge has pointed out that "in order to an efficient belief in Christianity, a man must have been a Christian; that this is the seeming *argumentum in circulo* incident to all spiritual truths, to every subject not presentable under the forms of time and space, as long as we attempt to master by the reflex acts of the understanding what we can only know by the act of becoming."³ Christ's words will furnish the student a sure clue through the tangled thicket of rationalism: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

Respecting the extent to which the theological school may contribute to the cultivation of a right disposition, comp. § 22.

THE LITERATURE OF THE CONFLICT.

Compare K. G. Bretschneider, *Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe*, etc. (vol. 4, Lpz., 1841, p. 189); and die *Literatur über Religionsphilosophie*, p. 76.

I. ON RATIONALISM AND SUPERNATURALISM.

a. ON THE SIDE OF RATIONALISM.

J. F. Röhrl, *Briefe über den Rationalismus*. Aachen (Zeit.), 1818.

J. Schulthess und J. K. v. Orelli, *Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus; Kanon, Tradition, und Scription*. Zürich, 1822.

J. F. Röhrl, *Grund- und Glaubenssätze, der evang.-protest. Kirche*. 1832-34. (Vgl. Bretschn. a. a. O. S. 194.) 8. Aufl. Neustadt a. d. O. 1843.

Ch. F. Fritzsche, *de rationalismo commentat. II*; in den *opuscul. academ.* (Tur., 1846) p. 85 ss.

L. J. Rückert, *der Rationalismus*. Lpz., 1859.

¹ Kähler, *infra*, p. 324.

² *Cur Deus Homo?* book 1, chap. II.

³ *Biographia Literaria*, chap. xxiv, p. 349.

Exponents of the Extreme Modern Rationalism:—

Kradolfer, über Glauben und Unglauben. Bremen, 1868.

Schwalb, der alte und neue Glaube und Christus. Ebd. (In reply: Zahn, der alte und der neue Christus, oder Glaube und Unglaube. Sendschreiben an Schwalb. Bremen, 1868.)

The best known organ of the older rationalistic tendency for a long time was Röhr's Predigerbibliothek (Neustadt a. d. Orla), 1820–1848, twenty-eight volumes and some pamphlets, continued by L. Lange until 1851 in nearly two volumes. Earlier still were Schulthess' Annalen, Paulus' Sophronizon, der Denkgläubige, and other periodicals; also die Darmstädter Kirchenzeitung, under the editorship of Bretschneider. A product of the vulgar Rationalism (which is partly mixed with pantheistic young Hegelian ideas) is the so-called Deutsch-Katholicismus, and the Lichtfreundthum. Compare the writings of Ronge, Uhlich, Wislicenus, König, Rupp (Brun's Repertor. 1845, vol. iv, page 26). Organs of the same tendency are: Hofferichter und Kampe: Für freies religiöses Leben, Breslau, 1848; Blätter für christl. Erbauung, by R. Fischer and afterwards by Zille; Lucifer, Fliegende Blätter für Kirchen- und Schulreform by C. Schäffer. Much different from the above-named tendency is the Rationalism which, more or less connecting itself with the results of the Hegelian philosophy and Tübingen criticism, adopted as its highest standard "the modern consciousness." Its organs were the Zeitstimmen aus der ref. Kirche der Schweiz (from 1859), and the (Berne) Reformblätter (from 1866), both published since 1872 as Reform, Zeitstimmen aus der Schweizerischen Kirche. See also § 69.

b. ON THE SIDE OF SUPERNATURALISM.

J. A. H. Tittman, über Supranatur., Rational., und Atheismus. Lpz., 1816.

Cl. Harms, Thesen Luthers mit andern 95 Sätzen. Kiel, 1817. (For the controversy arising therefrom, see in Deegen's Jahrbuch der Litera., ii, p. 189, and iii, p. 73.) — dass es mit der Vernunftreligion nichts ist. Kiel, 1819.

Ch. T. Zöllich, Briefe über den Supranaturalismus, eine gegenschrift zu den briefen über den Rational. Sondershausen, 1821. (In reply thereto Gebhard, die letzten Gründe des Rationalismus. Arnst., 1822.)

T. F. Kleuker, über das Ja und Nein der bibl.-christl., und der reinen Vernunfttheologie. Hamburg, 1819. (Compare also über die Altonaer Bibel, 1818.)

H. Steffens, von der falschen Theologie und dem wahren Glauben; eine Stimme aus der Gemeinde. Breslau, 1831.

E. Sartorius, die Religion ausserhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft. Marburg, 1822.

— über die Unwissenschaftlichkeit und innere Verwandtschaft des Rationalismus und Romanismus in den Erkenntnisprincipien und Heilslehren des Christenthums. (Beiträge zur Vertheidigung der evangelischen Rechtgläubigkeit. Heidelberg, 1825.)

A. Hahn, de rationalismi, qui dicitur, vera indole et qua cum naturalismo contineatur ratione. Lips., 1827. (Compare also the polemical treatises which were called forth by it from Hase, Krug, Richter, Clemen, and others. Bretschneider, Syst. Entw., p. 192.)

— über die Lage des Christenthums in unserer Zeit, und das Verhältniss des christlichen Theologie zur Wissenschaft, überhaupt. Lpz., 1832.

T. A. Voigtländer, der Rationalismus nach seinen philosophischen Hauptformen und in seiner historischen Gestalt. Lpz., 1830.

W. Steiger, Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheiders Dogmatik. Berlin, 1830.

With Sharp Antagonism to the Modern Tendencies:—

- Agénor de Gasparin, *les écoles du doute et l'école de la foi*. Paris, 1853.
 Vilmar, *die Theologie der Thatsachen wider die Theologie der Rhetorik*. 4th edit., Marburg, 1876.
 Scheele, *die trunkene Wissenschaft und ihr Erbe an die evangelische Kirche*. Berlin, 1867.

Periodical Organs of Supernaturalism:—

- Hengstenberg's *Evangel. Kirchenzeitung* (Berlin, 1827); since 1869 by L. II. Tauscher; earlier, Bengel's *Archiv* (continued by Steudel); Heidenreich's and Hüffell's *Zeitschrift*; Schwarz's *Jahrbücher*; Tholuck's *Literar. Anzeiger*.

Organs of the Extreme Orthodox (Lutherans):—

- The *Erlanger Zeitschriften* by Harless, Rudelbach, and Guericke (Guericke and Delitzsch to the end of 1878); by Dieckhoff (earlier, Meyer) and Kliefoth; Luthardt's *Allgem. evang. luth. K. Z.* (Lpz., 1868).
 An organ of the extreme reformed tendency is, the *Evang. Ref. Kirchenzeitung*, by Thelemann (Detmold, 1851); in place of which has appeared lately the *Elberfelder Reform. K. Z.* As an organ of the now so-called "positive Union," the *Neue evang. K. Z.*, by H. Messner and others (Berl., 1859), may be consulted.

C. THE MEDIATING THEOLOGY.

1. *From the Standpoint of Rationalism.*

- H. G. Tzschirner, *dass die Verschiedenheit der dogmatischen Systeme kein Hinderniss des Zwecks der Kirche sei*. (Vgl. Bretschneider S. 191.)
 Ch. F. Böhme, *christl. Henotikon*. Halle, 1827.
 K. G. Bretschneider, *über die grundprincipien der evangel. Theologie*. Altenburg, 1832. (The same author's two letters to a statesman. Lpz., 1830.)
 C. G. W. Theile, *Christus und die Vernunft*. Lpz., 1830.
 — *Aphorismen zur Verständigung über den sogenannten alten und neuen Glauben*. Lpz., 1839.
 D. G. K. v. Cölln and Dav. Schulz, *über theologische Lehrfreiheit auf den evangelischen Universitäten*. Breslau, 1830.

2. *From the Standpoint of Supernaturalism.*

- E. L. Nitzsch, *über das Heil der Theologie durch Unterscheidung der Offenbarung und Religion als Mittel und Zweck*. Wittenb., 1830.
 L. Hüffell, *Friedensvorschläge zur Beendigung des Streits zwischen bibl. christlichen Theologen und Rationalisten* (*Zeitschrift für Predigerwissenschaften*, vol. II).
 K. Ruthenus, *der formale Supernaturalismus oder der einzig mögliche weg zu einer Ausgleichung der streitenden theol. Parteien*. Lpz., 1834.
 von der Goltz, *die Grenzen der Lehrfreiheit in Theol. u. Kirche*. Bonn, 1873.

3. *From the Speculative Standpoint.*

- de Wette, *Religion und Theologie*. Berl., 1817; 2. 1821.
 — *über den Verfall der protestantischen Kirche in Deutschland und die Mittel, ihr wieder aufzuhelfen* (*Reformationsalm.* 1817. Pp. 296 ff.).
 — *Theodor oder des Zweiflers Weihe*. Berlin, 1822, 28. 2 Bde.
 L. A. Kähler, *Supernaturalismus und Rationalismus in ihrem gemeinschaftl. Ursprunge, ihrer Zwietracht und höhern Einheit*. Lpz., 1818.
 K. Ullmann, *theolog. Bedenken, auf Veranlassung des Angriffs der evang. Kirchenzeitung auf den Hallischen Rationalismus*. Halle, 1830.

Alex. Schweizer, *Kritik des Gegensatzes zwischen Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus*. Zürich, 1838.

— *Nach Rechts und nach Links*. Lpz., 1876.

K. Hase, *theolog. Streitschriften*. Lpz., 1834–37. 3 vols.

Jul. Wiggers, *kirchlicher oder rein biblischer Supernaturalismus?* Lpz., 1842.

K. R. Hagenbach, *über die sog. Vermittlungstheologie, zur Abwehr und Verständigung*. Zür., 1858.

— *über Glauben und Unglauben; two lectures delivered at Basel*. Berne, 1872.

* R. Rothe, *zur Dogmatik*. Gotha, 1863. 2. ed., 1869.

A. E. Krauss, *die Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Gotha, 1868.

Dan. Schenkel, *Christenthum und Kirche im Einklang mit der Culturentwicklung*. Wiesbaden, 1867.

J. W. Hanne, *der Geist des Christenthums, seine Entwicklung und sein Verhältnisse zu Kirche und Cultur der Gegenwart*. Elberf., 1867.

Periodical Organs of the Mediating Theology:—

Theolog. Studien und Kritiken, by Ullmann and Umbreit, with the co-operation of Gieseler, Lücke, and Nitzsch, now conducted by Riehm, Köstlin, and Beyschlag (Hamburg, now Gotha); also the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissenschaft und christl. Leben*, conducted by K. T. Th. Schneider, with the co-operation of Jul. Müller, Aug. Neander, K. I. Nitzsch, later by W. Hollenberg. Other organs are: die *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, by Liebner and others (1858 until the end of 1878); die *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie* (Lpz., 1875), by Hase, Lipsius, Pfeiderer, and Schrader; Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie* (Lpz., 1858).

An organ of the freest critical tendency is the famous *Tijdschrift* of Leyden by A. Kuenen and others (1867); on the other hand there are the alike famous *Tijdschrift* of Groeningen (1875); also Kalkar's Danish *Tidskrift* (Copenhagen, 1871), belonging more to the mediating tendency.

The more practical tendencies are represented by the *Allg. Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, by Schenkel and others (1860–72), and lately as the *Protest. K. Z.*, the chief organ of the Protestant Union. The *Protest. Kirchenzeitung für das evang. Deutschland*, was founded in 1854 by Jonas, Sydow, Krause, Pischon, and others. It opposed reactionary tendencies, but held fast to the results won since Schleiermacher (yet disposed more to the left than to the right). A mediating position was held also by the *Kirchenblatt für die ref. Schweiz*, which ceased at the end of 1868; compare among others the treatise *Zur Orientirung über die gegenwärtigen theol. Parteien*. (Jahrg., 1859. Nos. 22–25.) Holding the same position, yet still more popular, is, at Berne, the *Volksblatt für die ref. Kirche der Schweiz* (since 1872).

Historical:—

E. F. Stäudlin, *Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus*. Gött., 1826. Amand Saintes, *krit. Geschichte des Rationalismus in Deutschland*. Lpz., 1845–47. In English, London, 1849. Schenkel, *die religiösen Zeitkämpfe*. Hamb., 1847. Tholuck, *Gesch. des Rationalismus*. Gotha, 1865. J. F. Hurst, *History of Rationalism*. New York, 1865; London, 1867. G. Frank, *Gesch. des Ration. und seiner Gegensätze*. Lpz., 1875.

II. ON MYSTICISM, PIETISM, ETC.

J. Spalding, *über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthume*. Lpz., 1764 u. 8.

J. L. Ewald, *Briefe üb. die alte Mystik u. den neueren Mysticismus*. Lpz., 1822.

- E. A. Borger**, *disputatio de mysticismo*. Hague, 1820. From the Latin by Stange, with preface by Gurlitt. Altona, 1826.
- Dn. von Cölln**, *histor. Beiträge zur Erläuterung und Berichtigung der Begriffe Pietismus, Mysticismus und Fanaticismus*. Halberst., 1830.
- G. Chr. R. Matzhai**, *der Mysticismus nach seinem Begriffe, Ursprung und Unwerth*. Gött., 1832.
- Mad. de Staël**, *de la mysticité*. Ed. stér. Paris, 1815. In her work on Germany, vol. iii, p. 290.
- A. Liebner**, *Hugo von St. Victor*. Lpz., 1832. Pp. 222.
- K. G. Bretschneider**, *die Grundlage des evang. Pietismus*. Lpz., 1833.
- J. H. v. Wessenberg**, *über Schwärmerei*. Heilbronn, 1834. 2. ed., 1848.
- G. Binder**, *der Pietismus und die moderne Bildung*. Stuttg., 1838.
- Ohr. Merklin**, *Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus*. Stuttg., 1839.
- J. A. Dörner**, *der Pietismus, insbes. in Würtemb., und seine speculativen Gegner*, Binder, und Märklin. Hamb., 1846.
- L. Hüffell**, *der Pietismus, geschichtl. und kirchl. beleuchtet*. Heidelb., 1846.
- K. Ullmann**, *das Wesen des Christenthums und die Mystik (against Gasparin); theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1852. Heft 3. Pp. 535-614.
- J. P. Romang**, *über Unglauben, Pietismus, u. Wissenschaft*. Bern u. Zürich, 1859.
- H. Schmid**, *Geschichte des Pietismus*. Nördlingen, 1863.
- H. L. J. Hepp**, *Gesch. der quietistischen Mystik in der kath. Kirche*. Berlin, 1875.
- F. Nippold**, *zur geschichtl. Würdigung des Quietismus (Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie.* 1877, 2).
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- Bellows, Henry W.** *Restatements of Christian Doctrine. In Twenty-five Sermons*. 12mo, pp. 434. Boston, 1832.
- Channing, W. E.** *Works*. 8 vols. Boston, 1874.
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- Ellis, Wm. G.** *Doctrines of Christianity*. 12mo, pp. 168. Boston, 1832.
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- Norton, Prof. Andrews. *Statement of Reasons for not Believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians Concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ*. 12mo, pp. 550. Boston, 1882.
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- *Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons*, 3 vols. 12mo. Boston.
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- Strauss, David Friedrich. *The Old Faith and the New Faith. A Confession, From the German*. 12mo. New York, 1874.
- Temple, Frederick, and Associates. *Recent Inquiries in Theology: being Essays and Reviews*. 2d Am. ed., with Introduction by F. H. Hedge. 12mo, pp. xiv, 498. Boston, 1861.
- Ware, Henry. *Letters to Unitarians and Calvinists*. 12mo. Cambridge, 1820.
- Wilson, John. *Unitarian Principles Confirmed by Trinitarian Testimonies*. 12mo, pp. 520. Boston, 1882.
- Worcester, Noah. *Bible News; or, Sacred Truths relating to the living God, His Only Son and Holy Spirit*. 12mo. Concord, 1810, 1812, and 1825.

2. *Against Rationalism.*

- Auberlen, Carl August. *The Divine Revelation. An Essay in Defence of the Faith. From the German*. 8vo, pp. 441. Edinburgh, 1867.
- Bushnell, Horace. *God in Christ. Three Discourses delivered at New Haven, Cambridge, and Andover. (Properly a mediating work; the second essay offers Sabellianism as a ground of union between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism.)*

- Bushnell, Horace. *Nature and the Supernatural as together constituting the one system of God.* 12mo, pp. 528. New York, 1864.
- Cairns, John. *Romanism and Rationalism, as opposed to Pure Christianity.* 12mo. London, 1866.
- Christlieb, Theodore. *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. A Series of Apologetic Lectures. From the German.* 8vo, pp. 549. New York, 1874.
- Dorchester, Daniel. *Concessions of Liberalists to Orthodoxy.* 16mo, pp. 343. Boston, 1878.
- Fisher, Geo. P. *Faith and Rationalism, with short supplementary essays on related topics.* 12mo, pp. 188. New York, 1879.
- *The Supernatural Origin of Christianity etc.* 8vo, pp. 586. New York, 1866.
- Hare, Edward. *The Principal Doctrines of Christianity defended against the Errors of Socinianism.* 12mo, pp. 396. New York, 1837.
- Maurice, F. D., and Associates. *Tracts for Priests and People. By Various Writers.* 12mo, pp. 372. Am. ed. Boston, 1862. (A Broad-School Reply to Essays and Reviews.)
- Oxford, the Lord Bishop, Editor. *Replies to Essays and Reviews, with a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Oxford.* Am. ed. 12mo, pp. 443. New York, 1862.
- Parkinson, Richard. *Rationalism and Revelation; or, the Testimony of Moral Philosophy, the System of Nature, and the Constitution of Man to the Truth of the Doctrine of Scripture. Hulsean Lectures for 1837.* 8vo, pp. 223. London, 1838.
- Scott, W. A. *The Christ of the Apostle's Creed: the Voice of the Church against Arianism, Strauss and Renan, with an Appendix.* 12mo, pp. 432. New York, 1867.
- Thompson, William, Editor. *Aids to Faith. A Series of Theological Essays by several writers, being a reply to Essays and Reviews.* Am. ed. 12mo, pp. 538. New York, 1862.
- Ulrici, Herman. *Strauss as a Philosophical Thinker. A Review of "the Old Faith and the New Faith."* From the German. 16mo, pp. 167. Philadelphia, 1874.
- Woods, Leonard. *Letters to Unitarians, occasioned by the Sermon of Rev. W. E. Channing, etc.* 8vo. Andover, 1820, 1822.
- Worcester, Samuel. *Letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing, on Unitarianism.* 8vo. Boston, 1815.

Although Strauss, in his life of Jesus, first demolishes the rationalistic interpretation of the gospels in order to prepare the way for his mythical theory, he has yet been the occasion of the writing of lives of Christ in which the supernatural view of the person and work of our Lord is maintained, and which are therefore directed against rationalism. Among these are:

- Alexander, Wm. Lindsay. *Christ and Christianity. A Vindication of the Christian Religion, founded on the historical events of the life of Christ.* 12mo, pp. 314. New York, 1854.
- Bayne, Peter. *The Testimony of Christ to Christianity.* 12mo, pp. 195. Boston, 1862.
- Neander, Augustus. *The Life of Jesus Christ in its historical connexion and historical development. From the German by John M'Clintock, and Chas. E. Blumenthal.* 8vo, pp. 450. New York, 1848.

- Pressensé, E. D. *Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work. From the French.* 12mo, pp. 496. New York, 1868. (The first chapter discusses the objections to the supernatural in the gospels.)
- Schaff, Philip. *The Person of Christ: The Miracle of History: with a reply to Strauss and Renan, and a collection of testimonies of Unbelievers.* 16mo, pp. 875. New York, 1876.
- Tulloch, John. *The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Modern Criticism.* 16mo, pp. 266. Cincinnati, 1865. (See for other titles, p. 282.)

Some replies to Colenso:

- Benisch, A. *Bishop Colenso's Objections to the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined.* London, 1863.
- Briggs, F. W. *The Two Testimonies. Being a reply to Bishop Colenso's Pentateuch and Book of Joshua.* London, 1863.
- Fowler, C. H. *Fallacies of Colenso Reviewed.* Cincinnati.
- Green, Wm. Henry. *The Pentateuch Vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso.* 12mo, pp. 195. New York, 1863.
- Mahan, M. *Spiritual Point of View; or, the Glass Reversed. Answer to Bishop Colenso.* New York. See also Hurst's *History of Rationalism.* Pp. 599, 602. See Harman's *Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.* Pp. 215-219.

3. Mysticism.

- Tulloch, John. *Henry More. Christian Theosophy and Mysticism: Chap. V of Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England, in the Seventeenth Century.* .Vol. II, 8vo. London, 1872. (See also Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, p. 890, for review articles on several branches of the subject.)
- Vaughn, Robert Alfred. *Hours with the Mystics. A Contribution to the History of Religious Opinion.* 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 372, 383. London.

4. History of Rationalism.

- Allen, Joseph Henry. *Our Liberal Movement in Theology, chiefly as shown in Recollections of the History of Unitarianism in New England.* 16mo, pp. 220. Boston, 1882.
- Cairns, John. *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century as Contrasted with its earlier and later history. (Lect. V treats of Rationalism in Germany.)* 12mo, pp. 216. New York, 1881.
- Ellis, Geo. E. *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy, with particular reference to its Origin, etc.,* 8vo, pp. 536. Boston, 1857.
- Farrar, Adam Storey. *A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion. Bampton Lectures for 1862.* 12mo, pp. 487. New York, 1863.
- Hagenbach, K. R. *German Rationalism. Its Rise, Progress, and Decline. From the German.* 8vo, pp. 406. Edinburgh, 1865.
- Hurst, John F. *History of Rationalism. Embracing the Present State of Protestant Theology.* 8vo, pp. 643. New York, 1865.
- Lecky, W. E. H. *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.* 8vo, 2 vols. New York, 1878.
- Leland, John. *A View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England in the Last and Present Century.* 8vo. London, 1836.
- Saintes, Amand. *A Critical History of Rationalism in Germany, from its Origin to the Present Time.* 8vo, pp. x, 379. London, 1849.
- Saisset, Emile. *Manual of Modern Pantheism. Essay on Religious Philosophy.* 2 vols., 8vo, pp. vi, 310, 273. Edinburgh, 1862.

Tulloch, John. Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 463, 500. Vol. I. Liberal Churchmen. Vol. II. The Cambridge Platonists. Edinburgh and London, 1872.

For an account of the Dodwell Controversy on the Natural Immortality of the Human Soul, and also the Literature of the Controversy, see Dr. Noah Porter's Appendix to Ueberweg's History of Philosophy. Vol. II, pp. 371-375. See also Dr. Ezra Abbott's Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life, Titles 2114-2129 inclusive.

For the Bibliography of the Unitarian Controversy in New England, see the Appendix to H. M. Dexter's Congregationalism as seen in its Literature. The list of the titles extends to the year 1879. Chap. VI of O. B. Frothingham's Transcendentalism in New England contains a brief account of the rise of New England Unitarianism. See also "Historical Introduction" in Sprague's Annals of the Unitarian Pulpit, and, for review articles on both sides, Poole's Index, pp. 1340, 1341.

On the Trinitarian Controversy in England during the last years of the Seventeenth Century, and the first years of the Eighteenth, see Hunt's History of Religious Thought in England from the Reformation etc. Vol. II, pp. 200-221, and Vol. III, pp. 20-23.

APPENDIX TO PART FIRST OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

F. Zyro, *Revision der christl.-theologisch. Encyclopædik*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1837, No. 3, p. 639, and Hagenbach's art. in *Herzog, Encykl.*, vol. iv.

The encyclopædia of a science as a whole can only come into being after the science has been rounded into a *κύκλος*; and Theological Encyclopædia, accordingly, could not originate before theology had been an organism of various departments. The beginnings of this science were apparent in the Church, however, at quite an early period, though rather in connexion with other branches of theological study, than as a distinct subject of inquiry. Their most natural expression was found in connexion with practical theology. The installation of a clergyman in his office, would involve, in addition to remarks relating to its particular duties, the necessity of pointing out the kinds of knowledge and ability required. Chrysostom (*περὶ ἱερωσύνης*) already furnishes hints as to what would be proper qualifications for the servant of God, in the matter of scientific acquirements, as well as with respect to his religious and moral character, adding many beautiful reflections on the manifold gifts required for a worthy administration of the spiritual office (Books v and vi).¹ Augustine likewise (*De doctrina Christiana*) indicates the scientific acquirements needed for the exposition of the Scriptures and the duties

Qualifications of the minister according to Augustine. of the minister according to Augustine. edge of the languages in which the Bible was originally written; and he recommends, as helps, the use of the Septuagint and the old Latin (*Itala*) versions. He also insists that natural sciences, *e. g.*, natural history, botany, etc., should be admitted into the course of study, but only so far as they can aid in ex-

¹ The passage in v, 5, is remarkable, as already distinguishing between the empiric and the cultivated minister, and between the different degrees of obligation devolving on them, "Ὡστε τοῖς σοφωτέροις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἀμαθεστέροις μείζων ὁ πόνος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ ζημία ἀμελοῦσι τοῖς κακείοις, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ πλείων, ὅσον καὶ τῆς κτήσεως ἑκατέρως τὸ μέσον. Κακείοις μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ἐγκαλέσει τις, μῆδ' ἐν ἀξίῳ λόγῳ παρέχουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰ μὴ μείζονα τῆς δόξης, ἥς ἀπαντες ἔχουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, δεῖ προφέρειν, πολλὰ παρὰ πάντων ἔπεται τὰ ἐγκλήματα, (ed. Tauchn., p. 66). Comp. Neander, *Der heil. Chrysost.*, i, 57, sqq.

plaining the Scriptures. The writings of the Greeks and Romans should receive judicious attention, and dialectics should be mastered. Rhetoric, and its employment in sacred eloquence are considered in Book iv, which may be regarded as an essay on Christian homiletics. The work of Ambrose (*De Officiis Ministrorum*), is, on the contrary, rather morally edifying than scientific.

The work, *De Disciplina Scholarium*, which is attributed to Boethius (the pupil of Augustine, † 525), belongs to a later age; but the *De Institutione Divinarum Literarum* of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, which follows the precedent of Augustine in urging the study of the Scriptures, and indicating a method for that work, is deserving of attention (Opp., ed. Garet, Rouen, 1679, and Venice, 1729, 2 vols. fol., p. 537, *sqq.*). It also recommends the study of the Church Fathers, the decisions of œcumenical councils, and Josephus and Eusebius, and attaches importance to a knowledge of natural science.

A sort of general (real) encyclopædia, in which a place was assigned to theology, was undertaken by Isidore of Seville (sixth and seventh centuries), in the work, *Originum Etymologiarum libri xx.* The Encyclopædia of Isidore. He also wrote instructions for monks and clergymen, which, however, are, like those of Ambrose, of a more practical than scientific character. More, though still a very moderate, stress, is laid upon the scientific element, by Rabanus (Hrabanus) Maurus, the abbot of Fulda, in his work, *De Clericorum Institutione*, (in the first half of the ninth century); but even he was far in advance of his age.¹ In the third book he urges the study of the Scriptures, and especially of their hidden meaning, and also familiarity with the liberal arts and with preaching, generally in harmony with Augustine. In the Middle Ages the mystic and schoolman, Hugo of St. Victor, († 1141), published the *Didascalion* (*Eruditio didascalica*), a work which obtained for him the honourable epithet of *Didascalus*. The Didascalion of Hugo St. Victor. The work was designed to embrace an outline of the whole circle of studies preparatory to the higher theology, and fell into two principal parts, the first of which (books i–iii) contained a methodology of the secular sciences (*propædeutics*), and the second (iv–vi) an historical introduction to the books of the Bible and the ecclesiastical writings, besides a methodology of Scripture study.² The Dominican sub-prior, Vincent of Beauvais, (*Bellovacensis*, † about 1264), did meritorious work for encyclo-

¹ Comp. the biography by Kunstmann (Mayence, 1841), p. 55, *sqq.* Opp., ed. Colvenerius, 6 vols., fol., Cologne, 1627.

² See Liebner, Hugo von St. Victor, p. 96, *sqq.*

pædia and methodology as a whole, in his *Speculum Doctrinale*, and added useful hints for the study of theology, generally agreeing with Augustine and the school of St. Victor.¹ Toward the close of the Middle Ages John Gerson (*De Reformatione Theologiae*)² and Nicholas of Clemange (*De Studio Theologico*)³ furnished practical hints on the study of theology.

While encyclopædia thus connected itself with practical theology, it could readily combine with the Introduction to the Study of the Bible. When, therefore, the latter regained in the time of the Reformation the independence of which the influence of scholasticism had long deprived it, the opportunity was given for discussing the new culture needed to adapt theologians to the character of the age. It was improved by Erasmus, in connexion with the publication of his New Testament. He prefaced the second edition of 1519 with his *Ratio seu Methodus Compendio perveniendi ad veram Theologiam*, an essay which was soon after (1522, Basle) given to the public, in a somewhat enlarged form, as an independent work,⁴ and which after subsequent republications and revisions,⁵ became the basis of similar undertakings. Erasmus determines the proper aim of theological study to be that the learning acquired in a pious spirit and with prayer should exercise influence upon the student's personal experience, and, so to speak, be moulded and transformed into life, hence, that the Christian and moral culture should keep pace in all respects with the scientific. He specifies as particularly important the study of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the latter of which had seemed necessary even to Augustine, though he was not personally well acquainted with it. Dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic, and music are considered useful to the theologian; but also, for interpreting the Scriptures, natural philosophy, cosmography, and astronomy. On the other hand, he censures an excessive regard for Aristotle and scholastic philosophy, however useful such studies might be for preparatory practice.

With reference to dogmatic studies, he recommends that the student should personally make a collection of passages from the

¹ Comp. Schlosser, Vincenz von Beauvais, Frankfort, 1819, vol. ii, p. 240. The teachings of Vincent esp., p. 257, *sqq.*

² Opp., T. I., with which comp. Epp. duae ad Studentes Collegii Navarreae, etc.

³ In d'Acherii Spic., i, 473, *sq.* (Stäudlin, Gesch. der theol. Wissenschaften, i, pp. 9-14).

⁴ See vol. v of his collected works, Basle, 1540.

⁵ By Halbauer (1724) and Semler (1782). The work of Jacob Latomus of Lieven (*De trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione*, 1519), written against Erasmus, experienced no such revivifications.

Scriptures' and the Fathers, and arrange them into a definite system. The theologian should be thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures, so as even to be able to repeat them from memory; but this result will not be attained by a parrot-like rehearsing of passages; a living acquaintance with the Word and a profound penetration of its mysteries are necessary to this end. Many correct and sensible thoughts are added, relating to the method of study, the use of commentaries and other books, etc. He gives the first place among the Christian Fathers to Origen. The love of fruitless disputation is to be avoided; for it is "not merely from the syllogism, but rather from the life, that the theologian receives his attestation." The work of Erasmus, however, is no longer adequate to the demands made upon encyclopædia in the present age, beautiful and appropriate as much of its matter is ^{Merits of the work of Erasmus.} found to be. It is impossible that it should be adequate, for the theology of which it furnishes a sketch, was itself only beginning to emerge from chaos and assume a definite shape. Under such circumstances the scholarly author named much that is no longer included in encyclopædia, being relegated to the history of the canon, to patristics, to the life of Christ, to exegesis, dogmatics, or ethics. But despite this fact, the little book may still be read with profit.

Among the reformers the learned Melanchthon would naturally be the first to feel moved by his own inclinations and the obligations of his station, to direct the adherents of the new school into the right course of study. His *Brevis ratio discendæ theologiæ*, ^{The little tract of Melanchthon.} limited to three folio pages,¹ breathes the Protestant spirit in recommending an intimate acquaintance with the Bible as of primary importance. With an almost undue preference Melanchthon places the Epistle to the Romans at the head of the list of exegetical studies, assigning to it the service of introducing the theologian to the body of St. Paul's teaching, which, in turn, is to conduct the learner back to the teachings of our Lord. The Gospel by St. John is to close the cycle as the Epistle to the Romans begins it, so that the doctrines of faith and justification may constitute the beginning and the end of the scriptural theology of Christianity. The New Testament is to be completed and its *loci communes* to be systematized, in order to throw light upon the contents of the Old Testament, the study of which is to follow. Melanchthon also recommends the study of the Fathers with that of the Bible, but assigns to Origen, whose allegorical mode of interpretation he condemns, a much lower place than is allowed him by Erasmus, while

¹ In the Beale ed. of his works (1541), vol. iii. pp. 287-89.

he exalts Augustine with a certain degree of favoritism. He demands, however, and with entire propriety, that practice shall be added to study, and makes the cultivation of style obligatory on the religious teacher, to which end the study of the classics is above all recommended. Nor should philosophy be slighted, as is customary with many who are ignorant of its character; but care is to be taken that worldly wisdom be not substituted for the teachings of Christ, or the ethics of society (politics) for the ethics of Christianity.

Although the outward form of such guides gave them but little claim to the name of scientific encyclopædias, they yet contained indications of a newly awakened scientific spirit, and involved the elements of an encyclopædia which should be adequate for its needs. Accordingly, a pupil of Melanchthon, Theobald Thamer, who subsequently separated from the evangelical Church, published an Adhortatio ad theologiæ studium in academia Marburgensi,

The Adhortatio of Theobald Thamer.

1543, in which he welcomes the theology of Protestantism as a glorious product of the times, in contrast with the earlier *ματαιολογία*, and particularly recommends the study of the Bible, of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and of the vernacular as well, the latter for the sake of preaching. To these he adds natural science, in order that the Bible may be correctly understood and applied, when it treats of the works of God in nature; and ethics, rhetoric, dialectics, and history. He characterizes the study of theology as difficult, but encourages students not to be repelled from it on that account, but rather to make greater effort. (Compare A. Neander, Theobald Thamer, der Repräsentant und Vorgänger moderner Geistesrichtung in dem Reformationszeitalter. Berlin, 1842.)

The age immediately following the Reformation contented itself with mechanically recapitulating, and constructing far-fetched expositions of, what its predecessor had provided, or with reviving the former scholasticism, instead of seeking to rear an organic intellectual edifice upon the given basis and out of the existing materials.

David Chytræus at Rostock,¹ a disciple of Melanchthon, and Jerome Weller,² a pupil of Luther and inmate of his home, published instructions closely harmonizing with those of their great

¹ Orat. de studio theol. recte inchoando, (1557,) and Regulæ studiorum seu de ratione discendi in præcipuis artibus recte instituenda. Lips., 1565. Comp. Schuetsii Vita Dav. Chytræi, (Hamb., 1720-28, 3 vols.,) lib. i, p. 171, sq.; Pelt, Encykl., p. 51; Krabbe Chytræus, pp. 50, 51.

² Consilium de theologiæ studio recte constituendo, Norimb., 1565.

masters. In the seventeenth century the great dogmatical Johann Gerhard published an encyclopædia, entitled *Methodus studii theologici publicis praelectionibus in acad. Jenensi a 1617 exposita*, (1st ed., 1620, 2d ed., 1622, 3d ed., posthumous, Jena, 1654.) He demands adequate preliminary studies in language and philosophy (Aristotle's especially), and afterwards a theological course of five years, three of which should be devoted almost exclusively to the Holy Scriptures. In the third year attention should be directed to questions in controversy between Roman Catholics and the Reformed, while the fourth should be divided between such studies and practice in preaching; and not before the fifth (!) year were Church History and the writings of the fathers, the schoolmen, and Luther, to receive attention.¹

In the Reformed Church,² Bullinger († 1575) wrote a *Ratio studii theologici*, which is distinguished by sound practical judgment, and affords admirable methodological hints, reaching to the minutest details—among other things, to the diet of the student. The naturalist and man of multifarious learning, Conrad Gessner, published a general encyclopædia, the last book of which is devoted to theology.³ Andrew Gerhard, of Ypres (Hyperius), professor at Marburg, also wrote a *Theologus seu de ratione studii theologici (libri iv)*.⁴ The latter work affords the first indications of a future division into departments, the book treating first of exegetical, next of systematic, and finally of practical theology, the last in connexion with historical; but no attempt is made to clearly distinguish the several branches from each other or give them suitable names, nor yet to apprehend and describe them in their relations to each other. The material already

¹ Pelt, *Encykl.*, p. 52. Among Lutheran writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the following deserve mention: J. Andreae, *Oratt. de studio sacrarum literarum*, Lips., 1567; N. Selnegger, *Notatio de studio theol. et ratione discendi doctrinam coelestem*, Lips., 1579. Abr. Calov, *Isagoge ad s. theol.*, Viteb., 1652, 85; *Das gute Leben eines rechtschaffenen Dieners Gottes von J. V. Andreae*, (copied as a poetical supplement in Herder's *Briefe*.) A closer examination of the above works is found in Pelt, p. 53, *sqq.*

² Many elements are scattered through the works of Zwingli, (the very history of his life is a living encyclopædia.) Comp. his work, *Der Hirt*, etc., 1524, (ed. Schulthess and Schuler, vol. i. p. 681.) Respecting Bullinger, comp. his letters to his son Henry (on the study of theology) in Pestalozzi, *Heinrich Bullinger*, p. 594, *sqq.*

³ *Pandectarum universalium* Conr. Gessneri liber ultimus de theologia, (Tiguri, 1549.) Comp. Hanhart, *Conr. Gessner*, (Winterthür, 1824,) p. 160, *sqq.*

⁴ Balse, 1572, 82. The first ed. (Basle, 1556) bears the title *De recte formando theologiae studio*. It should not be confounded with *Methodus theologiae*, etc., Basle, 1567, the latter being a systematic theology and by no means a methodology, as the title would suggest.

becomes unmanageable because of its abundance, the whole of biblical and ecclesiastical dogmatics being discussed in the limited compass of the book, and likewise other matters, which belong more properly to criticism and hermeneutics. The work is, however, characterized by sound judgment, which looks upon learning as an aid to true piety, and directs attention to the connexion between theology and the Church.

The dogmatist Joh. Heinr. Alsted, wrote a work in eight books entitled, *Methodus sacrosanctae theologiae* (Hanov., 1623, 4); to this he prefixed *Praecognita* in two books, which afford a noteworthy review of the science, as wholly governed by a new scholasticism.¹ The second book (*De theologiae studio recte formando*) alone demands notice in this connexion, as treating of the object of theological study, which is made to consist in the promotion of the glory of the triune God, and in the working out of man's salvation, together with the perfecting of his nature. A distinction is made between the theology of the schools and the practical theology of the Church, and the advice is given to students, "*Scholasticam theologiam ex professo et semper evolvas, et auctores, qui illam scriptis comprehenderunt, tibi reddes quam familiarissimos.*" The period of study should be neither too extended nor too brief (although no limit is fixed), and special attention should be given to prayer, the study of the Scriptures, and a godly walk. Detailed prescriptions concerning this militia Christi are given. Among the requisite natural qualifications the author includes sound health, a clear and flexible voice, a well-organized brain, and a good bodily constitution, to which a good memory, etc., must be added.

Among preparatory requisites he reckons acquaintance with the vernacular ("*dicunt theologi nostri: a preacher should not make use of town-clerks' German*") for the study of which he recommends, with assured judgment, Luther's version of the Bible; and to the mother-tongue he adds Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The relation between philosophy and theology is stated to be such that they can never reasonably come into conflict with each other. Logic is considered a prime necessity, and after it physics and mathematics (which are included under philosophy), and also metaphysics and practical philosophy; nor should the theologian be ignorant of ju-

¹ Mention is made, for instance, in the first book, in addition to the *theologia falsa*, of a *theologia archetypa*, (*quae est sapientia indubitata rerum divinarum*), *theologia ectypa*, (in which the archetype is actualized), *theologia unionis in Christo*, *theologia visionis in coelis*, (which includes the *theologia angelorum*), *theologia viatorum*, (the theology of the present world,) etc.

risprudence and medical science. Upon this follow a guide to the study of the Scriptures and a tabular view of the contents of the several books, together with the entire dogmatic locus de scriptura sacra; farther, a grammar of the Bible, hermeneutics, and rhetoric (on the figurative language of the Scriptures), the whole in a very prolix and artificial style; also history of the canon and other matters pertaining to the science of Introduction, biblical topography, archæology, chronology, and mingled with typology, a brief characterization of the different books of Scripture, and, finally, a few additional words on dogmatics (*loci communes*) and practical theology (*paedia theologica*, *declamatio*, *disputatio theologica*, and *exercitatio ecclesiastica*).

An *Encyclopædia philosophiæ* (Herborn, 1630, 2 vols. fol.) and an *Encyclopædia omnium scientiarum* (*ibid.*, 1630, and Lugd. Bat., 1640, 4 vols. fol.) by the same author are in existence, in which vol. ii. p. 1555, *sqq.*, is devoted to theological (real) encyclopædia (*theologia naturalis*, *catechetica*, *didactica polemica*, *theol. casuum*, *theol. prophetica*, and *moralis*).

The school of Saumur was distinguished in the Reformed Church by the mildness of its spirit and its unbiassed judgment in theological matters, as compared with the rigid dogmatism and formalism of which Alsted was a representative.¹ It produced the dissertations of Stephen Gaussen,² in which we occasionally observe an active, youthful disposition, joined to a manly energy sharpened by the salt of a biting wit; mental qualities which render more enjoyable the heart-felt, childlike piety which is apparent. Much that is here laid down would still be applicable in our day.

The Theologians of Saumur and Basle.

The writings of the theologians J. L. Frei and Samuel Werenfels of Basle, in the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, breathe a spirit kindred to that of the above work. The *Meletemata de officio doctoris Christiani* (1711-15, four dissertations that deserve to be better known) by the former resolve the activity of the Christian teacher, both academical and parochial, into the three functions of interpreting the Scriptures, explaining the creed, and confuting opponents, thus dividing theological science into exegesis, dogmatics, and polemics. This work contains many correct ideas concerning the exposition of Scripture, the employ-

¹ Comp. J. H. Heidegger, *De ratione studiorum theol.* Tur., 1690, 12mo., a mere reprint of Bullinger and of works on Introduction by various authors.

² Stephan. Gaussemi dissertationes: 1. *De studii theologicæ ratione*; 2. *De natura theologiæ*; 3. *De ratione concionandi*; 4. *De utilitate philosophiæ in theologia*; 5. *De recto use clavium*. Ultraj., 1678; 6 ed. cur. J. J. Rambach, Hal. 1726.

ment of reason on theological questions,¹ the relation of dogmatics to ethics, etc. The *Opuscula* of Werenfels,² though he did not write an encyclopædia in the proper sense, likewise present much that is adapted to lead the young theologian into the right way. This is especially true of the sixteenth dissertation, *De scopo doctoris theologi*, which contains many a golden counsel, not only for the future teacher of theological science, but also for ministers of the word.

Within the bounds of the Lutheran Church a twofold opposition was brought to bear upon the scholastic spirit which had again become powerful—on the one hand from the practically pious tendency of Spener, and on the other from the liberal scientific spirit whose representative was George Calixtus. Both tendencies aided in introducing a new period for theological learning, and, accordingly, for theological encyclopædia. In the *Apparatus theologicus*,³ which was designed to be a great theological dictionary covering the whole ground of the science, Calixtus leads theological study back to its exegetical and historical basis, from which it had again gradually removed, and endeavours to compose the quarrel of the humanists and the realists (grammarians and barbarians). Philip Jac. Spener wrote several works which come under our notice. The *Pia desideria* and the *Theologische Bedenken* frequently refer to the needs of the young theologian; but his views upon this question are principally found in the preface to the tables compiled by him from Danhauer's *Hodosophie*, written in 1690, and published under the title *De impedimentis studii theologici*.⁴

Among preparatory sciences, philosophy is rated far lower by Spener than by other theologians, a prejudice that may be excused in view of the spirit that pervaded the philosophy of the time. This prejudice subsequently be-

¹ Comp. Smith's *Hagenbach: Hist. Doctrines*, ii, p. 464. Pelt. *Encykl.*, p. 53, calls attention to the fact that the Reformed theologians especially discussed the application of philosophy to theology, and in that connexion elucidated many questions of importance to theological encyclopædia. Comp. also Al. Schweizer, *Glaubenslehre der evang.-ref. Kirche*, Zürich, 1844.

² Sam. Werenfelsii *Opuscula theolog., philosoph. et philologica*. Basle, 1728, 2 vols., 4to.; 1782, 3 vols., 8vo. Also J. Ch. Beck († 1785), who prefaces his *Synopsis institutionum universae Theologiae*, Basle, 1765, with a brief encyclopædia and methodology.

³ Helmst., 1628, and by his son, enlarged from the MS., 1661, 4. Comp. Henke, *Georg Calixt, und seine Zeit*, p. 420, *eqq.*

⁴ Comp. Hossbach, *Ph. J. Spener u. seine Zeit*, i, p. 290, *eqq.* New ed. (Berlin, 1861), by Schweder, p. 211, *eqq.*

came more apparent, in connexion with a pietistic empiricism, which falsely based itself on the authority of Spener. Philology, too, although its utility was recognized, was regarded by him from a too restricted point of view, in consequence of which he would not allow so wide and unrestrained a range to the study of so-called profane writers as was conceded by Erasmus and Melanchthon. Sacred philology alone, in its immediate bearing upon exegesis, received the recognition it deserved as an important auxiliary to theological science. He termed exegesis the "architect, who arranges all the remaining parts, and from whom they derive nearly all their ground and material." Upon the basis of exegesis dogmatics should be reared; but in harmony with his mild practical tendency he was less partial to scholastic quibbling and harsh polemics. He did full justice to Church history, though he recommended the thorough examination of its sources only to such students as might intend to reach the higher grades of learning.

Ethics, which he regarded as having the same importance as dogmatics, in this agreeing with Calixtus, should in like manner, he thought, be drawn from the holy Scriptures. Homiletics, on the other hand, whose deep foundations he suspected from the scriptural teaching, but which he was unable to clearly apprehend in a scientific way, seemed to him "one of the chief hindrances to theological study," while catechetics held a higher place in his estimation. At all events, to Spener belongs the inestimable honour of having not only restored to the science the union with the conditions of actual life, from which it had been separated, but also of having led the way to a new state of the science itself, through his efforts to secure a connected course of exegetical study, which, contrary to the spirit of the Reformation, had again been neglected during an extended period.¹

J. J. Breithaupt,² A. H. Francke,³ and Joachim Lange,⁴ followed in the footsteps of Spener. Of these, the first especially "combined genuine piety with elegant culture" (Pelt., p. 55), while the hortatory element predominated with Francke, and a certain confusion

¹ "Such exegetical lectures as were still sustained in the universities of that period, confined themselves simply to the philological or polemical treatment of the more difficult or controverted passages." Hossbach, p. 804.

² *Exercitationes de studio theol.* Hall., 1702.

³ 1. *Definitio studii theologicæ*, etc. Halle, 1708; 2. *Idea studiosi theologiæ* oder *Abbildung eines der Theologie Beflissenen*, *ibid.*, 1717; 3. *Methodus studii theologicæ*, *ibid.*, 1728; *Timotheus*, zum Fürbilde allen studiosis theologiæ. Comp. Guericke, A. H. Francke (Halle, 1827), p. 290, *agg.*

⁴ *Institutiones studii theologicæ literariæ*. Hal., 1728, and *De genuina studii theol. præcipue thetici indole ac methodo*, *ibid.* 1712, 4to. Comp. Stäudlin II, p. 809.

of ideas is manifest in Lange. On the other hand the two able men, Christ. Matthias Pfaff, chancellor at Tübingen, and Joh. Franz Buddaeus, at Jena, occupied an intermediate position between Pietism and the learned theology of the schools, and their works present a more definite arrangement of the several branches, in their outward structure. Exegetical, dogmatic, historical and practical theology, and the subdivisions, polemical, thetical, patristic, etc., were distinguished by name, and their nature and relation to the whole of the science were described, though the order in which they are arranged is not the same with the two writers. Pfaff¹ correctly assigns the first place to exegetical theology, while Buddaeus² places immediately after the preparatory studies, dogmatics, symbolics, patristics, ethics, ecclesiastical law, Church-history, and polemics, and introduces exegesis at the end. The feature is common to both, however, that they combine with encyclopædia an extended history of the literature which is stated on the title-page of Pfaff, certainly a meritorious feature, since it provided for an existing want. But encyclopædia itself was thereby exposed to the danger of becoming a mere bibliographical guide, or at least of being so largely bibliographic that its leading object could no longer be conveniently accomplished; this, too, at a time when encyclopædia had scarcely attained to a measure of independence, after dissolving its accidental connexion with other branches of learning. The excessive importance attached to the department of literary history manifested itself, as was to be expected, in the *Einleitung in die Theologischen Wissenschaften*, by J. G. Walch (Jena, 1753), and evidences of its presence have not been wanting in several valuable works of more recent times.

The history of science reveals certain highly endowed spirits, whose rays stream forth in different directions in order to throw light upon the fields that lie extended to the view. Such was the Chancellor Lorenz von Mosheim,³ who became eminent in the development of ethics and homiletics, no less than in Church history, though less so with regard to encyclopædia.

¹ *Introductio in historiam theol. literariam*, Tübing., 1724, 3 vols., 4to.

² *Isagoge historico-theol. ad theologiam universam singulasque ejus partes*, Lips., 1727, 2 vols., 4to. Hossbach, p. 382, says that this work "is the product of profound and comprehensive learning, and of enlightened and tolerant theological views, and far superior to all former works of this character." Comp. also Danz, p. 129; Stäudlin, p. 311.

³ F. Lücke, *Narratio de Jo. Laur. Moshemio*, Gött., 1837, 4to. It is to be observed that Mosheim, with his sound historical judgment, was the first to draw the line of distinction between the work of the scientific theologian and that of the preacher, though he may have gone too far in demanding a separate training for the two (p. 29).

cllopædia. The *Kurze Anweisung, die Gottesgelahrtheit Vernünftig zu Erlernen* (published by his son-in-law, Windheim, Helmst., 1756, 63) illustrates the clear, benevolent, gentle mind of its author, but bears the marks of too great haste. In the arrangement of the several branches (*a. g.*, in placing dogmatics at the head), it rests too little upon thoroughly comprehended principles, to possess great importance in comparison with such predecessors as have already been mentioned. The higher merit of having introduced a new element, the critical, into theological science, and of having thereby put new life into encyclopædia, which might otherwise have become a mere dead aggregate of bibliographical knowledge, belongs to John Solomon Semler. His criticism frequently degenerated into hyper-criticism, and his questioning spirit into scepticism; but it is certainly unjust to charge him with entertaining hostility to religion and Christianity. Theology is indebted to him for much of stimulating influence, if for but little of assured results. His works, encyclopædic and methodological, as well as others,¹ failed to receive a cordial reception however, because of their involved descriptions, and the author's difficult and heavy style in the use of both German and Latin. The essence of Semler's writings should be extracted into a monograph, and thus a correct estimate of his merits might be brought into a convenient form, within the reach of a frequently ungrateful posterity. A similar want of arrangement is apparent in the work of the Reformed theologian, S. Mursinna († 1795),² who first introduced the term "encyclopædia" into theology, although it had been previously employed by jurists (Pütter) and medical scholars (Boerhave) in connexion with their respective sciences.

It was reserved, however, for the broadly cultured and versatile J. Gottfried Herder, to impress himself with incalculable energy upon the theological youth and the earnest men of his own and future ages, by the exercise of an influence which was stimulating in manifold directions, exciting to both intellect and feeling, every-where urging the attainment of the highest ends, and as exalted above all meanness as it was free from the control of timid prejudice. A genuine supernaturalist and also rationalist, both orthodox and heterodox, or, if it be preferred,

Great influence
of Herder upon
theology.

¹ Versuch einer nähern Anleitung zu nützlichem Fleisse in der ganzen Gottesgelehrsamkeit, etc., Halle, 1857; Institutio brevior ad liberalem eruditionem theologicam, *ibid.*, 1765, 2 vols.; Institutio ad doctrinam Christianam liberaliter discendam, *ibid.*, 1774 (rather a systematic theology than an encyclopædia); Versuch einer freieren theologischen Lehrart, *ibid.*, 1777. The title "Encyclopædia and Methodology" came into currency at this time. It appears in an anonymous work (Leips., 1778) cited by Danz, p. 134, and somewhat earlier in the works of Mursinna, Robert, Vogel; comp. *ibid.*

² *Primæ lineæ encyclopædiæ theol.*, Halle, 1784, ed. 2, 1798; comp. Pelt, p. 57.

neither, versed in Oriental mysticism and likewise in the mysteries of human nature and of human history, grasping, with a magnificent enthusiasm, every thing in which the genius of a pure humanity is portrayed, and punishing with noble indignation all that is shameful, deceitful, vapid, or sickly—he was thoroughly fitted to aid the struggling and ambitious mind in reaching the path over which, with trusty staff in hand, it must pass. The remark has frequently been made that Herder's efforts were rather stimulating to others, than productive of assured gains which might be stored in everlasting garner. But this is precisely what was needed; and if much that, with too venturesome courage, he sought to establish has been already overthrown, it is to be hoped that, God willing, the spirit of profound investigation, and the clear, independent habit of thought belonging to that more beautiful age—the flourishing period of “German manners and German art”—which he aided, in connexion with others, to introduce, shall nevermore be lost.¹

It must be confessed that the Letters upon the Study of Theology (Weimar, 1780; 2d ed., 1785, 4 vols.),² by no means fulfil the scientific purpose of a theological encyclopædia in the strict sense. They adopt the light tone of social intercourse and friendly conversation; and the author enters too largely into the discussion of the different subjects themselves (*e. g.*, of his favorite theme, Hebrew poetry), to admit of a clear demonstration of the formal inter-connexion of the various branches. All that he says, however, tends toward that connexion, and serves to illuminate with color the picture which a stricter method places before us in bare outlines. The smaller work by Herder, *Anwendung dreier akademischer Lehrjahre*, has more of the form of a proper methodology and introduction; and with this should be connected his *Theophron*, and his *Gutachten über die Vorbereitung junger Geistlichen*, as also the *Provinzialblätter*.³

In 1791, soon after the first publication of Herder's Letters (1785), an able and thorough work by the judicious J. A. Nösselt appeared, which has been improved by A. H. Niemeyer, and put into the form of a text-book, that still

¹ Comp. J. G. Müller, in the Herder Album (Weimar, 1845), and Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, p. 264: “Herder made the transition from Romanic negation to Germanic affirmation, and began to build anew. Himself a theologian, he generalized Semitic tradition and inspiration into Japhetic science and philosophy. Religion and language are to him the original manifestations of the Divine life in man.” Comp. also the work by Werner, adduced below (among the monographs).

² In the *Sämmtliche Werke zur Religion u. Theologie* (original ed. by Cotta, Tüb., 1808), vols. ix and x.

³ The whole in vol. x of the *Religion u. Theologie*.

renders useful service.¹ The *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften* (Leips., 1794, 2 vols.), from the pen of the learned G. J. Planck, is likewise still esteemed, because of its historical matter and good judgment, although its methodological value is but small.² In like manner, the encyclopædias which have since appeared in considerable number deserve notice, rather because of single observations of value, or because of the soundness of view displayed in them, than because of a clear presentation of the edifice of theological science, or of the connexion existing between its parts. J. Fr. Kleuker, who was first inspired by Herder, but was afterwards alienated from him through a dislike of the rationalizing tendencies of the century, with which Herder was in sympathy, wrote a *Grundriss einer Encyclopädie* (Hamb., 1800, 1801, 2 vols.), in which he sought to promote the restoration of a theology possessed of vigorous faith. The strange forms of expression in which he often clothed his ideas (in other works as well as this) gave him widespread notoriety as a "foggy brain;" but he must be credited with having energetically uttered many profound ideas which were subsequently brought to greater clearness by other minds.³

A higher and more ideal point of view from which to comprehend theology and encyclopædia, is occupied by K. Daub in an article in the *Studien*, published by Kreuzer and himself.⁴ To crude empiricism he opposes a holy enthusiasm for the things of God, and to mere learning a childlike, contemplative disposition, which alone is able to penetrate into the mysteries of religious faith. The writer, influenced by his speculative views, does not, however,

¹ *Anweisung zur Bildung angehender Theologen*, 3d ed., Halle, 1818, 19, 3 vols. Niemeyer has expressed his own views relating to theological studies and methods of instruction in the *Anti-Willibald* (a memorial, issued in connexion with the jubilee of G. Ch. Knapp), Halle, 1825; in the *Zuschrift an Theologie Studierende über die Vorbereitung des theol. Examens u. die Benutzung d. Candidaten-jahre*, Halle, 1801; in *Grundriss d. unmittelbaren Vorbereitungswissenschaften zur Führung des Predigt-amtes*, Halle, 1808; and in the *Bibliothek für Prediger*, which he published in connexion with Wagnitz.

² His smaller work, *Grundriss der theol. Encyclopädie*, Gött., 1818, is (although antiquated) better adapted to beginners. Among Encyclopædias of this period comp. L. Wachler, *Grundriss einer Encykl. d. theol. Wissenschaften*, Lemgo, 1795; J. F. W. Thym, *Theol. Encykl. u. Methodologie*, Halle, 1797; J. A. H. Tittmann, *Encykl. d. theol. Wissenschaften*, Leips., 1798. With regard to these works comp. Pelt, p. 61. K. Ch. E. Schmidt, *Grundriss*, Jena, 1810 (Kantian); Sim. Erhardt, *Vorlesungen über Theologie*, Erlangen, 1810 (permeated by Schelling's philosophy); J. E. Ch. Schmidt, *Theol. Encykl.*, Giessen, 1811.

³ Comp. H. Ratjen, J. H. Kleuker, Gött., 1842, 8vo.

⁴ *Theologie u. ihre Encykl. im Verhältniss zum akadem. Studium beider*, etc., in *Studien*, vol. ii, pp. 1-69.

regard faith simply as belief, but as an objective apprehension of matters that are too high for ordinary sense. With moral earnestness he combats both the clumsiness of obstinate bigotry and the fickleness of a trifling disposition, and draws with steady hand the portraiture of the true theologian; but he treats the necessity for a regeneration of theology by drawing prophetic outlines indicative of its future accomplishment, rather than by presenting an accurate survey of the actual state of the science.

To perform this duty was the work of another mind. Friedrich Schleiermacher was the first to raise encyclopædia to an independent position, and deliver it from the extraneous material, historical, and bibliographical elements in which it was involved, as well as to impress upon it the mark of the peculiar spirit which began to pervade theological science as a whole. This work was accomplished in the few pages of the *Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (Berlin, 1811; *Outline of the Study of Theology*, Edinburgh, 1850). The purely formal character of the book attests an artistic spirit. It is a cartoon drawn by a steady hand, which only needs the pencil of a Herder to render it a grand and beautiful picture. While lacking this, it is matter for gratitude that the later and revised edition of 1830 contains hints, though few, for an easier understanding of a book which has the additional importance of having become the key to the entire system of Schleiermacher's theology.

Encyclopædia continued to be written in the usual way, however, even after the *Darstellung* had appeared. Leonhard Encyclopædia in the early part of the 19th century. Bertholdt's *Theologische Wissenschaftskunde*, at any rate (Erlangen, 1821-22, 2 vols.), is no model of "architectonic" procedure, however much importance the author may attach to that phrase, and however strongly he may urge the correct principle that "a science should be restricted to itself and not embrace too much of foreign matter." Preliminary and auxiliary sciences occupy two thirds of the space in a work glutted with learned stuff, while its proper subject is discussed in the remaining third. The unfinished Encyclopædia of G. S. Francke, (Altona, 1819,) gives evidence of greater regard for an organic arrangement of the different branches of study; but a "really scientific arrangement" seems to have been an undefined thought with the author, which was never clearly developed (Pelt, p. 65). K. F. Stäudlin's *Encyclopædia und Methodologie* (Hanover, 1821) is combined with a history of the different theological sciences, and is more especially a work of historical reference. This is also true of the *Encyclopædia und Methodologie* by J. T. L. Danz (Weimar, 1837), in which a

new arrangement of the contents and new appellations give evidence of a reorganizing purpose, but nevertheless suggest the question, "Did the author understand his ground and object?" It might be difficult for a stranger to find his way through "the labyrinth of literary wealth"¹

The author of the present work,² incited thereto by Schleiermacher, sought in its first edition (Leips., 1833) to so develop the principles of Schleiermacher, with not unimportant modifications, that a somewhat empirical mind might comprehend them, though not as yet familiar with logical discriminations—which is the case with most persons who approach the study of theology. His object was to lead on a transition from the method of the past to that which should be followed in the future. He sought to combine the practical aim of stimulating and encouraging with the scientific spirit, in following out which plan the point and connexion of ideas were not infrequently sacrificed to perspicuity,³ and the entire book received a subjective colouring that can only be understood from the immediate surroundings of the author, and from the design with which he taught. He was more concerned to convey a knowledge of the science than to aid materially toward its further development. But on the first appearance of his book he saw himself overtaken by the advance of a new period in the form of an Encyclopædia of the Theological Sciences, by K. Rosenkranz, Halle, 1831. This work indicated the fact, which subsequent history has illustrated, that the Hegelian tendency considered itself entitled to the privilege enjoyed by that of Schleiermacher, of opening for itself a victorious way through the newly cultivated regions of theology, and also that speculative philosophy, which Schleiermacher had separated from theology, was inclined to involve the latter in the mighty transformation of its character. The formal work of encyclopædia was of inferior importance to the purpose of Rosenkranz however. He was more particularly concerned with the contents of theology, especially its speculative contents; and these he discussed in the spirit of that school, with life

The present work prompted by Schleiermacher.

Theological encyclopædia treated in the spirit of Hegelianism.

¹ Other works are, L. S. Jaspis, *Hodegetik*, Dresden, 1831; R. König, *Versuch einer kurzen Anleitung zum Studium der Theologie*, Berne, 1830; A. F. Unger, *Reden an künftige Geistliche*, Leips., 1834; G. K. P. Hessenmüller, *Theol. Propædæutik*, *ibid.*, 1838, etc.

² The original German work of Hagenbach.

³ This probably explains the charge of "rhetorical indefiniteness" raised by Harless, p. 20, and that of "lack of system," by Pelt, p. 69; but it likewise explains the encomium spoken by others, and emphasized by Pelt, that it is "a perfect book for students."

and energy, so that he must be considered a skillful representative of the Hegelian tendency. In the second thoroughly revised edition (Halle, 1845) Rosenkranz declares that "he has not hesitated to sacrifice even such developments of thought in the old edition, as had, by their novelty and also by the freshness of his youthful enthusiasm, secured no little favor for the book in its time." In the language of its author, the work "was written in the consciousness 1) that the Christian religion, as being the religion of truth and liberty, is the absolute religion; 2) that Protestantism is not the dissolving of religion into nihilism, but rather its development into an affirmative self-consciousness of its rational character; and 3) that the reconciliation of Christian theology with philosophy is possible."

(Other tendencies also became gradually apparent, as, the strictly orthodox on the basis of the confessions, in G. C. A. Harless' *Theologische Encyclopædia und Methodologie*, etc. (Nürnberg, 1837, Lutheran), which contains many excellent ideas, but allows too much of its limited space to the historical element; the contrary, rationalistic tendency, in Lobegott Lange's *Anleitung zum Studium der christl. Theologie nach den Grundsätzen des biblischen (!) Rationalismus*, Jena, 1841; and the mediating tendency, which found a worthy organ in A. F. L. Pelt's *Theologische Encyclopædia als System, im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte der theolog. Wissenschaft und ihrer einzelnen Zweige*, Hamb., 1843. A rich material, which has been judiciously selected and intelligently handled, a constant effort to combine the variety of matter into a systematic whole (to which, however, the dry development of the plan in the department of dogmatics, extending down to the Hebrew alphabet, would hardly seem to be an aid), a keen eye for the artistic element in the theological profession, a warm interest in Christianity, and a sound and liberal judgment, are advantages to the book that deserve recognition, though they would unquestionably be heightened by being forced into a narrower compass.

While it must be acknowledged that the literature of German Protestantism is in advance of others, in this as in the other departments of theology, it cannot be said that the Protestants of other lands, and even less the Roman Catholics of Germany, have fallen behind in the march of recent progress. The *Encyclopædiæ theologiæ* epitome, by J. Clarisse of Holland (Lugd., Bat., 1832, 1835), still bears the stamp of the age before Schleiermacher; but the *Encyclopædia* of Hofstede de Groot, on the other hand, represents

*Theological
encyclopædia
in Holland,
France, Swe-
den, and Eng-
land.*

the more modern tendency of the so-called Gröningen school.¹ An excellent preliminary work in French was published by H. G. Kienlen (a German): *Encyclopédie des Sciences de la Théologie Chrétienne*, Strasburg, 1842. It followed Schleiermacher in the main, and was afterward republished, with additions, in German, with the title, *Encykl. der Wissenschaften der Protestantischen Theologie*, Darmstadt, 1845. A Swedish Encyclopædia by the provost H. Reuterdaahl of Lund (1837), likewise follows the principles of Schleiermacher.

The English, however, have hitherto paid very little attention to theological encyclopædia. So little has been done in this department that M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia* says ^{Theological encyclopædia in England and America.} with truth that "No book professing to be called Encyclopædia of Theology has appeared in English, and no book is more needed, as the English theological literature is almost wholly neglected by the Germans." (Article *Encyclopædia*.) Since this statement was made, however, a volume on *Theological Encyclopædia*, compiled from the lectures of Dr. M'Clintock to his students, has been published (New York and Cincinnati, 1873). It is a posthumous work, and necessarily incomplete. Dr. Henry B. Smith also had begun, before his death, an *Encyclopædia and Methodology*, but did not live to carry out his purpose. In English literature instruction of this kind is usually found in treatises on pastoral theology. Thus handled encyclopædia holds a very subordinate position. In Bishop Marsh's *Course of Lectures on Divinity* (Cambridge, 1809; London, 1838) an encyclopædic outline is given. Bickersteth's *Christian Student* (London, 1832, 4th edition, 1844) is characterized by a devout spirit, but is unscientific in form.² Doddridge's *Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office* (London, 1830, and Andover, 1833) are wholly practical.

The earliest American work of this type was by Cotton Mather: *The Student and Preacher; Manductio ad Ministerium*, etc. (Published in London only; 2d ed., 1781.) Some of Tholuck's *Lectures on Encyclopædia and Methodology* are translated by Professor E. A. Park, in the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Professor Shedd, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, has published an essay on the *Method and Influence of Theological Studies* (New York, 2d ed., 1878). J. W. Alexander's *Thoughts on Preach-*

¹ *Encyclopædia Theologi christiani a Hofstede de Groot et L. G. Pareau, Groningae, 1851, 3d ed.*

² Bickersteth conceived of theology as a Divine science. Page 20: "Theology is, like the heavens, full of stars, which appear not to the careless spectator, but a diligent contemplator, with suitable helps, will find new worlds of glory in every part."

ing contain valuable suggestions upon the studies of the preacher (pp. 168–216), although nothing systematic is attempted (New York, 1860). Professor Shedd's *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology* (New York, 1878), presents in chap. iii, of the second part, an excellent outline of a course of study suitable for a clergyman. James M. Hoppin, in *The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry* (New York, 1869), offers good suggestions for theological culture. Most of these works, however, treat the subject in an incidental way.

A brief review of the progress of Roman Catholic encyclopædia remains to be given.

Protestant text-books on encyclopædia generally have reference to the academical course of instruction in universities; but Roman Catholic authors give this only occasional consideration. Much that they have written (especially during the earlier part of the seventeenth century) was designed for use in the seminaries for priests and the institutions of the monastic orders. The historical development of modern Roman Catholicism affords positive proof that in this as well as other matters the Jesuits hold the first place. The Italian Jesuit, Ant. Possevin, wrote a *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* (Colon., 1607, fol.), whose arrangement opens a view into the methods of the order. First stands the *cultura ingeniorum*, which is favored by the current age (the sixteenth century) more than by any other, despite its excessively heretical character. Heresy really hinders true culture, and must be opposed in its very beginning. Special praise is lavished on the institutions of the order, particularly that of Salamanca. The second book treats of the Divine history, i. e., the holy Scriptures and their study, in connexion with which we notice that the study of Hebrew is recommended. Jerome and Augustine should be the principal guides. With reference to the study of the Bible much that is excellent is said, upon the whole, and much that recalls to mind the similar works of Reformed theologians in this period.¹ The third book treats of the scholastic theology, whose leading representative is Thomas Aquinas; and the same section includes the *theologia practica sive de casibus conscientiae docendis*. Book four deals with *Catechetics, sive de juvandis domesticis fidei*. Book five discusses Roman Catholic military (?) sacerdotal and monastic schools (seminaries), and also treats of legends, the ritual, and whatever relates to discipline and asceticism. The sixth and seventh books point out the course to be pursued with schismatics (Greeks and Russians), and with heretics (Wal-

¹ Possevin forms a remarkable parallel to Alsted in the Reformed Church, comp. *supra*.

denses, Hussites, and Protestants), and the eighth indicates the mode of combating atheism, that of the Socinians among the rest. The ninth book has to do with Jews, Mohammedans, and Pagans in general, while the tenth and eleventh deal with the Japanese and other Asiatic nations in particular. The twelfth book, which begins the second volume, brings us to philosophy and its relation to religion and theology, ancient philosophy being derived from Moses. The philosophies of Plato and Aristotle are then considered, the latter especially in great detail. Jurisprudence and medicine, mathematics and history, poetry and painting, occupy the space of the remaining books, except the last, which finally becomes a letter writer. This may suffice to indicate the methodically unmethodical character of the work.¹

The learned Benedictine, J. Mabillon, wrote his *Traité des études monastiques* (Paris, 1691,) in opposition to the ascetic tendency which the order of Trappists and its founder Armand Jean de Bouthillier de Rancé² sought to impress upon the entire system of monastic orders. The work by Lud. Ellies du Pin, *Méthode pour étudier la théologie* (1716), which was translated into several languages, had a more general aim. The publisher of Sarpi, Pierre François de Courayer, wrote, in an anti-Roman spirit, a criticism of the theological method followed by the schools, entitled *Examen des défauts théologiques, où l'on indique les moyens de les réformer*. Amst., 1744, 2 vols. The reform, however, proceeded from Germany, in this field also. A movement toward increased independence prevailed among German Roman Catholics during the latter half of the eighteenth century, of which Denina (1758), Gerbert (1764), Braun (1777), Brandmayer (1783), and Raustenstrauch (1781) were representatives: while Fr. Oberthür, the learned editor of Josephus, wrote an *Encyclopædia et Methodologia*, (vol. i, Solisb., 1786,) which was long afterward remodelled into a German text-book (Augsb., 1828, 2 vols.), and which gave him rank with Nösselt, Planck, and Niemeyer, in the Protestant Church. A methodology of the theological sciences, especially dogmatic, by his hand, followed the above work in the same year.³ Nor did the Roman Catholic Church in Germany seek to resist the influence of

¹ They who are acquainted with *Petri Annati Methodicus theologiae apparatus* (1770) may determine whether it renders more efficient service in these respects.

² *Traité de la sainteté et des devoirs de l'état monastique*, 1688. Comp. the monograph by F. A. de Chateaubriand, Par., 1844.

³ Additional works are by Gmeiner and Leutwein (1786), Wiesner (1788), Sartori (1796), Dobmayer (1807), and Thamer (1809). The influence exerted by Mich. Sailer in his *Beiträge zur Bildung der Geistlichen* (1819) and other writings was chiefly practical.

German Catholic works on theological encyclopædia.

Schleiermacher's method, as appears from the *Kurze Einleitung in das Studium der Theologie, mit Rücksicht auf d. wissenschaftl. Standpunkt u. d. kathol. System*, by J. S. Drey (Tüb., 1819; comp. Pelt., p. 66, *sqq.*). The philosophical ideas in H. Klee's *Encyclopædie* (Mayence, 1832) are not thoroughly digested; but F. A. Staudenmaier in his *Encyk. der theol. Wissenschaften*, etc. (Mayence, 1834, 2d, 1840) displays a decided talent for speculation, together with an immoderate propensity to ramble. Staudenmaier resembles Rosenkranz in regarding encyclopædia as a philosophy of theology, and in disregarding the importance of the Methodological element.¹

Separate contributions to encyclopædia were furnished by:—
 Separate contributions to H. K. Sack, *Werth u. Reiz d. Theologie u. d. Geistlichen Standes*,
 theological encyclopædia. Berlin, 1814; Fr. Strauss, *Glockentöne; Erinnerungen a. d. Leben*
 eines jungen Geistlichen, 3 parts, 7th ed. Leipsa., 1840.

W. M. L. de Wette, *Theodor, oder des Zweifler's Weihe*. Berlin, 1822, 28. 2 vols.
 (Theodore, or the Sceptics' Conversion. Boston.)

E. W. Krummacher, *Expectorationen über d. Studium der Theologie*, etc. Essen,
 1847.

De Wette, *Idee über das Studium der Theologie*, edited by A. Stieren. Leipsa,
 1850.

To these may be added the numerous idealistic romances on ministerial life, *e. g.*—

Hase, *Des alten Pfarrers Testament*; Erhard's, Volkmar's *Bekenntnisse*; Tobler,
 Gotthold; Planck, *Erstes Amtsjahr*, etc., which contain hints adapted to encyclopædia.

¹ Recent Roman Catholic works: A. Genzler, *Das Ideale der Wissenschaft*, etc. (Bamb., 1834); A. L. Buchner, *Encyklopædie u. Methodologie* (Sulzb., 1837); and A. von Sieger, *De natura fidei et methodo theologiæ ad ecclesiæ catholicæ theologos* (Monast. Westphal., 1838); concerning which see Pelt., p. 72.

PART II.

SPECIAL THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF THEOLOGY AND THEIR RELATION
TO EACH OTHER.

SECTION I.

DIVISION.

The study of positive theology is required by its nature to conform to the four leading divisions of Exegetical, Historical, Systematic, and Practical theology, and must be pursued in that order.

As positive theology has for its source the fact of the institution of the Christian religion (revelation), its beginnings will coincide with that fact, and must be found in the documents relating to such institution or revelation. The departments of positive theology.

Starting thus from the beginning, it traces the progress of historical development down to our own time, and then combines into a mental picture of the present what history has furnished. It obtains by this process a clear idea of the connexion running through the whole, and deduces therefrom the necessary principles for converting theory into practice.¹

The division into four departments was generally adopted by the earlier encyclopædists, as Noesselt, Thym, Stäudlin, Schmidt, and Planck, although the above order was not always observed; but later writers have, for scientific reasons, and with but few excep-

¹ The above distribution may also be justified in the following manner: The assertion is warranted that all knowledge is based either on personal (physical or mental) observation, or on report and tradition, and is, therefore, either theoretical (philosophical) or historical in its nature. Historical knowledge, however, must be obtained by investigation, and for the latter acquaintance with languages and philological criticism is necessary; while theoretical knowledge leads to its practical application. In like manner Christianity is, in its positive character, both a history and a doctrine; but its history is based on the Bible, which must, first of all, be exegetically examined; and its doctrine is not pure knowledge, but practical. The truth of revelation is to be applied in the Church and the various departments of Church activity, to which practical theology has regard. The two departments of learning are thus confined between two fields of applied art, the exegetical at the beginning, and the practical at the end.

tions, departed from that arrangement, despite its advantages in a methodological and practical point of view. Schleiermacher preferred to make three departments, and divided the science into philosophical, historical, and practical theology (root, trunk, and crown). The range of philosophical theology is limited by him to apologetics and polemics ; but he extends the domain of historical theology so as to include on the one hand exegesis, and on the other dogmatics and ethics—the latter of which would seem more properly to belong to philosophical theology. Within that domain, however, separate places were assigned to exegetical and systematic theology, in order that the special field of historical theology proper might not be encroached upon. Danz attempted still another division, by which he separated the whole of theology into two classes of sciences, namely, such as pertain to religion and such as relate to the Church. Religious learning is subdivided into theoretical and practical, the former of which embraces heuristic (exegetical) and technical theology (systematic theology and the history of doctrines). Ecclesiastical science is likewise either theoretical or practical, the former section including Church history, Church law, statistics, archæology, etc., while the latter comprehends the “sciences of Church practice,” or such as relate to the practical work of the Church, embracing polemics, irenics, liturgics, etc. This method may, at first sight, seem to present many advantages ; but the difficulties it involves when reduced to practice appear to be equally numerous. The separation of the religious from the Churchly element is of itself fraught with serious evils, since in actual Christianity the two interpenetrate each other. Christ founded both religion and the Church, and the Bible is as important to the Church as to religion. It follows that exegesis, for instance, is as much an ecclesiastical as a religious science.

Still other objections arise when the method is applied to details. The history of doctrines and patristics is introduced before acquaintance with Church history has been made, though a knowledge of the latter is necessary to an understanding of the former ; both practical and historical theology are broken into fragmentary parts, and the relation between apologetics and polemics is destroyed. This may suffice to indicate the difficulties of this division in its practical applications ; and the author has, at all events, failed to indicate the reasons which governed his action. Rosenkranz approximates more nearly to Schleiermacher, in that he likewise divides the entire science into philosophical (which he calls speculative), historical, and practical

Schleiermacher's division of positive theology.

Danz's division of theology into a religious and a Churchly science.

Rosenkranz's threefold division of positive theology.

theology, although his speculative theology substantially includes dogmatics, which term is further extended to embrace apologetics and polemics ; but he conflicts with Schleiermacher in assigning the leading place to systematic, which evidently must grow out of historical theology, and thereby opens the way for speculation to dominate the whole in the Hegelian fashion. Staudenmaier, too, places speculative theology at the front, but, singularly enough, puts practical theology in the centre, and makes historical bring up the rear ; and Zyro is also inclined to give the first place to speculative theology.¹

Kienlen and Pelt have, on the other hand, restored the precedence to historical theology. They adopt the division into three parts—historical, including exegetical, systematic, and practical theology. It cannot be denied that in a broad sense exegetical theology may be properly included under historical, inasmuch as it is the work of exegesis to determine conditions essentially historical, and even to elucidate the primitive history of Christianity itself. But historical knowledge, considered in itself, is not the only element that engages the attention of exegetical theology. Exegesis in the proper sense is rather a certain readiness in the application of knowledge, as Schleiermacher himself confesses, which is based on scientific principles (hermeneutics) belonging, not to the historical, but to the philological, or, in the widest meaning of the term, philosophical, department. The historic value of the Scriptures themselves, is not, moreover, merely the same as that which attaches to other monuments of Christian and ecclesiastical antiquity. In their character, as documents of institution or revelation, they engross our study in a very different manner from and to a far greater extent than do other historical sources. “Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna,” applies to them with entire propriety. They rise, like the primeval mountains, above all the later formations of theological culture, and like the eternal granite rocks, they tower far above valley and hill.

It may therefore be allowed that it is proper for Protestant theology, upon which devolves a special ministry of the word, to establish a separate department of exegetical theology, and to assign to the study of the Bible a sufficient, unrestricted place within the domain of theological learning. The objection that the distinction made between the original and the derived is only relative,² bears against every classification, for every thing, as we shall see, is relative. Or if it be said³ that all science is either philosophical

Reasons why
exegetical the-
ology should be
a separate de-
partment.

¹ Kritik der bisherigen Encyklopædie, in Stud. u. Krit. 1887, No. 8.

² Pelt, p. 76.

³ Kienlen, p. 18.

or historical, and that every particular science must belong to one of these categories, we acknowledge that the statement is correct, in the broad meaning by which exegesis itself becomes a historical science; but if practical theology is entitled to a place beside historical and systematic (thetical), although its very name indicates that it is neither purely historical nor purely philosophical, we may, with equal propriety, assert the right of exegetical theology to a similar privilege. The truth is that both exegetical and practical theology are mixed sciences, which stand related not only to learning, but also to practical skill (*τέχνη*), not only to knowledge, but also to ability; and the fact that these very sciences form the boundary lines of the study, its beginning and end, points to the practical nature of theology as a whole, by which it is distinguished from pure science. If it should become necessary for purposes of observation to disclose the organism of theological science, as science simply, and without reference to practical needs, it would be proper to represent exegesis as merely an historical auxiliary science, as biblical exegesis is in fact for biblical theology,¹ or patristic exegesis for the history of the Church and its doctrines.

But the Protestant Church justly insists that, as a primary qualification, every theologian shall be thoroughly familiar with the Bible and be competent to deal with it, since more than all else, he is to be a well-grounded servant of the Word (*verbi divini minister*). This explains why special chairs of exegesis are every-where established² and exegetical lectures are delivered, even in Roman Catholic universities, which have always been discriminated from the historical in the catalogues and in literature.³ The combination of the two—exegesis and history—is impracticable, confusing in a methodological point of view, and an innovation upon the ordinary usage of the terms in any language. The division we advocate may, aside from its practical utility, derive further support from the analogy of the distribution of the pure sciences, discussed above, where we have, first, the study of language and history, next philosophy, and finally professional culture. In the theological field, exegesis cor-

¹ Pelt., I. c.

² There was even a time when, in the Reformed Church, theology was wholly resolved into exegesis. In Basle at least there were but two chairs of theology from the Reformation down to the earlier period of the seventeenth century, viz., of Old and New Test. exegesis. Comp. Hagenbach, *Die theol. Schule Basels u. ihre Lehrer.*, 1860, 4to.

³ Com., for example, Winer's *Handbuch d. theol. Literatur*. No well arranged library will class exegetical with historical works; and no person will, for instance, place Ernesti upon the same level of merit with Mosheim. Over-keenness is equivalent to dullness.

responds to philology,¹ historical to history, systematic to philosophy, and practical to art.² Thus much respecting the continued use of the ancient "four ruts," which, though worn, should not be held responsible for the faults of wretched drivers.

SECTION II.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE FOUR DEPARTMENTS.

The greatest diversity prevails also in the matter of arrangement. Every person who is not governed by an *a priori* prejudice in favor of *a priori* modes of thought, must see that to give the first place to systematic theology is utterly impracticable. The assertion that Church history cannot be mastered before the idea has been made clear by speculation,³ is almost sufficient to recall the boy in the fable who desired to wait until the stream should have passed by, before crossing over. On this plan there could be no history of the world before the world is understood! Christianity itself would need to be mentally constructed before it could be examined as it appears in the Scriptures. To begin with dogmatics would assuredly deliver us again into the power of scholasticism, from whose control the human mind was emancipated by the Reformation. The reasons, therefore, which justify the assignment of a separate department to exegetical theology, justify, also, the placing of its study at the head. The theologian must begin with exegesis and first of all become acquainted with the foundations. Upon this principle Protestant theology must insist, unless it wishes to become untrue to its principles.⁴

Exegetical theology the first in order.

¹ Philology is likewise a historical science in the wide sense, and that very fact discriminates between it and mere linguistics; but the progressive reading of an author will nevertheless always be considered philological rather than historical. Philologists and historians are likewise related, but not identical, classes of investigators.

² Individual qualifications likewise lead to distinct results, so that the student who excels in the study of languages usually becomes a good exegete, and he who has the historical faculty becomes a Church historian. Philosophical ability will find its proper field in systematic theology, and a talent for using the vernacular in artistic description, etc., indicates the coming preacher and liturgist.

³ Zyro, p. 694.

⁴ Jerome already expressed this idea in his Comm. ad Jesaiam, "Qui nescit scripturas nescit Dei virtutem ejusque sapientiam; ignoratio scripturarum ignoratio Christi est." It may be said, perhaps, that in order to consider the Bible as attesting the faith of Christianity, it is essential that it be examined from the Christian point of view, and that therefore *apologetics* must be first gone over; hence that theology as a whole should begin with apologetics. Regarded merely in its principles, the idea is not bad; but how can apologetics be discussed without a previous acquaintance with the material to which it relates? Only they who have become interested in the study of the Bible are capable of deriving profit from the study of apologetics.

The only question that remains concerns the relative positions of systematic and historical theology; for it is evident that practical theology should close the course (though Staudenmaier places it in the middle). The precedence of systematic before historical theology is advocated on the ground that in point of fact Christianity possessed a

body of doctrine from the very beginning, which, accordingly, is not an aggregate resulting from the entire course of historical development, but, on the contrary, assumed a sort of systematic form at an early period, as the Apostles' Creed sufficiently attests.¹ It is also contended that the history of doctrines can only be studied with proper interest, when it follows upon the study of dogmatics, and after the nature and true meaning of a doctrine has been apprehended. With regard to this question every thing depends upon a separation of Biblical from ecclesiastical dogmatics (*infra*). We acknowledge that the former results from exegesis, and may be successfully studied without a preliminary course of Church history and history of doctrines; but it will appear in our discussion of systematic theology that Biblical dogmatics is simply a preliminary historical branch, and not dogmatics in the proper sense, which latter

Reasons why assumes the existence of Church doctrines as well as Bible doctrines, and constitutes the consummation of the whole. It will also be seen, in connexion with our

treatment of the history of doctrines, that Biblical dogmatics forms the natural point of transition from historical to systematic theology. Not until the mind has developed its powers by historical studies, and has acquired facility in the broad philosophical management of thought, will it be fitted to attempt the study of dogmatics, that demands a robust intellect. The mind that, on the contrary, begins the study of theology with dogmatics, may be likened to the bird which undertakes to fly before its wings have

All divisions of grown, or the architect who attempts the erection of a building before its foundations have been laid. But that every division is only relative, and that in every single branch of theological study all the others are involved,² even as in a

¹ Fleck, in a review of Pelt's *Encykl.*, in the *Allgem. Kirchen-Zeitung*. 1844.

² Exegetical theology involves historical elements (introduction, archæology), and also doctrinal (criticism, hermeneutics) and practical (practical exposition); historical theology embraces exegetical functions (the study of sources, exposition of ecclesiastical writers) and the dogmatic compilation of both Biblical and ecclesiastical dogmatics, and likewise has outlets leading into the practical field, *e. g.*, through Church antiquities into liturgics, or through the history of the constitution of the Church into ecclesiastical law. Systematic theology falls back (in its proof passages) upon exe-

well-tuned musical instrument all the related chords will resound when any single one is struck, are truths that cannot be too strongly impressed.¹ No science has either an absolute beginning or an absolute end; and the suggestion (in § 2) that encyclopædia should, in justice, occupy a double place in the theological course, will accordingly apply to any other special study.

The student who is familiar with systematic and practical theology, and perhaps even with the practical experiences of ministerial life, as well as with the lessons of personal experience, will apprehend the Bible in a very different light from that in which the new beginner sees its truths—this, too, though he be governed by the most sublime “absence of predisposition.” The same observation applies also to Church history, the history of doctrines, etc. We are not, however, inclined on that account to plant theology on its head, or to call the branches roots, because roots may be propagated from them; the true rule is, to apply designations to the departments in harmony with the features which predominate in them, and to apply the same method to the settling of the order in which they are to succeed each other.

genesis, and calls into recollection the history of doctrines and symbolics, besides being required to treat the body of doctrine in its practical bearings and by its doctrine of the Church to furnish a sub-basis for practical theology. The latter, finally, is wholly dependent upon exegesis, on history, and on doctrine. The analogy of nature, which in its earlier formations prefigures those of a later age, and in later stages of development repeats the forms of an earlier period, holds good with reference to this subject. It would not be difficult to discover the tendency to fall into four parts in each of the several branches specified in the text. Each takes the hand of the other; each affords an outlook into the other; and whenever a single branch comes to a living development, the others are found to be involved with it and entitled to equal recognition.

¹ Without a systematic connexion of ideas and a practical judgment both exegesis and history must continue to be *capita mortua*; while, on the other hand, systematic and practical theology would, without the others, be founded on air.

CHAPTER I.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

Exegetical theology embraces every thing that relates to the interpretation and exposition of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and therefore includes both exegesis itself, considered as an art, and the auxiliary sciences which enable us to apply that art. Its results appear in Biblical theology, which may be subdivided into historical and dogmatic elements (sacred history and Bible doctrines).

Exegetical theology has the Bible for its object, for which reason it has been denominated Biblical theology (*e. g.*, by Pelt). The latter, however, is simply the result obtained by exegetical processes, the sum total of the gains secured through the investigations of the student of the Scriptures. Exegesis, in the proper meaning of the term, is the application of a method (hermeneutics) to existing writings;¹ but for the execution of its function the aid of an additional philological and critical apparatus is necessary, which, in all its extent, is likewise included in the domain of exegetical theology. The results of exegesis proper are partly historical and partly dogmatic in their nature; and even practical theology depends on it for immediate advantages (the relation of the text to the sermon). The study of the Bible cannot be covered by exegesis alone, for the Scriptures command the entire range of theological learning, and cannot, accordingly, be forced within the limits of a special branch for purposes of study. Exegesis is simply the key, with which to unlock the sanctuary of Bible truth. Every thing, however, depends upon a proper use of the

¹ "The term *Ἑρμηνεία* was primarily applied by the ancients to persons who directed the attention of curious inquirers to the outwardly remarkable features of a city or a temple, for which reason they were also called *περιηγηταί*; but more especially to persons of higher dignity, who brought the layman into sympathy with divine things, and who read the signs in the heavens and the auguries in the sacrificial victim, and also interpreted the oracles." Creuzer, *Symbolik*, i, p. 15. Comp. Passow's *Wörterbuch*.

key, and exegetical theology is concerned to so master its peculiarities as to become able to seize upon the treasures of Biblical theology. The relation of exegetical to Biblical theology is, consequently, that of the journey to the destination, or of labor to its gains.

SECTION II.

OF HOLY SCRIPTURE CONSIDERED AS THE OBJECT OF EXEGESIS —
ITS IDEA AND EXTENT.

Comp. the Art. Bibel in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædie (also in a separate reprint, Leipzig, 1823), and in Herzog, Encykl.—together with the corresponding articles, Bibeltext des A. u. N. T., Bibelübersetzungen, etc.; * Rothe, Zur Dogmatik, art. 3, Die heil. Schrift: Holtzmann, Kanon u. Tradition, Ludwigsburg, 1859; * Herm. Schultz, Stellung des christl. Glaubens zur heil. Schrift, etc., in Volksbl. f. d. Ref. Kirche d. Schweiz, 1872, Nos. 11-13.

The Bible or the holy Scripture of Christianity (*Biblia sacra*, τὰ βιβλία θεία, ἐκτὸς γραφῆς, θεία γραφή) is a collection of documents relating to religion and its history, which date from different periods and were written by different authors. When conceived as a unit comprehended under the higher designation of the word of God, and as concentrating its energies upon a common object in behalf of religion and the Church, that of giving direction to Christian faith and life—this collection forms the canon of the Scriptures, in distinction from the Apocrypha and all other writings of human origin.

The nature of encyclopædia requires that it should at the beginning appropriate to itself certain elements which according to its own principles belong to the science of Introduction. Its object is to secure a proper appreciation of the Scriptures by the student who enters upon their study, and to point out the scientific methods appropriate for his work. Sound views respecting the Bible itself are first of all to be secured, for the attainment of which a partial intrusion into the fields of apologetics and dogmatics will certainly become necessary, though merely in a general way. It is of the highest importance that both the religious character and the historical nature of the Scriptures should be examined with both holy zeal and unbiassed judgment, in order that the reverence due the book of God may not cause its human side to be overlooked, or that the many and diverse subjects discovered from the human point of observation may not lead to the rejection of its Divine character. Herder, the exponent of the purely human has demonstrated that in one point of view the Bible is a human book; and no inquirer of later times will venture to controvert this human element, which is apparent in the variety of authors and of dates, in the language, in modes of expression, etc. To this must be added the

Relation of encyclopædia to the study of the Bible.

The human side of the Bible to be considered.

reflection that the Bible did not fall from the heavens in its completed form, but was gradually collected, and that its different component parts did not escape the misfortune of all the written monuments of ancient times, by which what was genuine became mixed with elements not genuine, and the text in occasional instances was corrupted. This human side presents matters of great interest to scientific investigation; but such investigation becomes utterly impossible on the rigid theory of a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures.

The interest taken in philological and historical questions, does not, however, destroy all regard for the religious and theological elements, for the Divine character of the Bible, which constitutes the ground of its importance to religion and theology.¹

The tie which binds the books of the Bible together.

An invariable religious reference to an institution founded by God and designed for the education of the

¹ "The Bible, when viewed in its essence, is found to present only a single body of truth, not, however, in the form of unvarying and formally repeated dead traditions, which are handed down from age to age, but as displaying the most active life, since the different truths continually develop with the progress of time, and assume different aspects and a more definite character, without becoming a confused mass or coming into conflict with each other. The truth, passing through manifold forms, is unfolded from the germ to the fruit on a single plan of development, a series of living intermediate members receiving what already exists into themselves and carrying it forward in harmony with their own nature, and transmitting it to their successors for a similar treatment, until the whole is rounded into completed truth—the ripened fruit produced by the entire tree, which possesses the developed power of germination, in order to a further development in which its inborn nature shall be reproduced." Tob. Beck, Einl. in d. System d. christl. Lehre, p. 216.—The religious investigation of the Bible belongs to the sphere of faith; and in consequence persons possessed of robust faith, like Luther, have always expressed the judgment respecting the Bible which faith is still compelled to repeat, despite every freedom from preconceived views which scientific inquiry may have produced. "*In summa*, the holy Bible is the grandest and best book of God—full of comfort in every tribulation, for it teaches much of faith, hope, and love, that is different from what reason is able to see, feel, conceive, or learn. And it teaches when misfortune comes, how such virtues are to shine forth, and that another and eternal life lies beyond this poor, wretched life. . . . I beseech and faithfully admonish every pious Christian not to take offence or be disturbed at the simple discourses and narratives found in the Bible, and not to doubt its truth, however poor and silly they may seem to be; they are yet simply the word, work, history, and judgments of the exalted majesty, might, and truth of God. In this book are found the swaddling-cloths and manger in which Christ has lain, whither the angel also sends the shepherds; they are, no doubt, poor and mean swaddling-cloths, but precious is the treasure, Christ, which they enfold." Similar remarks by Luther on the Bible are scattered through his works. Comp. J. G. Mueller, Theophil., p. 235, sqq. The strong sense of the peculiar character of the Bible and its value above all other books entertained by Goethe also, is apparent in many passages of his works. Comp. Aus meinem Leben, vol. i, book 4, and Farbenlehre, ii, p. 138: "The Bible owes the great veneration, in which it has been held by many nations and generations of the earth, to its inherent value. It is not merely a national book, but the book for the nations, be-

human race, forms the tender spiritual tie holding together the leaves which in their outward form are but loosely connected, and which, if torn from the trunk of the theocracy and the historical root reaching back into the beginning of things, would cease to be what they are as parts of this whole. Such reference, however, is far more definite and apparent in one book than in another, and in some portions of the Scriptures seems to disappear or become obscure. It follows, accordingly, that the Bible is still a sacred literature, not only as distinguished from the profane, if it be thought proper to apply that term to all literature which does not come into immediate contact with the religious life, but also as distinguished from every other religious,

The Bible constitutes a sacred literature.

cause it employs the fortunes of one nation as a symbol of all others, connects its history with the origin of the world, and carries it through the gradations of earthly and spiritual development in connexion with necessary and accidental events, to the farthest regions of the most distant eternity. . . . The more the centuries increase in culture the more will the Bible be made in part the foundation of education and in part an agency in its behalf, not, of course, by concealed persons, but by the truly wise." Comp. many extracts in Hagenbach, *Leitfaden zum christl. Rel.-unterricht*, 3d ed. (Leips., 1861), p. 32, *sqq.* Also Bunsen, *Gott in d. Geschichte*, i, p. 94. "The narratives of this book are God's word to mankind. A word in servant's form, of course; but this is true of all Divine things that pass over the earth; it is true of the Deity itself, as the immutable idea of the common source of being in this world. A book of ruins, too; but the ruins are pervaded by a living spirit. A book, moreover, of humble language; but in words that are undying, because every human heart bears witness to them. A book sweeping through thousands of years, full of apparent contradictions, like nature, and man, and the history of our race; but ever young and in harmony with itself through the unity of the Spirit which produced it, even as creation is a unit, with all its contrasts, and even by reason of all its contrasts. A book for sages and yet capable of being understood, like God's nature, by every child, namely, according to the measure of its understanding. A book written in dead languages, and yet eternally living in the tongues of the nations." Rothe, too, has pertinent remarks (*zur Dogmatik*), e. g., p. 225: "It is precisely through such human and personal qualities that the Bible receives a freshness and charm that are profoundly affecting, and it is precisely this wonderful interplay and commingling of the Divine and human, and still more this constant interpenetration of the two, that the pious soul familiar with its qualities recognizes as the most eminent characteristic among its peculiarities." Also p. 345: "The sacredness and all that constitutes the unique character of the Bible depend unalterably and altogether upon what it actually is and what it actually proves itself to be for him who approaches it in a teachable spirit, and not at all upon the character given it or the qualities arbitrarily assigned to it by dogmatics."

It is not the habit of English scholars to make apology for the form in which Scripture conveys its truth. From the earliest years of the Reformation a reverence for the letter and style of the Bible, as in every way worthy of its rich contents, is observable in English literature. The book is familiarly described as the Great Classic. In Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* this reverential tone is noticeable in every reference to Scripture. Barrow makes a special point of the worthiness of the form of the Bible for the conveyance of a divine message. In his sermon on the Excel-

and even Christian, literature, which, being only the word of man as contrasted with the word of God, can only sustain a subordinate relation to the Scriptures.

The latter distinction, by which sacred is discriminated from other religious literature, furnishes the ground for the separation between the canonical and apocryphal writings which is maintained in our Church. The Bible is termed the canon, and its several parts canonical books, inasmuch

Apocryphal writings: why so distinguished.

lence of the Christian Religion he says: "It propoundeth itself in a style and garb of speech, as accommodate to the general capacity of its hearers, so proper to the authority which it claimeth, becoming the majesty and sincerity of divine truth; it expresseth itself plainly and simply, without any affectation or artifice, without ostentation of wit or eloquence, such as men study to insinuate and impress their devices by: it also speaketh with an imperious and awful confidence, such as argueth the speaker satisfied both of his own wisdom and authority; that he doubteth not of what he saith himself, that he knoweth his hearers obliged to believe him: its words are not like the words of a wise man, who is wary and careful that he slip not into mistake, (interposing therefore now and then his maybes and perchances,) nor like the words of a learned scribe, grounded on semblances of reason, and backed with testimonies; nor as the words of a crafty sophister, who, by long circuits, subtle fetches, and sly trains of discourse, doth inveigle men to his opinion; but like the words of a king, carrying with them authority and power uncontrollable, commanding forthwith attention, assent, and obedience; this you are to believe, this you are to do, upon pain of our high displeasure, at your utmost peril be it; your life, your salvation dependeth thereon: such is the style and tenor thereof, plainly such as becometh the sovereign Lord of all to use, when he shall please to proclaim his mind and will to us." Jeremy Taylor is, in the expression of this reverence, not a whit behind Barrow: "For the meaning of the spirit of God is not like the wind blowing from one point, but like light issuing from the body of the sun, it is light round about; and in every word of God there is a treasure, and something will be found somewhere to answer every doubt, and to clear every obscurity, and to teach every truth, by which God intends to perfect our understanding." (Sermon on the Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine.) Even Coleridge, who says of the theory of verbal inspiration that it changes the living organism of Holy Writ into a "colossal Memnon's head, a hollow passage for a voice that mocks the voices of many men," speaks impatiently of the spirit which disparages the human element in revelation. In his *Studies on Homer*, Mr. Gladstone suggests that it is a mistake to bring the Old Testament before the tribunal of mere literary criticism; that "we can no more compare Isaiah and the Psalms with Homer than we can compare David's heroism with Diomed's, and that we shall most nearly do justice to each by observing carefully the boundary lines of their respective provinces." He adds: "All that is peculiar in our conception of Isaiah or of Jeremiah does not tend so much to make them eminent among men as to separate them from other men," and this may be said of all the Scripture writers.

¹ Comp. H. Planck, *Nonnulla de significatu canonis in eccl. antiqua ejusque serie recte constituenda* (Gött., 1820), which contradicts the opinion of Semler and Eichhorn that *κανόν* merely denotes a catalogue of books. Comp. also Nitzsch, *System der christl. Lehre*, § 40, *sq.*, and especially Credner, *zur Gesch. des Kanons*, p. 6, *sqq.* *Κανόν* (corresponding to Heb. *תנ"ך*, a staff, reed) is equivalent to rule, measure, norm. Holtzmann, l. c.

as the "Word of God," contained in the Scriptures, is regarded as the whole of Scripture, and, therefore, as the Divine rule of faith and practice. As sacred literature stands opposed to profane in the more extended fields, so the canonical contrasts with the apocryphal within narrower limits. In the ecclesiastical vocabulary such religious writings are termed apocryphal as are considered useful and good, but not pervaded by the peculiar spirit of the theocracy (the Old Testament Apocrypha usually appended to the canon);¹ or such (like many of the New Testament apocryphal writings) as betray a tendency foreign to original apostolic Christianity, or at any rate, are not in thorough harmony with it, and, therefore, not received as canonical.²

SECTION III.

RELATION OF THE OLD TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The canon of the Scriptures is divided into the books of the Old and New Testaments (*παλαιά, καινή διαθήκη*).³ The Christian theologian is, in that character, to deal primarily with the New Testament as being the immediate source of revelation for the Christian religion; but he is nevertheless required to include the Old Testament Scriptures also in the range of his investigations:

Christian theologians should study the Old Testament, and why.

¹ In the ancient Church the Apocrypha were known as *libri ecclesiastici*. They had been appended to the Greek version of the LXX, and came into circulation by that means; but Jerome wished to have them separated from the canon, while Augustine advocated their retention. Upon this question the Protestants have taken sides with Jerome and the Roman Catholics with Augustine. The English and Scottish Churches urge this distinction more than others, and insist upon its practical application. In recent times the question has given rise to disputes upon the Continent also. Comp. the writings against the Apocrypha by Ph. F. Keerl, *Das Wort Gottes u. d. Apokr. des A. T's*, Leips., 1853; J. U. Oschwald, *Die Apokr. in d. Bibel*, Zürich, 1853; and those for the Apocrypha, by E. W. Hengstenberg, *Beibehaltung der Apokr.*, Berl., 1853, reprinted from the *Evang. Kirchen Zeitung*; and R. Stier, *Die Apokryphen*, etc., Brunsw., 1853. Bleek furnishes a scientific and unbiassed discussion of the subject, in *Stellung der Apokr. des A. T. im christl. Kanon*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1853, 2, pp. 267-354. The difference should certainly be recognized in practice; but the animosity which has in recent times contended zealously against the circulation of these books in connexion with the Bible, cannot be commended.

² Comp. G. Brockmann, *De Apocryphorum appellatione*, Gryph., 1766; Gieseler, *Was heisst Apokryphisch?* in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1829, No. 1, p. 141, *sqq.*; de Wette, *Einl. ins A. T.*, 6th ed., p. 10; Schleiermacher, § 109.

³ The word *testamentum* occurs first in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv, 11, who also employs the term *instrumentum*. Concerning the original signification of *διαθήκη*, as corresponding to the Heb., בְּרִית (*foedus*), and the transition to the idea of "testament" (Heb. ix, 16), see the lexicons. Knapp (of Halle) beautifully says, "We are to read the Testament, not like the jurist, who criticizes, but like a child that inherits." Comp. Eylert, *Fr. Wilh.*, iii, p. 325.

1. Because the monotheistic underlying principle of the New Testament is grounded in the Old, and its economy (plan of salvation) has its preparation in the Old Covenant.

2. Because the modes of thought and expression found in the Old Testament, furnish the only key for comprehending the New.

3. Because the Old Testament contains sections whose theocratic and ideally religious character gives them immediate didactic and edifying value for the Christian, and possesses for him all the authority of Divine revelation.

Opinions have always been divided with regard to the relation of the Old Testament to the New and the value of the former to the Christian. The Judaizing (Ebionitish) tendency was opposed by certain Gnostics (Marcionites), while the Manichæans rejected the Old Testament; and

in the period of the Reformation a zealous opposition to the Law was manifested by the Antinomians, though this movement was repressed. Renewed attention to the Hebrew language served, on the contrary, to greatly encourage the study of the Old Testament, and the theology and Church government of the Reformed Church especially assumed an Old Testament character. In the end, oriental and rabbinical learning threatened to overshadow and smother all other learning. The Socinians, on the contrary, distinguished between the Old and New Testaments so far as to consider the latter alone as in any proper sense the source of revelation; and they were followed by a number of rationalists in the last century.¹ Other rationalists, however, evinced a strong preference for the Old Testament, which arose from their Ebionitic point of view. They preferred to select texts from the book of Proverbs rather than from the writings of Paul; and they rated the morality of the apocryphal book of Wisdom as high as that of Jesus Christ. But many strictly orthodox persons likewise devoted themselves preferably to the Old Testament, and especially to its typical sections, because they found it more congenial to their dispositions to apprehend "Christ in the Old Testament" through the obscure medium of types, than in the New, as there presented in clear conceptions

adapted to the human mind. The course of Schleiermacher, who, in opposition to such extreme tendencies, assigned to the Old Testament a position so

¹ Thies, for instance, (in his *Anleitung zur Amtsberedsamkeit der Religionslehrer des 19 Jahrhunderts*, p. 139), asserts that "for the teacher of religion the entire Old Testament is composed of apocryphal books, from which he may hardly venture to borrow a few pages" (1); and Sintenis, in *Theol. Briefe* (Part I) recommended that "the entire Old Testament be cashiered without mercy" (1). Comp. Augusti, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 198.

subordinate, as to barely recognize in it the accidental soil in which Christianity is rooted, is, as his followers acknowledge,¹ simply another extreme founded on a misapprehension of the peculiar character of the Covenant; but it is historically explicable. The religion of salvation is contained in the Old Testament in the form of prophecy (in the wide meaning of the term), though it is apparently bound to the religion of law; and Luther in his time would not limit the Gospel idea to the letter of the New Testament, but traced it backward through the prophecies of the Old.² More recent theology, since the time of Schleiermacher, has made undeniable progress in this direction, though the relation between prophecy and fulfillment is not always clear, and many things may be shrouded in the gloom of that magical twilight in which a certain school finds so much pleasure.³

It must be conceded in any event that New Testament modes of thought and expression are inexplicable without the study of the Old, and that an immense number of pas-
The form of New Testament thought derived from the Old.
 sages in the former are taken from the latter and refer back to it, even though the inquiry be pushed no further than the external relations existing between the two. Such passages cannot be isolated and torn from their proper connexion, but must be examined and comprehended in combination with the whole to which they belong. But in addition to the peculiar relation sustained by the Old Testament to the New, there is contained in it so much of a general and religious nature, in a human point of view (the religious contemplation of nature, patriotism, ethical wisdom), that this quality alone possesses a sufficient charm to invite to the diligent study of its pages. The idea of a Divine training of humanity, the training of a nation that it may become the chosen people of God, is so grand and peculiar, as compared with any thing af-

¹ See Schweizer, *Ref. Glaubenslehre*, p. 95; Pelt, *Encyk.*, p. 129.

² The relation between the Old and New Testaments has been variously determined by recent theologians. Nitzsch's view (*System of Christ. Doct.*, p. 79) is that the New Testament is related to the Old as "completion is to preparation, the removal of barriers to limitation, the immediate to the mediate." W. Hoffmann, *Die göttliche Stufenordnung im Alten Test.*, Berlin, 1854, p. 7: "In comparison with heathenism the Old Testament possesses a strong consciousness of victory, but it approaches the coming Christianity with a humiliating consciousness of imperfection."

³ Comp. J. Ch. K. Hoffmann, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung im Alten u. Neuen Test.*, Nördlingen, 1841-44, 2 vols., and the review of Ebrard in *Tholuck's Lit. Anzeiger*, 1843, Nos. 16-18. On Old Testament prophetism see the articles by Gueder and Oehler in *Herzog's Encykl.*, vol. xii; A. E. Biedermann, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, in *Zeitstimmen aus d. ref. Schweiz*, 1860; Tholuck, *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen*, Gotha, 1860. In opposition to errors in this field, see Herm. Hupfeld, *Die heutige theosoph. oder mythologische Theologie u. Schrifterklärung*, Berlin, 1861.

forded by the other religions of antiquity, that the study of the Old Testament becomes one of the highest and most profitable tasks of science in a general religious and historical point of view.

Furthermore, the connexion between the Old Testament and the New is vital, for the New Testament has its roots in the Old. It is one kingdom of God which is the subject of the history in both. In expressing penitence, joy, and faith, the Psalms touch the deepest depths of Christian feeling, and the prophecies of Isaiah are by anticipation evangelical. The Bible can never be rightly studied unless the two Testaments are comprehended in their unity and harmony. If the Old Testament is in the New in fulfillment, the New is in the Old in promise. There is force in the thought of Archbishop Trench that in a just and reasonable sense all the Old Testament is prophetic, "that the subtle threads of prophecy are woven through every part of the texture, not separable from thence without rending and destroying the whole. All the Old Testament is the record of a divine constitution, pointing to something higher than itself, administered by men who were ever looking beyond themselves to a Greater that should come; who were uttering, as the Spirit stirred them, the deepest longings of their souls after his appearing, is prophetic; and this not by an arbitrary appointment, which meant thus to supply evidences ready to hand for the truth of Revelation, in the curious tallying of the Old with the New, but prophetic according to the inmost necessities of the case, which would not suffer it to be otherwise."¹

SECTION IV.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Old Testament embraces the documents relating to the history of the Hebrew nation and religion, "down to a certain period." The books of which it is composed are generally divided into historical, prophetic, and poetical; but the division cannot be strictly applied to details.

The Jews divided the sacred books (בְּמִכְתָּבֵי תַּקְרָשׁ כְּפָרִי תַּקְרָשׁ) into the Law (מֹרֶה), the Prophets (נְבִיאִים), and the Hagiographa (כְּמוֹתָם). The prophets are subdivided into earlier (אֶחָדִים) and later (אֲחֵרִים). The former class included the historical books, beginning with Joshua and ending with Kings; while the latter was again subdivided into greater (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and lesser prophets, the latter forming a separate book. The Hagiographa included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and

¹ Hulsean Lecture for 1845; pp. 85, 86.

Chronicles. The inconvenient character of this mode of arranging and naming is apparent;¹ and the more recent method of division, in which the Alexandrian Jews led the way, and which classified the different books as theocratic-historical, theocratically inspired (prophets), and didactic and poetical, is therefore to be preferred. It should be remembered that such a division can, in view of the entire structure of the Bible, be only relative, inasmuch as history and doctrine,² poetry and prose,³ are combined in manifold ways in a majority of its books. It is for this very reason that the study of the Bible, and of the Old Testament in particular, becomes so stimulating and profitable, as to demonstrate that the Scriptures are no dry and formally completed system, but a beautiful variegated garden of God, in which the most diverse trees, herbs, shrubs, and flowers grow and give forth their fragrance; and above this diversity hovers, as above the waters on creation's morn, the spirit, peculiar to the Bible, of theophany and theocracy. A definite physiognomy looks out upon us from the theophanies, a holy, majestic, and personal will speaks in the law and the prophecies; in the first instance, the physiognomy and will of a national God, no doubt, but still of a God who will tolerate no other gods besides, and who, exalted above all limitation, is sacredly and divinely conscious of possessing eternally creative power and universal dominion over the world.⁴

The Alexandrian classification of the Old Testament books.

¹ A deeper reason for it may, however, be discovered; comp. W. Hoffmann, *Göttliche Stufenordnung im A. T.*, p. 80, on which, p. 6, the author truly and beautifully observes: "The Torah, the law or doctrine generally, which is the text and root of all teaching and learning in matters pertaining to salvation before the time of Christ, constitutes the *foundation* of the old covenant, the wonderful, massive substructure, upon which is grounded the graceful, rich columnar forest of the *prophets*, with its glorious and bold ornaments of sacred poetry, which ornaments are fruit-bearing in their turn. It (the Torah) is the instituting of the true religion, the most ancient revelation in a human form." Bunsen likewise insists, in his *Bibelwerk*, that the ancient divisions should be retained.

² "It is apparent to all that in the two sections of this important work (the Old and New Testaments) the historical and the doctrinal elements are intimately combined in such a way that one aids and supplements the other, as perhaps in no other book." Goethe, l. c.

³ It is assuredly a delicate thread that passes through the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and especially through sections in which image and reality, history and poetry, come into contact. Rude hands are rarely able to follow, and much less unravel it, without tearing or entangling—without harming either the poetry or the history, which are spun by it into a whole." Herder, *Theophron* (*Werke zur Rel. u. Theol.*, i, p. 222, sq.).

⁴ A more unjustifiable statement has probably never been made, than that the Old Testament God is simply an extra-mundane, abstract God. The very reverse is true. Nothing can be more concrete than the determinate God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Bähr (*Symbolik*, i, p. 9) is consequently correct when he says, "The underly-

The leading object of the Old Testament, that of revelation, does not appear from isolated passages, but from the whole of its development; and the present age, because of its mania for investigating separate portions of the canonical Scriptures, is less capable than its predecessor of obtaining a comprehensive view of the Divine plan for educating the race, such as was still possible to Lessing, Hess, Herder, Hamann, and Kleuker, though from different points of view. It is to be hoped, however, that the constructive spirit of a coming age may, assisted by such preparatory critical labours, be able to erect the edifice of Old Testament theology with a more certain hand and in a purer style than was possible to that earlier period with its more limited historical horizon.¹ But for an understanding of the Old Testament a knowledge of the New is necessary, in like manner as, on the other hand, the study of the former is important for the exposition of the latter (comp. sect. 2); and since it is evident, as a general truth, that "the peculiar character of a people can only be clearly recognized in the closing and crowning period of its history," it follows that "Jesus Christ is to the understanding of Israelitish history what Cæsar Augustus is to the Roman."²

The leading object of the Old Testament visible throughout its contents.

SECTION V.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

While the Old Testament covers a period embracing thousands of years, the new is limited to a generation of men. The Old is concerned with the training of a single nation into the character of God's people; while the latter treats of the unique personality of Jesus Christ as the

The New Testament covers only a single generation of men.

ing idea peculiar to Mosaism is precisely this, that Jehovah has connected himself with Israel, and is not separate from the world and inaccessible, but lives and walks among his people; and every person who in true earnestness of soul has uttered the Psalmist's cry, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee?' etc., knows also that the Lord is no abstract being, but a most concrete God, and no philosophy will be able to destroy the conclusion he has reached."

¹ A similar hope is expressed by Ebrard in his inaugural, *Die Gottmenschlichkeit des Christenthums* (Zürich, 1844), p. 17, where he declares it to be one of the leading tasks of the theology of our day "to follow out the Divinely human character of Old Testament revelation in the spirit of the immortal Herder."

² See Hofmann, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, i, p. 54. Comp. Hävernicks, *Vorlesungen über Theol. d. A. T.*, p. 18, "The statement may be truthfully made that Christ is the central feature of the Old Testament, as being the earthly manifestation of personal, concrete justice and love; but the distinction must not be overlooked that in the Old Testament Christ is not immediately presented, but indirectly, by means of occasional symbols, actions, and words. Nor can the Old Testament be understood without Christ. Such an attempt will end in reducing it from its proper elevation; it becomes a body without a head, disintegrating and destroying itself."

Son of God, and of the institution of a society founded on that personality.

The habit of confining the attention wholly to the connexion between the Old and New Testaments, as though they were simply the two volumes of a single book, the Bible, has led to many erroneous conclusions.¹ The inquirer who desires merely quantity and variety of matter, will certainly derive greater satisfaction from the Old Testament than the New; for it will ever continue to be an important historical book, a chronicle of the world and its nations, even to persons who misapprehend its peculiar religious purpose. The New Testament is not of this character. Its vision embraces but few nations in its range, and is limited to Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome; and the student who desires information relating to those nations or countries is able to consult authorities of a wholly different kind. Every thing in it relates to the manifestation of a single and wholly unique personality,² and it offers but little to a mind that lacks interest in this subject. No prominence is given to great external events, for even the miracles, with few exceptions, are of a mild and unimposing character; but, next to the person of the Redeemer himself, it is human characters that engage the attention, and more especially with reference to a definite relation sustained by them to Christ.³ The inner man, with his capabilities and needs, with his subjection to sin and error—from which he is to be delivered by an act of Divine love—the Divine love itself, no longer directed upon a chosen nation, but, in a human person, upon the entire race; the entrance of the Infinite into the finite conditions of human life, which is conditioned by the circumstances of nationality and time indeed, but none the less is superior to such limitations; the might of a new spirit, which, entering upon the arena of human history, transforms both nature and conditions; the gathering of a community professing faith in

¹ Comp. the remark by Tholuck, cited in sect. 2 of this chap., note.

² "The peculiarities of form and contents of the New Testament become clearly apparent when it is compared with these collections of sacred books (the Old Testament and the Koran). The religious idea and the historical fact are here combined in the single phenomenon of *the entrance of the Deity into human life*. All the parts are collected about a common centre, the historical manifestation of God in Christ. But this unity is again resolved into a rich diversity of points of view, from which the doctrine is illustrated, of historical characters, whose moral beauty does not conceal the stamp of individuality, and of historical situations, which serve to illustrate the application of Christian ideas to human life." Clausen, *Hermeneutik*, p. 28.

³ The Old Testament has, not improperly, been compared to the *Iliad*, and the New to the *Odyssey*.

the crucified and risen Jesus; the regeneration of individuals into the likeness of God, and of nations into an (ideal) people and kingdom of God—these form the kernel and the contents of the Gospel proclamation.

The substance of the proclamation is presented under the two forms of history and doctrine, to which prophecy is appended, thus affording an analogy with the Old Testament, in which a similar distinction between historical, prophetic, and didactic books has been observed; but this analogy will not hold good in all respects. The distinction between historical and didactic books is likewise faulty when applied to details. The statement that the Gospels and the book of Acts form the historical, the Pauline and the general epistles the didactic, and the Apocalypse the prophetic part, must be modified by the consideration that didactic elements are contained in the historical books of the New Testament (the discourses of Jesus in the synoptical Gospels¹ and John), that historical matter is found in the epistles (Gal. ii; 1 Cor. xi, 23–25; xv, 3–9, etc.), and that prophecies occur both in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv) and the epistles (1 Thess. v, 1, etc.).

Questions relating to the collection of the New Testament canon belong to the province of Introduction; but it is to be observed, for the purpose of guarding against the adoption of partial views, that the Gospel was at first proclaimed altogether by living agents and by means of oral address; that the introduction of writing was due to the necessity of corresponding with distant Churches and individuals, and that it is by reason of the references in them to communities and individuals that the New Testament writings acquire a peculiar interest, which, however, is speedily dissipated by the application of over-hasty dogmatizing principles to their interpretation;² that the transmission of historical facts by oral tra-

¹ Matthew, Mark, and Luke, so called because their modes of presenting the subject, though different, yet resemble each other in admitting of a ready synopsis, while the fourth Gospel pursues an independent method.

² "An examination of these (New Testament) writings will reveal a feature in which they differ from all other books that are accounted sacred. No trace of a formal and solemnly declared revelation by God is indicated by their form, nor, with the single exception of the Apocalypse, do they claim to have been written at the direct command of God, which is the case in the Old Testament with the writings of Moses and the prophets. The sacred books of other religions, *e. g.*, the Koran, likewise claim to be Divine revelations immediately given from heaven. Had it been intended to make such a book the basis of the Christian commonwealth, no person would have possessed more absolute qualification and authority to compose it than Jesus Christ himself; but

dition preceded their circulation in a written form; that the agreements and disagreements of the different records with each other are founded in the circumstances of their origin, and must be explained in harmony with human reason and by scientific methods; and finally, that the several books composing the New Testament were not all admitted to the canon and comprehended into a whole at the same time, but that they were gradually received (*εὐαγγέλιον, ἀπόστολος*), opinion being in the meantime undecided with regard to the canonicity of certain of them (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). While admitting such facts, however, it must not be supposed on the other hand, that the canon is simply an accidental aggregation. It is rather to be regarded as necessarily determined by its own internal character and so received by the Church, and as carrying a great idea through the whole of its empirical form, so that the beginning and the end are linked together like the ends of a chain, Genesis opening with the beginning of all things and the Apocalypse closing with the end of the world. The structure of the canon must be examined with an independent spirit rather than with a mind controlled by any pedantic method; a principle that should be applied also to the (not chronological) arrangement of the Prophets and Epistles, and to the seemingly abrupt transitions from one book to another.¹

SECTION VI.

SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO EXEGESIS.

Exegetical theology requires, as necessary aids :—

1. A knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures (*philologia sacra*);
2. An acquaintance with the sciences which deal with

The five auxiliary sciences.

he has not done this. He has chosen instead to deposit with a number of living persons the life which he was empowered to convey; and these persons were likewise not commissioned nor did they assume to give a written documentary form to the subject they were to announce to men. They confined themselves to the living word in the effort to gather a people, among whom that word should become power, life, and reality. The force of circumstances afterward led them to make use of writing, and even then it was because special conditions and occurrences required attention which could not be given in person, because the distance between the parties prevented other than written intercourse," etc. Chr. Hoffmann, *Das Christenthum in d. ersten Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 194. Comp. H. Schultz, p. 54.

¹ The artistic mind of Herder discovered the right principle, here as elsewhere. "I cannot express the value at which I rate several of the most sharply contrasting books, all of which are placed together. The three books of Solomon following after the Psalms, the Psalms after Job, love's tender dove after the bird of wisdom, and in immediate succession Isaiah, the eagle, mounting upward to the sun. Here is instruction, here is human life." *Solomo's Lieder der Liebe* (*Werke zur Rel. u. Theol.*, vii, p. 102).

facts that come into question (Biblical antiquities, geography, *physica sacra*);

3. A knowledge of the origin and fortunes of the canon and its parts (Isagogics, Canon).

To these positive, historical, and philological sciences must be joined an acquaintance :—

1. With the laws which determine the canonicity and authenticity of a book as a whole, and also the perfect preservation of the text in its several parts (integrity)—the science of criticism.

2. With the rules of interpretation—hermeneutics.

The above order of arrangement is founded in methodological reasons. It may be thought that Introduction should properly precede all else; but practice in reading the Scriptures, involving a knowledge of the languages in

which they were written, is necessary to success in the study of that branch. A knowledge of physical and historical facts is also required, even though it be limited, at first, to such archæological notes as the lexicons afford, and its full development into a scientific character be reserved for a later stage, in connexion with the study of historical theology. Lectures on Introduction having reference to the canon as a whole, will possess a proper interest only for students who have become familiar with separate books of the Bible, in the way of philological and archæological study; and a thorough comprehension of the laws of Criticism and Hermeneutics is possible to him only who has, to some extent, been engaged in the work of interpretation.

SECTION VII.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.

The Old Testament Scriptures were originally written in the Hebrew language, with the exception of a few sections which were written in Chaldee. The New Testament Scriptures were written in Hellenistic Greek.

Chaldee sections, Dan. ii, 4 to the end of vii; Ezra iv, 8; vi, 18; vii, 12–26; Jer. x, 11.¹

It may be regarded as generally conceded that the Greek, and not the Aramæan, as Bolten and Bertholdt argued, is the original language of the New Testament; but opinions are still divided on the question of the original form of the Gospel by St. Matthew.

¹ Concerning the Biblical Chaldee comp. L. Hirzel, *De Chaldaismi Biblici origine*, etc., Leips., 1880, 4to.; F. Dietrich, *De Sermonis Chaldaici proprietate*, Leips., 1839.

SECTION VIII.

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

J. J. Wagner, *Wichtigkeit d. Heb. Sprache für Theologen*, Bamb. and Würzburg, 1806; W. M. L. de Wette, *Aufforderung zum Stud. der Hebr. Spr. u. Literatur*, Jena, 1806; W. M. Thomson, *The Physical Basis of Our Spiritual Language*, Bib. Sacra., vol. xxix, pp. 1-22, and vol. xxx, pp. 25-127; G. H. Whittemore, *Hebrew Language and Lexicography*, Bib. Sacra., vol. xxix, pp. 547-553; Articles on Hebrew Language in *Kitto's* and *M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedias*.

A knowledge of the Hebrew language is indispensable to the theologian, not only for the study of the Old Testament, but also for the New :

1. Because the New Testament idiom is partially based on that language. The necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew and the reasons.

2. Because much that is there given in the Greek was originally conceived and expressed in the kindred Aramæan dialect, and accordingly derives its colouring, in different degrees, from that source.

On the word "Hebrew" (whether derived from עִבְרִי, the ancestor of Abraham), see the introductions to the grammars of Gesenius and Ewald. The phrase "Hebrew language" is not found in the Old Test., the "language of Canaan," Isa. xix, 18, and "Jews' language," Isa. xxxvi, 11, 13, being used instead. The latter expression, however, denotes more particularly the Hebrew dialect spoken in the kingdom of Judah and in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The New Testament has the expressions γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων and ἑβραϊστί, John v, 2 ; xix, 13, but as designating the Aramaic vernacular, in distinction from the Greek.

The Hebrew language possesses a peculiar interest for the purposes of pure knowledge alone ; but it engages the attention of the philologist only as it is a member of Characteristics of Hebrew. the larger family of languages known as the *Semitic*.¹ The for-

¹ This term has come into use since the days of Schlözer and Eichhorn, as being more thoroughly descriptive than Jerome's phrase, "the Oriental languages." The latter embraces the entire East, while the Semitic languages are indigenous to hither Asia, and confined to Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. They are divided into three principal branches, 1. The Aramæan (Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia), subdivided into West and East Aramaic (Syriac and Chaldee); 2. The Hebrew (Palestine and Phœnicia) from which the Punic was derived; 3. The Arabic, with which the Ethiopic is a cognate branch. The Samaritan was a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan. It has been found, however, that the term Semitic is likewise neither sufficiently exact nor exhaustive (comp. Gesenius, *Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, p. 5), and some writers (*e. g.*, Hävernicks, *Einl.*, i, 1, p. 93) have again adopted the term "Oriental." Recent authors have suggested that "hither-Asiatic" or "Syro-Arabic" be substituted for either, to designate this family of languages. J. G. Müller (*wer sind die Semiten u. mit welchem Recht spricht man von*

mation and character of this language, so essentially unlike Greek and Latin, its being written from right to left, its wealth in guttural letters, the facts that, strictly speaking, it has but three leading vowels, and that the root-word is usually a verb and is almost invariably composed of three consonants, its peculiar modes of conjugation, of forming cases, etc., and its simple syntax, are features which impart to it a special charm,¹ but also to some extent, increase its difficult character. A knowledge of Hebrew is conceded to be necessary for the interpretation of the Old Testament; but it is likewise indispensable to the exegesis of the New, for the reasons:

A knowledge of Hebrew indispensable to the exegesis of the New Testament.

1. That entire sections (citations) from the Old Testament can only be properly understood after being compared with the original; 2. That the New Testament itself, to use Luther's expression, "is full of the Hebrew mode of speaking;"² that though the number of assumed Hebraisms has been greatly reduced since Winer's thorough investigations, the significations of New Testament words and their combinations are largely to be explained from the Hebrew (e. g., the words *σάρξ*, *καρδιά*, *σπλάγχνα*, *σπλαγχνίζεσθαι*, *σπέρμα*, and the phrases *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν*, *πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*, *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, etc.); 3. That expressions in the discourses of our Lord, as given in the Greek text of the Gospels, need to be translated back into the Aramaean dialect then current among that people, in order to be correctly understood—a principle that is not sufficiently regarded, the ordinary method in New Testament exegesis being to ascertain simply the Greek etymon. It appears from the above that a knowledge of Hebrew is

Semit. Sprachen? Basle, 1860, 4to.) returns to the expression, "language of Canaan," and accordingly regards the Hebrew as a Hamitic language; but he observes that "however evident the matter may be, the term Semitic has become too thoroughly established in the learned and cultivated world to be easily set aside."

¹ "Injucundum videtur idioma latino fastui et graecanicae effeminationi, sed idioma est et sanctum et sacris literis necessarium maxime, cujus ignoratio multas haereseos et errores inexit." Oecolampadius Hedioni (Epp. Oecol. et Zwinglii, Basle, 1536, sq.) fol. 172. "The Hebrew language is full of the soul's breath; it does not resound, like the Greek, but it breathes, it lives." Herder, *Geist, d. hebr. Poesie*, i, p. 38. With reference to the relation of the Semitic languages to those of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan) nations, see Bertheau, p. 613, and also with regard to their relation to the later, so-called rabbinical, Hebrew.

² "It has therefore been justly said that the Hebrews drink at the fountainhead, the Greeks from the streamlets that issue from the fountain, but the Latins from the puddles. The Hebrew is the best and purest language; it does not beg, and wears its own colours. It is more simple, indeed, than others, but majestic and glorious, direct and of few words, which, however, involve much that is below the surface; so that none other is capable of imitating it." Comp. Herder's *Briefe des Stud. der Theol. betreffend*, iv, p. 144.

an indispensable qualification for the theologian; but it does not follow, as certain of the older writers imagined, that a good Hebraist must necessarily be a good theologian.¹ The terminology of Christianity is clearly not confined within the limits of the Hebrew tongue; and as Christianity itself has grown beyond the Old Testament Judaism, so it has developed a new language for its own use, and has infused a new spirit into Hebraistic forms, which a defunct Hebraism cannot explain, for which the Hebrew simply affords a basis, and which must be wholly apprehended from its own idea.

SECTION IX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE STUDY OF HEBREW.

The older theology held that the Hebrew was the primitive language, the sacred language employed by God and the angels, which existed alone until others were added in the confusion of tongues at Babel.² Recent inquiries have shown that the Hebrew language was not perfected before the time of David, and have given rise to different opinions concerning the language of the Canaanitish and Phœnician tribes that occupied Palestine before the immigration of the Abrahamidæ. The importance of the Hebrew language for the Christian theologian, so generally conceded in our day, was not always recognized. The primitive Christians generally made use of versions, particularly the Alexandrian by the LXX. Origen and Jerome (the latter especially) were distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew, while Augustine was deficient in this regard. During the middle ages Hebrew was almost wholly neglected by Christians; though a learned acquaintance with the language was preserved to some extent, after it ceased to be a spoken tongue, among the Jews (Talmudists, Masorites). The school of Tiberias was especially famous; and Jerome among others, was instructed by Palestinian Jews. The Alexandrians, however, devoted less attention to the ancient language of their people (Philo). Between the eighth and ninth centuries grammatical studies were greatly neglected by the Jews likewise, until they were revived by the Spanish Jews (in the time of the Moorish suprem-

The study of Hebrew in the several ages of the Church.

Study of Hebrew in the Middle Ages.

¹ While Luther strongly recommends the study of the Hebrew, he yet writes (against Erasmus, who prided himself on his knowledge of languages), "Vides, quod non ideo quispiam sit Christianus vere sapiens, quia Græcus sit et Hebraeus, quando et beatus Hieronymus quinque linguis monoglossos Augustinum non adæquavit"—to J. Lange, in de Wette, Briefe, Sendschreiben, etc., i, No. 29, p. 52.

² This view has been defended in recent times by Father Hy. Gossler, in *Die heil. Schrift in ihrer Ursprache* (Lippstadt, 1850). The author asserts that "no accurate Hebrew grammar can be found outside the (Roman Catholic) Church!"—P. 16.

acy). The twelfth century produced a number of prominent rabbins, among others David Kimchi.

The knowledge of Hebrew among Christians was renewed by the aid of Jewish teachers. At the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries Elias Levita, by birth a German Jew, was teaching in Italy, where his doctrine of the modern origin of the vowel signs in Hebrew drew upon him persecution from his co-religionists, though Christians also regarded his teaching as heretical. Such prejudices were not favourable to impartial grammatical studies. The renewed study of Hebrew in the Christian world, however, with which the Reformation is (partially) involved, is closely connected with the so-called renaissance of learning. Nicholas Lyra, in the fourteenth century, applied his limited knowledge of Hebrew to the interpretation of the Scriptures; but the proper impulse was given by Reuchlin, who must be considered the restorer of the study of Hebrew among Christians. His three books *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, prefaced by the *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* of Horace, appeared in the year 1506. He was followed by J. Böschenstein, Seb. Münster († in 1552), the two Buxtorfs. John B., the elder, professor at Basle from 1591, († 1629,) wrote a *Thesaurus linguæ sacræ*, a grammar, 1605, and a *lexicon Hebr. et Chald.*, Basle, 1607; John B., the younger, († 1636), disputed on the age of the vowel-signs at Saumur with Louis Capellus. They were succeeded by Drusius († 1616), Schickard († 1635), Glassius († 1656), Vorstius († 1676). In the middle of the seventeenth century the method of the demonstrative philosophy, corresponding to the scholastic temper of the time, came into prominence, being represented more especially by Danz (1696) in Germany and by Jac. Alting († 1679) in the Netherlands. A new influence was exerted by Albert Schultens at Franecker and Leyden († 1750), who consulted the Arabic and traced Hebrew words back to Arabic roots, but carried the method to excess. About the middle of the eighteenth century J. D. Michaelis prosecuted the study of Oriental languages over a broader field and aroused an interest in others also for such pursuits. Gesenius († 1842), having been preceded by Hezel (1777), Vater (1797–1814) and Weckherlin (1797, *sqq.*), was the first to adopt a settled and clear method, which still has decided adherents, though a more systematic mode, based on the nature of the language and complete in itself, has been attempted particularly by Ewald. This latter scholar has brought to the study of Hebrew philosophical analysis, and a wide comparison of kindred languages.

The first great English lexicographer of Hebrew and its cognate

Reuchlin the
restorer of He-
brew learning.

languages was Edmund Castell. He published his *Lexicon Heptaglotton* in two volumes folio, London, 1669. A Hebrew, Chaldee, and English Lexicon was published (London, 1840) by Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. This important work is quoted with approbation by Gesenius. The Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius has been translated into English and republished in England and America. The edition by Dr. Robinson (Boston, 1836, and subsequently) is considered "the best full Hebrew Lexicon extant in our language." The compendious Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of Davies has been revised and republished by Dr. Edward C. Mitchell, of Chicago (Andover, 1859). Fürst's *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* has been edited in English by Dr. S. Davidson (London, 1867). Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover, Mass., published in 1821 a Hebrew grammar, with a copious Syntax and Praxis (Andover, octavo). Isaac Nordheimer, Professor of Hebrew in the University of New York, published a Hebrew Grammar distinguished for its philosophical treatment of the subject (1838, 1842, 2 vols., 8vo). Professor Lee is also the author of a Grammar of the Hebrew Language (London, 3d ed., 1841). The Hebrew Grammar of Horwitz (London, 1835) is well approved by scholars. The Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, on the basis of the revisions of Rödiger, Kautzsch, and Davies, has been issued by Dr. Edward C. Mitchell (Andover, 1880). Professor W. H. Green, of Princeton, is the author of an excellent Hebrew Grammar (3d ed., New York, 1876). Compare:

A. Th. Hartmann, *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T.* Bremen, 1817.

W. Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift.* Lpz., 1815.

See also the Introductions to the Old Testament, (e. g., de Wette, §§ 30-33, and the literature there given.)

(G.) H. (A.) Ewald, *kritische Grammatik der hebr. Sprache.* S. 1 ff.

Hoffmann in *Allg. Encyclopädie.* Abth. II. Thl. 3.

Hävernick, *Einleitung in's A. T.* I. 1. Cap. 2: *Geschichte der Grundsprachen des A. T.* English edition (Edinburgh), pp. 81-221.

Kiel, *Einleitung in die Schriften des A. T.* S. 13 ff., treats of the literature of the Old Testament considered with regard to its progressive development and character, and also to its language.

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W. Gesenius, *Hebr. Grammatik.* Halle, 1813. Latest ed. (by Rödiger,) Lpz., 1872.

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¹ Older works by Seb. Münster (1689), F. Buxtorf (1696, and often reprinted), J. A. Danz (1696), A. Schultens (1737), J. D. Michaelis (1745), F. W. Hezel (1777). Later works by J. S. Vater (1797, 1814), J. F. Weckherlin (Stuttg., Bd. I, 1797, 1798, 1818; Bd. II, 1805, 1819), M. Hartmann (1798, 1819), R. Hanno, (1825, 1836), Böckel (1826), Uhlemann, 1837.

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 Preiswerk, *Grammaire Hebraïque*. Genève, 1838. 8.
 H. Hupfeld, *Ausführl. Hebr. Grammatik*. 1. Thl. Cassel, 1841.
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 J. Hymann, *Anfangsgründe der Hebr. Sprache*. Frankf. a. M., 1852. Also in French, Paris, 1852.
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 J. B. Lobositz, *Aus der Hebr. Grammatik*. Prag., 1853.
 C. H. Bosen, *Anleitung zum Erlernen der Hebr. Sprache*. 3. Aufl. Freiburg i. B., 1864.
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 C. H. Clausa, *Werth des Hebr. Unterrichts für das Gymnasium*. Dreed., 1863.
 A. Müller, *Hebr. Schulgrammatik*. Halle, 1878.
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2. *Elementary Textbooks.*

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 S. W. Wirthgen, *Materialien zur praktischen Einübung der Hebräischen Sprache*. Lpz., 1825.
 J. F. Böttcher, *Hebräisches Elementarbuch für Schulen*. Dreed., 1826.
 G. Brückner, *Hebräisches Lesebuch für Anfänger und Geübtere*. Lpz., 1844. 3. Aufl. 1863.
 G. H. Seffer, *Elementarbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*. Lpz., 1845. 3. Aufl., 1861.
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- * W. Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des A. T. mit Einschluss der Chald. Wörter*. Lpz., 1810-12. 2 Bde.
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THE REMAINING SEMITIC DIALECTS.

A familiar acquaintance with other Semitic languages is necessary for a learned examination of the Hebrew, and for the exposition of certain parts of the Old Testament, and is useful in many respects to the New Testament exegete and the scientific theologian; but it cannot be required that every Christian theologian, as such, should possess it to its full extent.

On the importance of treating the Hebrew in connexion with other Semitic dialects compare the preceding section. At this point, however, scientific philology must serve the purposes of theology; and for such purposes a thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew, as facilitated by the lexical and grammatical labors of other minds, is fully adequate.¹ There always will and must be individuals whose inclinations and talents will urge them onward in the path of inquiry; but here again "one thing will not do for all," and it is certainly more desirable that a definite knowledge of the Hebrew be secured, than that too many studies be engaged in at the same time. The chief interest for Old Testament exegesis attaches to the Chaldee, which, however, has been incorporated with Hebrew lexicology (by Ge-

¹ The Christian theologian cannot choose otherwise than to make Christianity the central object of his studies. This is historically rooted in the East (though we should scarcely term it a purely Oriental phenomenon); but its true home and life-development have been found in the West.

senius), in so far as it enters into the language of the Bible. The Syriac is useful for the study of the Syriac version (the Peshito), and also for New Testament exegesis, besides being an available help for the Church historian (comp. Ecclesiastical philology, *infra*). This applies also to the Arabic, aside from its philological value for comparison with the Hebrew. In this way, however, the circle might be infinitely extended, for it cannot be denied that, on the one hand the Rabbinical, on the other the Oriental languages in their further manifestations through the Indian (Sanskrit and Prakrit), the Old Persic (Zend-language), the Chinese, etc., will also yield fruit which possesses value. Our concern is, however, primarily with what may be justly required, and this is and must continue to be the Hebrew,¹ together with the language of the New Testament originals.

SECTION X.

THE HELLENISTIC-GREEK LANGUAGE—THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

E. Reuss, *articles Hellenisten und Hellenistisches Idiom in Herzog's Encykl.*, v, p. 701, *sqq.*

While an acquaintance with Hebrew is requisite for the study of the Old Testament and also of the New, it is yet not sufficient, even

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, *Darstellung*, etc., § 131. With regard to the necessary aids for the study of the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic comp. Danz, *Encykl.*, p. 184–190, and Winer, *Handbuch der theol. Lit.* p. 124, *sq.* (2 ed., 1838–40; 3d ed., 1842). Valuable aids for the study of the Syriac are, the grammars by Uhlemann (Berlin, 1829, 2d ed., 1857) and A. G. Hoffmann (Halle, 1827; revised ed. by A. Merx, *ibid.*, 1867), and the chrestomathies by Roediger (Halle, 1838) and Kirsch (publ. by Bernstein, Leips., 1836–41); for the Samaritan, Uhlemann (Leips., 1837); for the Chaldee, Buxtorf (*Lexicon chald.*, etc., Leips., 1866), Levy (*Chald. Wörterbuch*, 2 parts, Leips., 1867–68), Winer, *Grammatik* (2d ed., Leips., 1842) and *Lesebuch* (1825, 2d ed., 1864), Jul. Fuerst, (Leips., 1835, 2d ed., 1864), Luzzatto (*Elementi grammaticali*, Padova, 1865, German by Krüger, Breslau, 1873), and the chrestomathy by Kaerle, 1852; for the Arabic, Tychsen (Gött., 1823), Ewald (Leips., 1831 and 1833), Schier (*Grammaire Arabe*, Paris, 1849), C. P. Caspari (Leips., 1859), Freytag's *Arabic-Latin Lexicon* abridged ed. for beginners, (Halle, 1837, 4to.) and the chrestomathies by Kosegarten (Leips., 1828) and Arnold (Halle, 1853); for the Phœnician, Schröder, *Die Phœnicische Sprache* (Halle, 1869); for the Coptic, the grammars by Schwartz (1850) and Uhlemann (Leips., 1853.) On the Semitic languages generally see Ernest Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues Sémitiques*, Paris, 1855, 2d ed., 1863, vol. i.

Other works are: Longfield, *Introduction to Chaldee* (London, 1859); Riggs, *Manual of the Chaldee Language* (New York, 1858); Davidson, *Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (London and New York); Uhleman, *Syriac Grammar*, translated by Hutchinson (New York); Henderson, *Syriac Lexicon to the New Testament* (London and New York); Nichols, *Samaritan Grammar*, (London and New York); Catafego, *Arabic Dictionary* (London and New York); Wright, *Arabic Grammar* (London and New York). All of Bagster's *Elementary Arabic, Chaldee, Samaritan, and Syriac* books are useful.

when supplementing a knowledge of classical Greek, to meet the demands of the New Testament exegete, whose work requires in addition that attention should be given to the elements of language which mediate between the two and upon which the phraseology of the New Testament is based.

The New Testament was written in Greek; but it is now generally conceded that the language of its authors is not pure Greek in either a lexical or grammatical view.¹ This, however, is merely a negative statement; and the mere collecting of Hebrew fragments yields no profitable result. The recognition of the Hebraistic character of the language of the New Testament would naturally cause many expressions, such as a "consuming fire," a "child of death," etc., to be explained as Hebraisms, which occur in all languages as figurative forms of speech. The essential thing required is that the transition from the Hebrew to the Greek (from the Oriental to the Occidental) mode of thought and speech be clearly apprehended, a subject which directs attention to the Alexandrian period as being the point of transition between the East and the West. The ordinary Greek (*κοινή*) of the later periods forms the basis of New Testament idiom based on the later Greek. idiom, which, however, receives a peculiar colouring from the admixture of Jewish-Hellenistic elements, for which reason it will be found profitable to study especially the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament (the LXX), the Apocrypha, Philo, and Josephus, in addition to authors who employ the common dialect (Polybius, Plutarch, Artemidorus). It is to be remembered, however, that as the New Testament opened a new spiritual world to view, it was also obliged to create a specifically Christian language, and that many expressions (*e. g.*, *ἐλπίς ὑμῶν*, etc.) possessed a larger and deeper meaning in the Christian than in the ordinary usage. Three elements are consequently to be distinguished in the language of the New Testament,² the Greek, the Jewish, and the

¹ Simple as this matter is, an erroneous conception of the doctrine of inspiration has led to much controversy, concerning which see Morus. *Acroas. herm.* T. I.; Winer, *Grammatik*, § 1. "The presumption of a former age that no imperfection can be acknowledged in the New Testament language because the Scriptures came forth from the Holy Ghost, has, itself being false, led to the adoption of erroneous maxims which unhappily still exist and exert their influence." Schleiermacher, *Hermeneut.*, p. 131. Examples of such influence are afterward given. The work by Joachim Jungius on the original language of the N. T. (1637, republished by Geffcken in 1863) affords a recent illustration.

² "The Hellenistic idiom in the Jewish period and sphere bore the character of a slavish translation; in the Christian it became independent and entered into the formation of a language, without on that account renouncing its nativity." Reuss, *l. c.*

Christian (comp. the first paragraphs of de Wette's *Einleitung* and Schleiermacher's *Hermeneutik*, p. 27). A different meaning, too, was acquired by Greek words in the New Testament, from that which attached to them in the classical language, *e. g.*, *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, *humility*, which the ancient Grecian would understand to signify baseness of disposition (comp. *ταπεινοφροσύνειν* in Arrian's *Epict.*), and the petition in the Lord's prayer, *ἄφεσις ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν* (Matt. vi, 12), which he would regard as a request for the remission of a pecuniary debt. The language of the New Testament varies, moreover, with the different writers. Some Hebraize more than others — Luke and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews least of all — some possess greater facility in the use of the current Greek (St. Paul) than others (Peter and James), and in the specifically Christian field each of them employed a class of words which harmonized with his own modes of thought (*λόγος*, *ζωή*, *φῶς* with St. John, *πίστις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *χάρις* with St. Paul, *πίστις* with St. James, in a meaning different from that of St. Paul, etc.). Such differences, furthermore, are not confined to the lexical department; the grammatical form, both in etymology and syntax, also varies in many respects from the classical forms, *e. g.*, Luke xxiv, 15, *ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ συζητεῖν*, where the Greek would require the genitive absolute, or Luke xx, 11, *προσέθετο πέμψαι*, (חָלַף וְשָׁלַח) for *πάλιν ἐπεμψεν*, etc. The use of the prepositions *ἐν*, *ἐκ*, *κατὰ*, is a further illustration (*e. g.*, *οἱ ἐκ πίστεως*, for *οἱ πιστεύοντες*, etc.).

BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The first to bring together the grammatical peculiarities of New Testament diction was the philologist Solomon Glasius († 1656) of Jena, in his *Philologia sacra*. Casper Wyss, Professor of Greek at Zürich († 1659), followed with his *Dialectologia sacra* (1650), in which still greater attention was bestowed on the peculiarities of the New Testament. George Pasor, Professor of Greek at Franeker († 1697), published a small lexicon of the New Testament, and left a grammar which was published by his son, Matthias, professor at Gröningen. Pasor continued to be the standard during an extended period, in which only isolated attempts at observation were made. Ph. H. Haab attempted to provide a suitable work in his *Hebr.-griechisch. Grammatik f. das N. T.*, Tüb., 1815, but without success. Winer established New Testament grammar on scientific principles, and elevated it to the rank of a theological

History of the exposition of character of New Testament Greek.

and philological science, since when praiseworthy researches, including special branches, have been made. A translation of Winer was made from the first edition by Professors Stuart and Robinson (Andover, 1825). A translation of the seventh edition revised by Lüneman has also been issued by Professor J. Henry Thayer (Andover, 1869). The same American editor has prepared a revised translation of Alexander Buttman's Grammar of New Testament Greek (Andover, 1873). Thomas Sheldon Green is the author of a brief Grammar of the New Testament (London, 1862). Professor Stuart, of Andover, prepared a Grammar of the New Testament Dialect which is deserving of honorable mention (Andover; also in Clark's Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1835). Planck's Sacred Philology and Interpretation was translated by Professor Samuel H. Turner, of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary, of New York (republished in Clark's Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1834). Dr. Edward Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, originally based on Wahl's *Clavis*, but recast and made an original work, carefully traces the differences between classical and New Testament usage. But most valuable for the student is Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek* (3d English ed., Edinburgh, 1880). It traces the words which are distinctive of the New Testament from the classics to the Septuagint, and thence on "till they reach the fullness of New Testament thought."

1. *Grammars of New Testament Language.*

- * B. G. Winer, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, als sichere Grundlage der Neutestamentlichen Exegese*. Lpz., 1822. 7. ed. v. G. Lünemann, 1867.
- J. C. W. Alt, *Grammatica linguae Graecae, qua N. T. scriptores uti sunt*. Halae, 1829.
- † J. Th. Beelen, *Grammatica Graecitatis N. T.* Lovanii, 1857.
- Alex. Buttmann, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs, in Anschluss an Ph. Buttmanns griechische Grammatik bearbeitet*. Berlin, 1859.
- S. C. Schirlitz, *die Hellenistischen, besonders Alexandrinischen und sonst schwierigen Verbalformen im griechischen N. Testamente*. For schools and private study. Arranged in alphabetical order, and grammatically elucidated. Erfurt, 1852.
- *Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität. Nach den besten Quellen für Studierende der Theologie u. Philologie*. Giessen, 1861.
- *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Neutestamentlichen Grundsprache, zugleich als Griechische Neutestamentliche Schulgrammatik für Gymnasien*. Erfurt, 1863.
- C. H. Lipsius, *Grammatische Untersuchungen, über die biblische Gräcität, herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius*. Lpz., 1863.

2. *Concordances and Lexicons.*¹

Erasmi Schmidii, *ταμειον τῶν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης λέξεων* s. *concordantiae omnium vocum N. T.* (Viteb., 1638); new ed. by E. S. Cyprian (Goth., 1717), and Glasg.,

¹ Older works by G. Pasor (1631, 1735), Stock (1725, 1752), Mintert (1728), Simonis (1762), J. F. Fischer (Proluss., etc. 1772), Kypke (Vocab. Lips., 1795).

- 1819; latest ed. ("nunc sec. critices et hermeneutices nostrae aetatis rationes emendatae, auctae, meliore ordine dispositae") by C. H. Bruder. Lips., 1853. 2 partt., 4. ed. 3. Lips., 1867.
- Schmoller, *Ταμειον τῆς καυῆς διαθήκης ἐγχειρίδιον*, od. Handconcordanz zum Griechischen N. Testament (548 S. 16), Stuttg., 1869.
- Chr. Schoettgen. *Novum Lexicon graeco-lat.* in N. T. Post J. T. Krebs., rec. aux. G. L. Spohn. Hal., 1819.
- J. F. Schleusner, *Nov. Lex. gr.-lat.* in N. T. Lips., 1792, (1801, 1808,) 1819. 2 voll.
- * Chr. Abr. Wahl, *Clavis N. T. philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accommodata.* Lips., 1822, 1843. 2 voll.
- * C. G. Bretschneider, *Lexicon manuale gr.-lat.* in libros N. T. Lips., 1824. Edit. 3., 1840.
- Ch. G. Wilke, *Lexicon graeco-latinum in libros N. T.* Dresdae, 1839, 1840. 2 voll. Edit. 2., *ibid.*, 1850.
- S. C. Schirlitz, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum N. T.* Giessen, 1851. 2 ed., 1858. 3 ed., *ibid.*, 1868.
- E. F. Dalmer, *Lexicon breve graeco-latinum ad voces et vocabula librorum N. T. explicanda concinnatum.* Gothae, 1859.
- Ch. G. Wilkii, *Clavis N. T. philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accommodata.* Quem librum ita castigavit et emendavit, ut novum opus haberi possit, C. L. W. Grimm. Lips., 1862-1868.
- H. Cremer, *Biblich-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität.* Gothae, 1866; 2d ed., 1872.

3. Other Philological Helps for Explaining the New Testament.

- J. Vorst, *De Hebraismis N. T. commentarius*, cur. J. F. Fischer. Lips., 1778.
- Lamb. Bos, *Exercitatt. philologicae*, in quibus N. T. loca nonnulla ex profanis auctoribus illustrantur. Franeq., 1700, 1713.
- J. Alberti, *Observatt. philol.-crit. in sacros N. T. libros.* Lugd., 1714.
- G. D. Kypke, *Observatt. sacrae in N. T. libros.* Vratisl., 1755. 2 voll.
- G. Raphael, *Annotatt. in N. T. ex Xenoph. (Ham., 1709), Polybio et Arriano (ibid., 1715) et Herodoto (Luneb., 1731) collectae; nunc in unum corpus redactae.* Lugd., Bat., 1747. 2 voll.
- Jac. Elsner, *Obs. sacrae in N. T. libros.* Traj. ad Rhen., 1728.
- E. Palaiet, *Observatt. phil.-crit. in sacros N. T. libros.* Lugd., Bat., 1752.
- K. H. Lange, *Spec. obs. philol. in N. T. ex Luciano potissimum et Dion. Halic.* Lub., 1732.
- Csp. F. Munthe, *Obs. philologicae in sacros N. T. libros ex Diodoro Siculo collectae.* Hafn. et Lips., 1755.
- J. B. Ott, *Excerpta ex Flav. Josepho ad N. T. illustr. cura Havercamp.* Lugd., Bat., 1741.
- C. F. Loesner, *Obs. ad N. T. e Philone Alexandrino.* Lips., 1777.
- A. F. Kuehn, *Spicil. Loesn. obs. ad N. T. e Philone.* Lips., 1785.
- J. T. Krebs, *Obs. in N. T. e Flavio Josepho.* Lips., 1755.
- K. L. Bauer, *Philologia Thucydideo-Paulina.* Hal., 1773.
- C. G. Kuinoel, *Observatt. ad N. T. ex libris apocr. N. T.* Lips., 1794.
- Other matter of this sort taken from Plutarch by v. Seelen (1719); from Polyb. by Kirchmaier (1725); from Aristophanes by Eckhard (1738); from Euripides by Lange (1734); from Diog. Laert. by Richter (1739); from Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, by Porschberger (1744); from Callimachus by Peucer (1751); from Musaeus by Adlung (1756); from Homer by Bellermann (1785).

On the method as a whole:—

- K. B. Hauff, über den Gebrauch Griech. Profanscribenten zur Erläuterung des N. T. Lpz., 1708.
 C. G. Gersdorf, Beiträge zur Sprachcharakteristik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller. Bd. 1. Lpz., 1816.
 J. D. Schulze, Der Schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Judas, und Jacobus. Weissenf., 1802. Lpz., 1811.
 — Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes. Weissenf., 1808. Lpz., 1811.
 Wilke, Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik. Ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachidioms. Dresden u. Leipzig, 1848.
 Lasonder, De linguae Paulinae idiomate. 2. Partt. Traj. ad Rhen., 1866.

TEXT-BOOKS IN GREEK.

1. *Greek Grammars.*

- Buttmann, Alexander. A Grammar of the New Testament Greek, with numerous Additions and Corrections by the Author. By J. H. Thayer. 8vo, pp. xvi, 474. Andover, 1878.
 Greek Students' Manual, The, containing: I. A Practical Guide to the Greek Testament. II. The New Testament, Greek and English. III. A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. Fcap, 8vo, pp. 676. London, 1868.
 Greek New Testament, Hand-Book to the Grammar of, with Vocabulary and the chief New Testament Synonymes. 8vo. London.
 Green, T. S. A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. 8vo, pp. viii, 244. London.
 Jelf, W. E. A Grammar of the Greek Language. 3d ed., enlarged and improved. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 517, 700. Oxford, 1861.
 Middleton, Thos. F. The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament. New ed., 8vo. London, 1855.
 Stuart, Moses. A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. 8vo, pp. 312. Andover, 1846.
 Trollope, William. A Greek Grammar to the New Testament, and to the Common or Hellenic Diction of the Later Greek Writers. 8vo, pp. 257. London, 1841.
 Winer, George Benedict. A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament. 7th ed., enlarged and improved by Gottlieb Lünemann. Revised and authorized translation. 8vo, pp. xviii, 728. Andover, 1877.

2. *Greek Lexicons.*

- Analytical Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, The. 4to, pp. 490. London, 1868; also New York.
 An Etymological Vocabulary of all the words in the Greek New Testament. 8vo, pp. 224. London, 1882.
 A Practical Guide to the Greek New Testament. Designed for those who have no knowledge of the Greek language. 8vo. London, 1882.
 Cremer, Hermann. Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek. Translated from the 2d German ed. 4to, pp. viii, 608. Edinburgh, 1878. 3d English ed., 1880.
 Greenfield's Greek Lexicon to the New Testament. 8vo. London, 1882.
 Robinson, Edward. A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. New ed., royal 8vo, pp. xii, 804. New York, 1878.

Schleusner, J. F. *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus, sive Lexicon in LXX. et Reliquos Interpretes Graecos, ac Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti, etc.* 2 vols., 8vo. Glasguae, 1824.

Sophocles, E. A. *A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. From B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100.* 4to, pp. 1202. Boston, 1870.

8. *Greek Synonymes.*

Synonymes of the New Testament, and Disquisitions on Various Grammatical and Philological Subjects. By John Aug. Henry Tittmann, D.D. Edinburgh, 1837.

Trench, R. C. *Synonymes of the New Testament.* 12mo, pp. 250. New York, 1854. 2d part, 12mo, pp. 214, 1866. 9th ed., 8vo, pp. xxx, 405. London, 1880.

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SECTION XL

THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY—BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

Comp. Schliermacher, § 140, sqq.; Herzog, *Encykl.*, 1, p. 411.

A knowledge of the historical, physical, geographical, statistical, and politico-economical conditions under which a work was written, is the indispensable means for any explanation of its matter intended to be at all exhaustive, in like manner as grammatical proficiency is necessary for the interpretation of its language. For this reason the range of Biblical studies includes a scientific investigation of the history of the Jewish people and their relations to other nations, the constitution of their State, their politico-economical and ecclesiastical arrangements, etc., the geography of Palestine and other Eastern countries as well as of all countries referred to in the Bible, and the natural products of these regions, together with the corresponding industries and the manner of life and the customs of their inhabitants. All of this is comprehended under the vague title of Biblical archæology—a branch which is, in one point of view, preparatory to exegesis, but in another results from exegesis.

It may be held that the science of language is itself a branch of archæology; for it certainly belongs to archæology to ascertain the spoken and written language of a people. In an inverse direction archæology must be included in the domain of language, inasmuch as the lexicon is obliged to explain a multitude of terms by means of archæological and geographical inquiries (proper names, technical terms, *e. g.*, מִנְהָג, כֶּתֶן, יָכֹחַ, אֶחָל, etc.). Strictly speaking, however, the term archæology is too narrow, because matters relating to physical geography and natural history (*physica sacra*), with all else of a similar nature, are not included in archæological inquiry. The manners and customs

The scope of Biblical archæology.

The term archæology too narrow.

of the East have, moreover, undergone so little change in many respects, that descriptions of travel in our own day frequently throw light upon statements of the Bible; and this feature likewise cannot be assigned to the department of historical archæology, but must be classed with statistical and ethnographical knowledge.¹

Biblical archæology, on the other hand, includes more than Jewish and Hebrew antiquities. It cannot even be restricted in its researches to the East alone, especially as regards the New Testament, for whose exposition it is necessary that "the historical apparatus should embrace a knowledge of the spiritual and civil conditions of all the regions in and for which the New Testament Scriptures were composed."² This involves a thorough familiarity with the state of the Roman world from Augustus to Domitian, and of the state of the Jewish people in this period, Josephus being the principal source for the latter information. A broader inquiry would include the range of ideas prevalent at this time, though it cannot always be determined whether ideas, drawn, for instance, from the rabbins, were actually current in the time of Christ, or belong to a later age instead. In this direction archæological inquiries lead back, as Schleiermacher has remarked,³ to the domain of apologetics.

The Old Testament must always be the principal source for Biblical Archæology,⁴ and consequently the science is compelled to move in a kind of circle, archæological knowledge being needed for a thorough understanding of the Bible, while that knowledge receives further additions from a profounder study of the Scriptures. The Bible thus becomes at one time the object and at another the means of archæological research, while this research is sometimes a preparation for exegesis and again its result. Archæology may consequently be reckoned among the auxiliaries to exegetical theology, or be classed as a product of exegetical studies with historical theology, in proportion as one or the other point of view prevails.

A more careful distribution of the material of archæology will warrant its classification under:

Classification
of the material
of Biblical archæology—geography.

1. The geography of the Bible (on its importance to Biblical exegesis, comp. the work by Furrer under that

¹ Comp. de Wette's *Bibl. Archæol.*, § 1 and 2, where reference is also made to the still more extended meaning of the word *ἀρχαιολογία* in Josephus and Dion. Halicarn. Gesenius defines Biblical Archæology to be "the science which makes us acquainted with the natural and social conditions of the peoples among whom the Scriptures originated and to whom they relate," (Hall, *Encykl.*, x, 74), which is still correct in an empirical point of view.

² Schleiermacher, § 141.

³ § 143, note.

⁴ Schleiermacher, § 141, note.

title, Zürich, 1871). The geography of Palestine¹ forms its central feature, but it is not confined to Palestine. It begins historically with the country in which the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris are situated, the Asiatic highlands in the region of Ararat), and extends, in the Old Testament, over Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.² New Testament geography extends its range farther into the West, the incidents of the New Testament record being located in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy (Rome), in addition to those of which the scene was in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. *Topography*, the description of remarkable places, especially of Jerusalem and the temple, forms a special element of this geography, for the study of which the records of ancient and modern travel render valuable aid.

2. The Natural science of the Bible (*Physica sacra*), which is most intimately connected with its geography. The importance of securing a vivid idea of the natural (geological, topographical, and climatic) conditions of the country is heightened by the fact that the religious thought of the Hebrews was closely related thereto, and that the most important features of revelation connect themselves with the natural scenery of the Orient. Man is an object of natural science, in the whole of his physical constitution, in proportion as he is moulded by natural conditions. This applies, among the rest, to the entire subject of diseases and their peculiar form in the East (leprosy). In proportion, however, as man becomes superior to nature and assumes a social character, the physical and anthropological element will become subordinate to the ethnographical. Hence :—

3. Biblical Ethnography, the description of manners and customs, first of Eastern peoples, and then of the ancient world in general. This involves the study (1) of man's relation to nature (agriculture, herding cattle, hunting, and fishing) and

¹ This name was primarily applied to the country of the Philistines, in the southwestern part of Canaan; but it was subsequently given to the entire region embraced between the Jordan, the Mediterranean Sea, and Mt. Lebanon. Canaan (כְּנָעַן), derived from the fourth son of Ham, Gen. x, 6, was the older designation; and it was also called the "land of Jehovah," the "land of promise," the "pleasant land." In later periods the name Judea denoted the entire country. The expression, "land of the Hebrews" (אֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים) occurs but once in the Bible, in Gen. xl, 15, and the designation was not common until after the time of Josephus (ἡ Ἑβραίων χώρα). For additional information see J. G. Müller, *Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Chamiten und Japhetiten*, Gotha, 1872.

² In strictness, the extreme western limit would be the ancient Tarshish (Tartessus); but this appears only as an isolated point.

of his modes of preparing the raw materials provided by nature for his use (dwellings, clothing, ornaments, food, utensils, handicrafts, navigation, etc.); and (2) man's relations to society (social customs, marriage, domestic life, general intercourse; journeys, hospitality, relations with strangers, war, and slavery).¹ Inasmuch, however, as such relations of ordinary life were, among the Hebrews, regulated by the law of the Theocracy, it becomes necessary to examine:

4. The Biblical (Mosaic) legislation and political constitution with which the codes of laws and the constitutions of the other nations embraced within the range of the Scriptural records are to be compared (the Roman law, consequently, in connexion with the New Testament). The constitution of the theocratic State and its laws, were, moreover, intimately connected with the system of worship, so that in this point of view also the religious feature forms the central object of theological study; and Biblical archæology must accordingly give a prominent place to:—

5. The sacred institutions of the Hebrews (*sacra*) in comparison with the other religions of antiquity as mentioned in the Bible. Many writers have limited the idea of Biblical archæology wholly to this branch of antiquities. It is usually subdivided into (1) The sacred places (the tabernacle, the temple, and, later, the synagogue); (2) the sacred seasons (the Sabbath, the new moons, the Hebrew feasts); (3) sacred and theocratic persons, the judges, prophets, priests, Levites, scribes; and (4) sacred usages, circumcision, sacrifice, anointings, purifications, ceremonies, etc. The religions of non-Israelitish peoples and their polytheistic and nature-worship (worship of animals in Egypt, the worship of Baal, Astarte, and Moloch, witchcraft and divination) must receive special attention inasmuch as the Israelites were constantly exposed to their influence. For the study of the New Testament the Græco-Roman mythology is likewise important. Finally, the worship having taken art into its service (music and poetry among the Hebrews) and the religion having developed a theology, it becomes necessary to give attention to:—

6. The sciences and arts of the Hebrews and the nations with whom they came into contact. For the interpretation of the poetical sections of the Bible it is especially important that the nature of Hebrew poetry and music be

¹ For this inquiry also travels are especially valuable. "You will find the reading of travels in the East, in which the life, manners, and customs of the nomads are described, and from which conclusions respecting these earlier times of innocence and strength may be drawn, to be the best commentary." Herder, *Briefe*, No. 3, p. 42.

understood. The development of theology among the later Jews into Phariseism and Sadduceeism, and into the Alexandrian philosophy of religion (Philo),¹ belongs more appropriately to the history of Bible doctrines, but is nevertheless entitled to a place in this department also.²

The real task of the Biblical archæologist will be to combine all these threads into an organic whole, through which runs the principle of a higher intelligent life; to represent the Biblical matter both in its development in time and in its extension in space, as contrasted with contemporary ethnical facts, and thus to bring before the mind of the inquirer a living picture in which the lights and shadows are accurately disposed.³

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The history of archæology is rooted in the science itself. A circle is involved at this point. The Bible is the most ancient source for Hebrew and the related archæologies of the East, and yet the exposition of the Bible requires archæological knowledge. We become acquainted with the Bible

History of Biblical archæology.

¹ Opp. ed. Mangey (Lond., 1742), 2 Tom.; Pfeiffer (Erl., 1785-92, 1820) 5 Tom.; Ed. Tauchnitziana (Lips., 1851-53), 8 Tom. English version in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library (Lond., 1854). Comp. J. G. Müller, *Textkritik der Schriften des Philo*, Basle, 1839, 4to.

² The Talmud (from תלמוד, *the doctrine*), a collection of Jewish traditions, becomes a rich, though confused, source at this point. It consists of two parts, the Mishna, dating in the second century A.D., and the Gemara, formed in the third century. The Babylonian Talmud, which was completed as late as the sixth century, must be distinguished from the Jerusalem. On the editions comp. Winer, *Handb. der Lit.* i, p. 523, and M. Pinner, *Compend. des hierosolym. u. babyl. Talmud*, with preface by Belermann, Berl., 1832. Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Surenhusius, Wetstein, Meuschen, Danz, and others, have made extracts from the mass of the rabbinical literature. Comp. Winer, *Chrestomathia talmudica et rabbinica*, Leips., 1822; F. Nork, *Rabbin. Quellen u. Parallelen zu N. T. Schriftstellern*, Leips., 1839. Concerning the later Judaism see J. A. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Frankf., 1700, 2 vols., 4to.; A. F. Gfrörer, *das Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttg., 1838, 2 vols.; S. Grünwald, *Glaubens und Sitten-Lehre des Talmud*. Heilbronn, 1854.

³ George remarks, in his work, *Die Jüdischen Feste*, pp. xii-xiv (see below, Literature), "The tendency still prevails to regard Biblical Archæology as a garner into which the separate grains may be brought, without attempting to combine them into a scientific whole, to which every individual object will sustain a definite and necessary relation. . . . Archæology is the science which first opens to our view the real life of a people, by placing before our eyes its conditions in all the different periods and situations of its history. Its office is to point out all the features in that life in their necessary connexion, and thereby to explain one in the light of the others and each one in its principles. It is, so to speak, the interior of the various phenomena, which spring from it as from a root. It is the complement of history, to which it stands related as the soul to its body, since it presents to view the conditions from which may be deduced the phenomena in the life of a people recorded by history."

through the Bible. In addition to the Bible, mention must be made of Josephus, the son of a Jewish priest (born A. D. 37) and a Pharisee, an eye-witness and participant in the Jewish war (A.D. 70). He wrote a history of his nation, extending down to the close of Nero's reign, in twenty books—*Antiquitates Judaicae*; and also described the Jewish wars in seven books, besides treating of other matters.¹ For acquiring a knowledge of the country the study of Herodotus, Strabo (ii, 16), Ptolemy, Dio Cassius, Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v, 13–19), Diodorus Siculus, and others, is also useful. The beginnings of Bible geography were laid by the Christian Church historian Eusebius (in the fourth century) in his work *Περὶ Τοπικῶν Ὀνομάτων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ*. This work was known only in the translation by Jerome: *Onomasticon urbium et locorum Scripturae Sacrae*, until the Jesuit Bonfrère published it in 1659 (later editions by Clericus, 1707, Larsow and Parthey, 1862, Lagarde, 1870). The itineraries of Christian pilgrims are not without historical importance, though they contain much fabulous matter (the oldest is the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, dating since 333), and this is especially true of the statements by crusaders, *e. g.*, William of Tyre, James de Vitri, etc. (the whole published in Bongars. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover, 1611, 2 vols.). The journey of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160–1173), a Spanish Jew, has again commanded attention in recent times (published in Hebrew and English by A. Asher, London and Berlin, 2 vols.). A more critical character belongs to works of the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic priest Chr. Adrichomius († 1585), among others, published a description of Jerusalem in the time of Christ and a *Theatrum terrae sanctae*, with maps (Col. 1590), and the Reformed theologian S. Bochart († 1667) laid the beginnings for a Bible geography in his *Phaleg et Canaan*, (1646, 1674) and of a Biblical natural history in his *Hiero-zoicon* (Lond., 1663, 1690). These were followed by the works of H. Reland († 1718), *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* (Traj., 1708 and often), and *Palaestina* (1714); J. D. Michaelis, *Spicilegium geographiae Hebr.* (1769, 1780), *Mosaisches Recht* (1770–1775, 6 vols.) and others. The numerous and predominantly scientific Travels, begun more than a century ago and still continued, have afforded much valuable information. Of such works those by Berggren, Buckingham, Cha-

The ancient writers on archaeology.

Eusebius the first of Biblical geographers.

Geographical explorers and writers of the 18th century.

¹ Editions by Havercamp (Amst., 1726, 2 vols., fol.), Oerthür (Leips., 1782–85, 3 vols.), Richter (Leips., 1826–27), Dindorf (Par., 1845–47, 2 vols., ed. Tauchnitziana Leips., 1850), Bekker (Leips., 1855–56, 6 vols.); also translated into English by Whiston, various editions.

teaubriand, Clarke, Hasselquist, Joliffe, Maundrell, Niebuhr, Pococke, Prokesch, Richardson, Seetzen, Shaw, Volney,¹ etc., belong more or less to an earlier period. Of more recent works we notice, J. E. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien u. Palaestina* (with notes by Gesenius, Weimar, 1822-24, 2 vols.); A. Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, 1832-33 (Paris, 1835); G. H. v. Schubert, *Reise in d. Morgenland* (Erl., 1838-40, 3 vols.); E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, etc. (2d ed., 1856, 2 vols.), *Physical Geography of the Holy Land* (1865); Tischendorf, *Reise in den Orient* (Leips., 1846, 2 vols.); Lynch, *Narrative of Exploring Expedition to the Dead Sea* (1849; 9th ed., 1854); and *Official Report of expedition* (1852, 4to.); Ph. Wolff, *Reise*, etc. (Stuttgart, 1849); F. A. Neale, *Eight Years in Syria and Palestine* (Lond., 1851, 2 vols.). G. H. van Senden, *Het heilige Land*, (Gorinch., 1851); Gossler, *Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem* (Paderb., 1852); J. S. Schiferle, *Reise ins h. Land* (Augsb., 1852, 2 vols.); F. J. Gehlen, *Wanderung n. Jerusalem*, (Münst., 1853); J. Hilber, *Pilgerreise ins heil. Land* (Innspruch, 1853); Plitt, *Skizzen einer Reise n. d. heil. Lande* (Carlsruhe, 1853); Schulz, *Reise ins gel. Land* 3 ed., Mülheim, 1855); F. A. Strauss, *Sinai u. Golgatha*, etc. (7 ed., Berl., 1857); Tobler, *Denkblätter aus Jerus.* (St. Gall, 1853) and *Dritte Wanderung n. Palaest.* (1859); K. Graul, *Reise n. Ostindien*, Part i, *Palestine* (Leips., 1854); de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte* (Par., 1853, 2 vols.); Delessert, *Voyage aux villes maudites*, etc. (Par., 1853); M. Sachs, *Stimmen vom Jordan* (Berl., 1854); Leibetrut, *Reise n. d. Morgenl.*, etc. (Hamb., 1854, new ed., 1858); Thomson, *The Land and Book* (1880; new ed., revised); Van de Velde, *Journey through Syria and Palest.* (1854, 2 vols.); Roroff, *Reise n. Palaest.* (Leips., 1862, 2 vols.); Bovet, *Voyage en terre Sainte* (4 ed., Par., 1864); Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palaest.* (Zürich, 1865); Ludwig, *Bethlehem in the Summer of 1864* (Berne, 1865); Petermann, *Reisen in den Orient* (Leips., 1865); Macédo, *Pélerinage aux lieux saints* (Paris, 1867); Rigggenbach (Balse, 1873); Dean Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (London, 1853; New York, 1870); E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus* (London; also New York, 1872); J. L. Porter, *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, (last London ed., 1875); Lieuts. Conder and Hitchen, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of its Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archæology;*

¹ Comp. Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orien.*, Jena, 1792-94, 7 vols. Continued by Rink (Königsberg, 1801); Winer, *Handb. d. theol. Lit.*, p. 161. For New Test. times see the imaginary journey, *Helons Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, 109 Jahre vor der Geburt des Herrn, by Fr. Strauss, Elberfeld, 1820-28, 4 vols.—an imitation of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*.

6 vols., 4to; 3 vols. yet to appear (London, 1881). See also *Quarterly Statements of Palestine Exploration Fund*, London; also the *Egyptological and Assyriological researches* of Bonomi, Botta, Bunsen, Brugsch, Fergusson, Grotefend, Layard, Lepsius, Rawlinson, Reinisch, Unger, Seyffarth, Vaux, Geo. Ebers (*Aegypten u. d. Bücher Mosais*, etc. (vol. i, Leips., 1868), Schrader, *Die Keilschriften u. d. Alte Testament* (Giessen, 1872), Smith, and others. The Phœnician studies of Mövers, Renan (1864), and others, and the numerous reports by missionaries stationed in the East, are likewise valuable in many respects. (Comp., too, the *Ausland* and the different geographical magazines).

Concerning the recently discovered "Moabite stone" recording the triumphs of the Moabite king Mesha (ninth century B.C.) comp. the works by Nöldeke, Schlottmann, Kämpf, Ginsburg, and others.

1. *Archæological works on the Bible of a general character.*¹

J. J. Bellermann, *Handbuch der biblischen Literatur*, comprising Biblical Archæology, Chronology, Genealogy, History, Natural Philosophy and History, Mythology and History of Idolatries, Antiquities, History of Art, and Sketches of the Scriptural Writers. Erfurt, 1787-99, 4 vols. (Also published with separate titles.)

† J. Jahn, *Bibl. Archæologie*. Wien, 1796-1805. 8 Bde., I. Bd., 2. Aufl., 1818. 2. Bd., 2. Aufl., 1825.

— *Archæologia biblica in compend. redacta*. Ib. 1805, 1814.

† F. Ackermann, *Archæologia biblica breviter exposita*. Vienna, 1826.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Das alte und neue Morgenland oder Erläuterungen der heil. Schrift aus der natürlichen Beschaffenheit, den Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuchen des Morgenlandes*. Lpz., 1818-20. 4 Bde., (in 6 Abth.).

— *Handbuch der bibl. Alterthumskunde*. Lpz., 1823-31. 4 Bde.

* G. B. Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch, zum Handgebrauche für Studierende Candidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger*. 8. Aufl. 1847, 1848. 2 Bde.

E. W. Löhn, *Bibl. Sachwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch*. 1884.

O. G. Haupt, *Bibl. Real- und Verbal-Encyklopädie*. Quedlinb., 1823-27. 2 Bde.

K. F. Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archæologie*. Frankf., 1859.

† Scholz, *Die heiligen Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*. Regensb., 1868.

* † Bonif. Haneberg, *Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel*. München, 1869.

* *Biblexikon, Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche und Gemeinde*, publ. by Dan. Schenkel, in connexion with Bruch, Diestel, u. Dillmann. Bd. 1-4. Lpz., 1869-72.

Hamburger, *Real-Encyklopädie für Bibel und Talmud*. 1. Abth. *Die Biblischen Artikel*. In 5 Heften. 1866-70.

Herzog's *Real-Encyklopædie*, contains a multitude of articles belonging to this department (by Arnold, Kurtz, Rütschi, Oehler, Vaihinger, and others). For popular use we recommend

H. Zeller, *Biblisches Wörterbuch für das christliche Volk*; an alphabetical handbook

¹ Older works: A. Calmet, *dictionnaire historique, critique, chronolog., géograph. et littéral de la Bible*. Par., 1730. 4 voll. f. F. W. Hezel, *bibl. Reallexicon*. Lpz., 1788-85. *Elas. Ugo- lini, thesaurus antiquitatt. sacrar.* 1744-68. 34 voll. f.

for the promotion of a knowledge of the Scriptures among all readers of the Bible. 2d ed., Gotha, 1865-67, 2 vols.; and also
Biblische Alterthümer, published by the Calwer Publication Society. New series, 1871.

2. *Hebrew Antiquities.*¹

- H. E. Warnekros, Entwurf der Hebr. Alterth. Weim., 1792-94; 3d revised ed., by A. G. Hofmann. Weim., 1832.
G. L. Bauer, kurzes Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer d. A. und N. T. Lpz., 1797.
* W. M. L. de Wette, Lehrbuch der Hebr.-jüd. Archäologie, nebst einem Grundriss der Hebr.-jüd. Geschichte. Lpz., 1814; 4. sehr verm. u. verb. Aufl. 1864.
J. H. Pareau, Antiquit. Hebr. breviter descriptae. Traj. ad Rhen. 1817. 1823.
† J. M. A. Scholz, Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie. Bonn, 1834.
† J. M. A.* Löhnis, Das Land und Volk der alten Hebräer. Regensb., 1844.
H. Ewald, Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. (Appendix to vol. 2 of the Gesch. des Volkes Israel.) Gött., 1844. 2d ed. ibid. 1854. Comp. the review by Mezger in Stud. und Krit., 1853. 1. S. 133-204.
J. L. Saalschütz, Archäologie der Hebräer, für Freunde des Alterthums und zum Gebrauche bei akadem. Vorl. Königsb., 1855, 1856. 2 Bde.
K. F. Keil, Handbuch der Bibl. Archäologie. 2d ed. Frankf., 1875.

3. *Sacred Antiquities (connected with church and religion in particular).*²

- G. L. Bauer, Beschreibung der Gottesdienstlichen Verfassung der alten Hebräer. Lpz., 1805, 1806. 2 Bde.
* K. Ch. W. Bähr, Symbolik des Hebräischen Cultus. Heidelb., 1837-39. 2 Bde.
J. F. L. George, Die ältern jüdischen Feste; mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch. Berl., 1835.
Cäsar von Lengerke, Kanaan, Volks- und Religionsgeschichte Israels. 1. Thl. Königsb., 1844.
E. W. Hengstenberg, Die Opfer der h. Schrift. Berl., 1852. (Reprinted from the Evang. KZ.)
J. H. Kurtz, Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttest. Cultus. Lpz., 1851.³
B. Scholz, die Bib. Alterth. des Volkes Israel. Regensb., 1868.
B. Haneberg, die relig. Alterth. der Bibel. München, 1869.
B. Schäfer, die relig. Alterth. der Bibel. Münster, 1878.

With reference to the Mosaic Tabernacle, consult the works of Friederich (1841), Knobel (1858), Keil und Delitzsch (1861), Kamphausen und Fries (Stud. und Krit., 1858-59), * W. Neumann (1861), and Riggensbach (1862; 2d ed. 1867); and with reference to the Synagogues (in addition to Vitringa, *infra*, note*), Zunz, der Ritus des synagogischen Gottesdienstes geschichtl. entwickelt. Berl., 1859.

4. *Sacred Geography.*⁴

- E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Bibl. Erd- und Länderkunde (Part 1 of the Handb.).
K. Ritter, Erdkunde (Berl., 1832-49). 15. Thl. 1. Abth.

¹ Older works by Waechner (1748, 2 vols.), Carpzov (1748), Iken (1782, 1764), Reland (1706.)

² Older works: Goodwin (Moses et Aaron, 1618), Spencer (1686-1727), Vitringa (de synag. vet. libri III., 1696, 1726), Rau (1736).

³ On non-Israelitish religions: F. O. Movers, die Religion der Phöniciër. Bonn, 1841. 2 Bde. F. Münter, die Religion der Karthager. Kopenh., 1821. 4. Ibid., die Religion der Babylonier. Same, 1827. (Comp. the History of Religion, appended to our paragraph on Church History.)

⁴ With reference to the older geographical works and to Oriental Travels, comp. the historical matter given above, and the Art. Palästina (by Arnold) in Herzog's Encykl., xl, p. 1 seq. The fullest statement of the literature is given in Tobler, Bibliographia geographica Palestinae. Lips., 1897.

C. F. Klöden, *Landeskunde von Palästina*. Berl., 1817.

* Karl von Raumer, *Palästina*. Lpz., 1835. (To which is added, *Der Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan*, 1837. With a map and contributions on the *Geography of the Bible*, 1843.) 4th ed., 1860. Comp. the review by Gross in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1845.

M. Russel u. J. B. Fraser, *Ländergemälde des Orients*; a. d. Engl. von A. Diezmann u. J. Sporschill. Pesth, 1840. 6 Bde. (Bd. 3, 4, das h. Land.)

F. A. Arnold, *Palästina*. Halle, 1845.

A. Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*. Giessen, 1850.

Ludw. Völter, *Das heil. Land und das Land der Israelitischen Wanderung*. (With a map of Palestine and Arabia Petrea.) Stuttg., 1855. 2d ed., 1864.

Bräm, *Israels Wanderung von Gosen bis zum Sinai*. Elberfeld, 1859.

Unruh, *Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan*. 1860.

G. Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*. Lpz., 1872.

D. Koriath, *Geogr. von Palästina*. 2d ed. Freib., 1874.

A. Driow, *Jerusalem et la Terre Sainte*. Limoges, 1877.

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Scarcely any of these works are unprovided with means of some sort for illustrating their subject (maps, plans, etc.), and in this regard the following possess distinguished merit:

J. M. Bernatz, *Bilder aus dem h. Lande, mit Text* von G. H. v. Schubert (Stuttg., 1842), und Bernatz, *Album des heil. Landes*, 50 ausgew. Orig.-Ansichten bibl. wichtiger Orte nach der natur gez., mit Text von G. H. v. Schubert (Stuttg., 1855); A. Eltzner, *Das bibl. Jerusalem aus der Vogelschau* (3d ed., Lpz., 1863). — *Charts of Syria and Palestine in the Atlases of d'Anville and Reichardt*, * Berghaus; single, by Klöden (1817), Grimm (1836), Rosenmüller (1830), Mayr (1842), * Kiepert, publ. by Ritter (1842), * Karl Zimmermann, *Karte von Syrien und Palästina* (15 maps, Berl., 1850); Riess, *Karte von Palästina* (1861), Altmüller, *Aegypten, Sinai-Halbinsel und Palästina* (1861). Manuals: C. Ackermann und C. F. Weiland, *Bibel-Atlas, nach den neuesten und besten Hilfsmitteln* Weimar, 1832; 3d unchanged ed., 1855 (where see additional literature on p. 1 sq.); * Kiepert, *Bibel-Atlas*; 3d unchanged ed., Berl., 1867, with 8 charts and 8 tabular illustrat. (to accompany Peter's Uebersichtskarten der Reisen Jesu nach den 4 Evangelisten); new revision by Lionnet, 1864; * Van de Velde, *Map of the Holy Land*. 8 leaves. (Gotha, 1858.) 2d ed., *ibid.*, (1866.) Menke, *Bibel-atlas in 8 Blättern*. (Gotha, 1868.)

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- Rawlinson, G. *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament. With Additions by Prof. H. B. Hackett.* Boston, 1874.
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SECTION XII.

BIBLICAL ISAGOGICS. (Introduction. Canonicus).

Comp. Dav. Schulz, Review of Eichhorn's and de Wette's *Einleitungen* in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1839, No. 3, pp. 570-72; Hupfeld, *Begriff u. Methode der sog. Bibl. Einl.*, Marb., 1844; Rudelbach, *Begriff der N. T. Theologie u. Isagogik*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1848, 1; Baur, *Die Einl. in das N. T. als theol. Wissensch.* in *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1850-51; Delitzsch, *Begriff u. Methode der sog. Biblischen u. insbeson. A. T. Einleitung*, in *Thomasius and Hofmann's Zeitschr. für Prot. u. Kirche*, xxviii, No. 3; Eri., 1854, p. 138, *sqq.*; Hahn, in *Herzog's Encykl.*, iii, p. 736, *sqq.* (s. v. *Einl. ins A. T.*); *Articles Biblical Introduction* in *M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia*, vol. iv, p. 630, and *Kitto's Cyclopædia*, vol. ii, p. 27; Brooke Foss Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*; Henry Alford, *How to Study the New Testament*.

The Bible is a body of writings which originated in different periods and under various circumstances and conditions, which were from different authors, and were gradually collected into a whole; and it is consequently necessary for a proper appreciation of its character that the origin and fortunes of the entire collection and also of its several parts be understood. To afford this knowledge is the office of the history of the canon or the science of Biblical Introduction (Isagogics in the limited sense), which is divided either into Introduction to the New or to the Old Testament, or into general and special. General introduction discusses the origin and progress the establishing of the canon, the history of manuscripts, editions, versions, revisions of the holy Scriptures, etc. Special introduction, on the other hand, inquires, in partial connexion with criticism, into the authenticity and integrity of the several writings, and deals, in addition, with the history of their authors as such, the design, plan, form, and style of their works, and finally with the date, place, and circumstances in which the writings were composed.

The objects of a history of the canon.

Introduction is either general or special.

The idea of Introduction itself is vague, and opinion is still divided with regard to its importance and extent as a Biblical science. De Wette denies that Introduction is a science in the proper sense, and views it as a mere aggregation of preliminary knowledge, which lacks both "a true scientific principle and a necessary connexion of its parts;"¹ but in more recent times scholars (*e. g.*, Schulz, Credner,

The scope and limits of Introduction not precisely determined.

¹ De Wette, *Einl.* § 1. Schleiermacher (*Herm. u. Krit.*, p. 379) observes in a similar spirit that the so-called N. T. Introduction is "a science that has no limits whatever, and into which anything that is desired may be thrown. A going back to principles is wholly out of the question in such a case. . . . But it is pertinent to ask, 'Are there no such principles?'" Comp. p. 36; "N. T. introduction is not properly a constituent part of the organism of theological science, but it is practically useful for both the beginner and the master, because it facilitates the bringing together upon a *single* point of all the inquiries that are involved." Scholz, a Roman Catholic writer on in-

Reuss, Hupfeld) have directed attention to the necessity for a sifting of the material to be treated by Introduction, and also for the application of principles to such treatment. The indefinite character of the word "introduction"¹ will be apparent to every mind.

At the bottom, all that our treatment of encyclopædia has touched upon or shall hereafter discuss, relating either to the Bible itself or to the aids necessary for its interpretation, may be included under Introduction to the Bible; and, in point of fact, the Hebrew and New Testament languages, archæology, hermeneutics, etc., have been thus disposed of in some instances. Some writers have accord-

The name "Can-
onics" pro-
posed as a sub-
stitute for "In-
troduction."

ingly preferred to lay aside this indefinite term, and the name *canonics* has been proposed as a substitute.² Others (like Reuss) have exchanged it for the name "History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." The vague idea of introduction is certainly confined within wholesome limits in one direction by this method; but in another direction the present science of introduction is extended to cover a field that lies beyond the bounds of introductory matter, since the later fortunes of the Bible—the dissemination of the sacred writings, the history of their employment and their exposition—are included.

roduction, likewise speaks of it as being simply an aggregation of multifarious matters, in connexion with which the important feature is that they be "conveniently distributed." He divides introduction into criticism, hermeneutics, and archæology (see pp. 1 and 2). Comp. Delitzsch, l. c., "Every science is an organism; but the term organic applies only to what is not simply a means for promoting an object external to itself, but is itself a whole, an object to itself, in which the individual with its peculiarities is lost in the idea of the whole, and only that is an instrument (organ) which aids the development of the whole in its identity with itself. The so-called introduction lacks this organic character. It is not without idea and aim, but it lacks the immanent, self-developing idea, the principle of teleological self-reference, which is necessary to a science."

¹ The name is first employed by Adrian, a writer probably of the fifth century, in the small hermeneutical work *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*; afterward by Cassiodorus (in the sixth century), and later in the Middle Ages. In Germany Michaelis first used it in connexion with the N. T., and Eichhorn with the O. T. Comp. Hahn in Herzog's Encykl., iii, p. 727, sqq.

² Zyro, in Stud. u. Krit., 1837, No. 3, considers *canonics* to be merely a branch of isagogics. In his view, the latter comprehends everything that is necessary for the interpretation of the Scriptures, i. e., 1. the nature and importance of the Bible, together with its history (*canonics*); 2. its compass, or the genuineness of its matter (criticism); 3. its language and contents (hermeneutics). He then divides *canonics* into two parts, *in abstracto*, in which character *canonics* unfolds the nature of the Scriptures under the forms of authenticity, credibility, and genuineness, and *canonics in concreto*, or what is usually termed introduction in the more limited sense, which is again divided into general and special or into Old and New Testament *canonics*. Comp. Pelt, Encykl., p. 121.

It will not be denied that great interest attaches to such an all-sided historical knowledge respecting the Bible; but methodological considerations require nevertheless that what is introductory to the study of Scripture (the history of its origin and the collection of its parts into a canon), and what relates to the further history of the already completed collection of the Scriptures, should be kept apart. Only the former, though likewise historical in its nature, is an exegetical auxiliary science, because it affords a correct position to the exegete from which to operate; while the latter must be assigned to the department of Church history and the history of literature, and may be reserved for a later stage of theological study. It does not appear to us a matter which the science need be ashamed of, that the "reader of the Bible" (i. e., the student) must before all "be well-grounded in historical knowledge in order to correctly understand and properly appreciate the Bible as a whole

Introduction properly limited to history of the canon and criticism.

and in its parts;"¹ but such preliminary knowledge needs a careful discrimination of its elements among themselves, and a proper distribution of its parts in the organism of the sciences. If, in harmony with this principle, the grammatical and archæological elements be excluded, and a distinct place be assigned to hermeneutics, there will be left only what is generally denoted by the still current name of introductory science, namely, the history of the canon (within the limits hitherto assigned to it) and criticism. These may not be wholly separated from each other, for the history of the canon is not to be a mere review, but history involving the discussion of principles—critical history; in which connexion it may be remembered that what is now called introduction was formerly known as *critica sacra* or *histoire critique du V. et N. T.* (Richard Simon). This does not forbid, however, that criticism as such, i. e., the whole of the science of critical principles, should constitute a distinct branch of study, as does hermeneutics, which embraces the theory of interpretation. The science of introduction is thus confined to critical and historical inquiry concerning the books of Scripture and their collection into a canon, instituted for purposes of exegesis.

The division into Old and New Testament introduction results from the nature of the case; but the relation of general to special introduction is more difficult to determine. The usual method is to begin with the general (the collection of the canon, history of the text, versions, etc.), and to supplement this with introductions to the several books; but the oppo-

Relation of general to special introduction.

¹ The words of Hupfeld, p. 8.

site course may be adopted with Reuss, and the origin of the different books discussed, so that the formation of the canon from its first beginnings to its final completion is presented in a genetic view. In the latter case, however, the special introduction would need to be very brief and to steadily approach its object, as is the case with Reuss, the more extended discussion being reserved for the exegesis of the books. Here, again, the intervention of the different sciences comes into view. Introduction provides the point of view from which the exegete is to regard the Bible; but the progress of exegesis reacts upon introduction and alters the position of isagogics.

Encyclopædia is concerned with the material of introduction only in so far as it is necessary to give preliminary information with regard to its general character. The question concerning the period

in which the formation of the canon was first undertaken, is connected with the inquiry respecting the time when the art of writing was invented. It is certain

that the canon as a whole appears for the first time after the captivity. The traditional view that Ezra (B.C. 478) and Nehemiah (2 Macc. ii, 13) took measures for collecting the different books, has been doubted by the criticism of recent times.¹ The first to receive

a completed form was probably the Pentateuch, and to this the other books were added in various collections and at different times. The earliest constituents of the New Testament canon were

the Pauline epistles, which were written as occasion required (those to the Thessalonians being the oldest); and to these were gradually added the (catholic) epistles of other apostles, together with the written memorabilia of the life of Jesus (Gospels), the latter being probably first in point of time. The ancient Church

knew of but two collections, the *εὐαγγέλιον* and the *ἀπόστολος* (according to the assumption which has become current since the time of Semler, though it is not fully established).² The former included the four Gospels, which

had already been distinguished from the spurious gospels and recog-

¹ Comp. Leyrer's art. in Herzog's Encykl., xv, p. 296, *sqq.* A reference to an already completed canon cannot, of course, be looked for in the canonical books themselves. The apocryphal Book of Wisdom, however (not later than B.C. 180), affords proof that a collection of sacred writings existed (chap. xlv-xlix), though it cannot be shown that the entire canon, as we possess it, is intended; for this purpose a formal catalogue would be required. The first to furnish a list (of twenty-two books) was Josephus (contr. Ap. i, 8), from whom the tradition referred to in the text is also derived.

² Pelt, p. 144, under reference to Orelli: *Selecta patrum capita ad εὐαγγελικὰν sacra* pertin. p. 1, 11, *sq.*, note. Comp. Landerer in Herzog's Encykl., vii, p. 270, *sqq.*

nized by the Church, and the latter embraced the apostolical epistles and the Book of Acts. Opinion was long divided with regard to the Apocalypse and certain of the catholic epistles, and a distinction was made between *ὁμολογούμενα* and *ἀντιλεγόμενα* and *νόθα* (Euseb., H. E. iii, 25) as late as the fourth century. The first class included the four Gospels, the book of Acts, the fourteen Pauline epistles,¹ and 1 Peter and 1 John; to the second were assigned the 2d ep. by Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, and Jude; and the third was limited to the Apocalypse, though many classed it among the writings whose authenticity was acknowledged (comp. the canon of Origen in Euseb., vi, 25, and that of Eusebius himself, *ibid.*, iii, 25, as also the somewhat divergent so-called Muratorian canon of Milan, in Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, p. 1, *sqq.*; also Westcott on the Canon of the New Test., p. 184, *sqq.*, and Harman's Introduction, pp. 428-438). The canon of the New Testament as it now stands was gradually formed by the actions of councils (comp. Canon Laodic., 364, and the canon of the third council of Carthage in 397). This may suffice to enable the beginner to understand the relation of the early Christian Church to the canon, and to demonstrate to him that the former had already attained to a high degree of independence ("sine charta et atramento."—Irenæus) before the canonical boundaries of the letter of the Bible had been definitely fixed.² But this by no means involves the conclusion that the canon is a mere accident; the religious disposition will still recognize its providential, though not necessarily miraculous, character.

1. *Introductions to the Bible as a whole.*³

Leonh. Bertholdt, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämmtl. kanonische u. apokryphische Schriften des A. u. N. T.* Erl., 1812-19. 6 Bde.

* W. M. L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der histor.-krit. Einleitung in die Bibel A. u. N. T.*

¹ Including that to the Hebrews, though its Pauline character is denied by some churches.

² Comp. Schleiermacher, § 104, *sqq.*; Goethe, p. 140, "The Bible itself—and this receives too little attention—exerted almost no influence in the older times. The books of the Old Testament had scarcely been collected, and the nation in which they originated was utterly dispersed. The latter alone formed the nucleus about which its members gathered and still gather. The books of the New Testament had scarcely been brought together before Christendom divided into endless differences of opinions. And thus it appears that people do not busy themselves *with* the work so much as *about* the work."

³ Older works by Rivetus (1627), Walther (1686), A. Calov (1648-78), Brian Walton (1657; Edit. von Wrangham, 1828), Heidegger (1681), Pfeiffer (Ultraj., 1704), van Till (1720-22), du Pin (1701), Calmet 1720; translated by Mosheim (1738-47), Moldenhauer (1744), Börner (1758), † Goldhagen (1765-68), Wagner (1795).

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SECTION XIII.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

J. S. Semler, *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanon*, Halle, 1771-75, 4 vols.; Jod. Herings, *Ueber d. rechten Gebrauch u. Mißbrauch d. bibl. Kritik*, from the Dutch, by Beckhaus, Offenbach, 1804; F. Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, am A. T. praktisch erörtert, Heidelberg, 1831; M. Drechsler, *Die Unwissenschaftlichkeit im Gebiete d. Kritik*, etc., Leipz., 1837; G. A. Hauff, *Offenbarungsglaube u. Kritik d. bibl. Geschichtsbücher*, am Beispiele d. B. Josua in ihrer nothwendigen Einheit dargehan, Stuttg., 1843; G. L. Hahn, *Gegenwärtigen Stand d. N. T. Kritik*, Breslau, 1848; Ebrard, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, s. v. Kritik; B. B. Edwards, *Certain Erroneous Methods and Principles of Biblical Criticism*, *Bib. Sacra.*, vi, p. 185; *Kitto's Cyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 487.

Biblical Criticism operates on the historical ground opened to our view by the study of isagogics. Its task is, to determine, on the one hand, the authenticity of the Scriptures as a whole; on the other, the uncorrupted character (integrity) of single passages or the entire text, and also to restore the true reading where it has been lost or crowded out. It conducts its work on scientific principles, and makes use of available historical monuments and of the evidence afforded by internal marks in the writings themselves under examination.

No pious mind need be startled by the phrase "Biblical Criticism,"¹ as though it implied a purpose to criticise and force the text. Of such criticism there has been no lack; but here no criticism of the contents, whether historical or dogmatical, is intended, but simply an examination into the authenticity of the text as it exists, either in its parts or as a whole. At the first glance even such inquiry may seem to conflict with the reverence we owe to the Bible, though this reverence itself, when more correctly understood, invites to conscientious investigation of the Scriptures.² The thought that God has always watched over the Bible, is, in this general form, the presumption of a pious consciousness, which may be

¹ "It is very difficult to conceive of this word (criticism) as denoting a real unity in the technical meaning which has been attached to it." Schleiermacher, *Herm. u. Kritik* (at the beginning); comp. his *Abhandl. üb. Begriff u. Eintheilung der philolog. Kritik* in *Akadem. Reden u. Abhandlungen* (*Sämmtl. Werke zur Phil.*, vol. iii, p. 38); and also Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 310: "There assuredly exists a criticism that springs from the full confidence of faith as well as one that takes its rise in doubt; and the former is inborn with Christian piety, at least with that of the evangelical type. God has not made, and did not intend to make, the task a trifling one for us. He gives nothing whatever to man in its finished state; all his gifts are imparted in such a way as to abundantly tax human energy—this for the reason that we are *human*. This applies also to the Scriptures; and if we consent to undertake the labor imposed on us by God and subject the Bible to historical criticism, it does not follow that we thereby exalt ourselves above and constrain it, but rather that we are sincerely endeavoring to learn its *true* meaning."

² Upon this point comp. esp. Hauff, *supra*, p. 19, *sqq.*

sustained at the bar of science, and even finds its justification at the hands of science. But to decide beforehand *how* God should have watched, what things he *must* have guarded against to prevent the Bible from becoming a book like other books, is an arrogant assumption equal to that of rationalistic criticism in the other direction. It is an historical fact to which we are, in all humility, to assent, that God has chosen to permit the Bible to pass through the same human processes by which other written monuments have been and are being tested. This will be apparent to every person who has looked with an unprejudiced eye into the history and fortunes of the canon.¹

The Bible providentially guarded, yet subject to human vicissitudes.

It is doubtless true that (in recent times, especially) criticism has been often employed for perverse and even frivolous ends,² and rarely has a book been subjected to so much abuse as has the Bible; but it is by no means wise to oppose uncritical to hypercritical arbitrariness. Only a strictly scientific procedure, unbiassed by dogmatic preconceptions of any kind, will meet the demands of the case.³ While it is true

Biblical Criticism, though often perverted, still of great value.

¹ Comp. Herder, Briefe, No. 1, "Banish the last remains of the leaven of the opinion that this book is unlike other books in its outward form and matter, so that, for instance, no various readings can occur in it, because it is a Divine book. Various readings do occur (and yet but *one* can be the correct reading)—this is fact, not opinion. . . . Whether a person who makes a copy of the Bible thereby becomes at once a faultless God? . . . No parchment acquires a firmer nature because it bears the Bible, and no ink becomes thereby indelible." Similarly, Eichhorn, Einl. ins. A. T., p. 57, sq. (2d ed.), "Every person who censures the Biblical scholar, or even sighs with pious anxiety because he examines one book after another of the Old (or New) Testament for this purpose, applying critical exactness and judicial strictness to his work, must either remain unacquainted with antiquity and profane literature, together with the processes employed in that field, or be so extremely weak in mental powers as to fail to see the serious consequences resulting from the neglect of such tests, as well as the invincible host of doubts which can only be driven from their entrenchments by the proposed (i. e., critical) method."

² It must be admitted, however, that complaints upon this point have been exaggerated, as, for instance, by Drechsler, who is governed by the idea that "every assault upon the genuineness of a Scriptural book is at the same time an attack directed against the belief in salvation through Christ."—Page 12, etc.; comp. Hauff, p. 255.

³ "Every person is sufficiently protected against the arbitrary tendencies of his own nature who enters on the investigation animated by a sincere love of truth, and against the arbitrariness of others by the liberty to test assertions and arguments made by them," Hauff, p. 45; "It is the especial task of our age to place this department of theology (criticism) in a new and clearer light, to provide new fundamental conceptions and a new basis for this science, since the old has become decayed and unserviceable," Hahn, p. 7; "I am convinced that in order to renew the Christian faith we need, not *less*, but more, investigation," Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, 88; "On its bright side, criticism is the self-rejuvenating element of the Church as a whole, the boast of

that the authenticity of many a book or single passage has been doubted because it gave discomfort to the critic's subjectivity, it yet appears, from the history of criticism, that genuine critics, while abstaining from all passion, have brought within the range of their researches matters having no immediate connexion with the faith, and have given them the most conscientious consideration, and that upon the whole, and on the large scale, their judgment has been controlled by other than predetermined dogmatical reasons. How can a dogmatical system derive advantage from the fact that the account of the adulterous woman (John viii) is assigned to a different Gospel; that a doxology (Rom. xvi) is assigned to a different place; or even that the genuineness of Second Peter is by some surrendered? Not a single Bible truth is thereby deprived of its support. Criticism has also been frequently denounced as paltry, and that Biblical Criticism is often paltry.

it may doubtless surprise the layman or the beginner that extensive investigation should be made into the transposition of a word, or concerning a particle, which might seem to exert no immediate influence on the meaning. Precisely this devotion to the letter of the Scriptures (which was cultivated "for the glory of Jesus Christ" by the pious Bengel) constitutes, with all its apparent dryness, the finest flower of scientific earnestness and the most effectual restraint upon recklessness, while, on the contrary, uncritical ignorance, which, for instance, would, in order to possess an additional proof-text, retain passages like 1 John v, 7, though known to be not genuine, is rendering but poor service to the interests of piety. The glory of science is this, that it presses onward in the course marked out by an incorruptible love of truth, without yielding to the power of outside influences.

SECTION XIV.

CONDITIONS OF CANONICITY.

The claim of a book to be canonical is only partially established by the acknowledgment of its genuineness; but the canonical character of the Bible certainly depends on the integrity of the separate passages contained in it, and consequently on the purity of the text.

Genuineness of books and passages to be determined by Biblical Criticism. The word *spurious* (*spurius*, *νόθος*) is, in its harshest meaning, applied to works intentionally ascribed to an author with whom they did not originate; and a number of such works was known to the early Church,

the evangelical Church and theology; on the darker side, criticism has, by its deformity, filled one of the most pungent pages in the history of the Protestant Church." J. P. Lange, *Das Apostol. Zeitalter*, i, p. 9; comp. also the *Periodisirung der krit. Operationen in der evangel. Kirche*, p. 10, by the same author.

bearing the names of Peter, James, Thomas, etc., and seeking to intrude themselves into the canon, from which they were, however, subsequently rejected as apocryphal.¹ In this instance the denial of genuineness² involved the loss of canonicity also. But the question of genuineness may relate to more than the canonicity of a book. The admission that a book possesses the highest title to a place in a collection of sacred and even Divinely-inspired books, does not necessarily preclude inquiry into the propriety with which it is attributed to the author to whom tradition or the inscription (of later date than the work itself) ascribes it. It will hardly do, however, to claim inspiration for a book whose very first sentence is a forgery. If the pastoral epistles, for example, are not Paul's, then some one has palmed off a deception in his name, and they are not deserving of respectful consideration. It will be useless to argue that, though written under false pretences, they may be yet canonical, although this concession has very unwisely been made.

The greatest caution is, therefore, required at this point. The good name of the Bible would be damaged seriously by the assumption of well-meant imitations of apostolical productions; for such an hypothesis throws a very equivocal light upon the question of the integrity of the Biblical writers, and attributes to them arts which can hardly be made to consist with the character of sincere disciples of Christ. Fortunately, the results of the destructive criticism applied to the authorship of New Testament books are not yet so well established as its originators would persuade themselves they are. Criticism finds here a proper field for a frank discussion of the reasons for and against, by which means the questions involved can be brought to a final settlement; but let the thought that it might possibly become necessary even to give up one book or another cause no alarm in advance, as though our salvation

¹ The N. T. Apocrypha has been published by J. A. Schmid, *Pseudo-Nov. Test.*, Helmst., 1809, 4to.; J. A. Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryphus N. T.*, Hamb., 1719, 3 vols.; C. Ch. L. Schmid, *Corpus vet. Apocryph. extra Biblia*, Hadam., 1806; J. C. Thilo, *Cod. Apocryphus N. T.*, etc., tom. i, Lips., 1832 (incomplete); Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Lips., 1853; same, *Acta Apostol. Apocrypha*, 1851, and *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, Lips., 1866; K. W. Borberg, *Bibliothek der N. T. Apocryphen*, Stuttg., 1840-41, 2 vols. J. F. Kleuker, *Die Apocryphen des N. T.*, Hamb., 1790; Nitzsch, *De Apocr. Evv.*, etc., Viteb., 1804, 4to.; Arens, *De Evang. Apocryph.*, etc., Gott., 1836, 4to.; Tischendorf, *De Evang. Apocryph.*, origine et usu, Hague, 1851, (prize essay). See also Hone's *Apocryphal N. T.*, Lond., 1820, and N. Y., 1849, 8vo., and Abp. Wake's *Apost. Fathers*, Lond., 1830, and Hartford, 1834, 8vo.).

² The word has reference solely to the authorship of a book, and not to its fitness to rank as canonical.

depended on such a contingency; unlikely as that contingency may be.¹

The principle applies to the Old Testament as well. Let it be proven that certain Psalms were not composed by the royal singer himself, but merely *ad modum Davidis*—would this destroy their religious worth? We should no more exclude them from the canon, than we would exclude from the hymn book a beautiful poem by an unknown author of the seventeenth century, concerning which we learn that it has been erroneously attributed to Paul Gerhard. Is the description of God's servant in Isa. liii less applicable to Christ on the supposition that Isa. xl-lx was written by another (later) than Isaiah, a deutero-Isaiah?² Who, moreover, would find the book of Job to be less impressive because its author is unknown? Even Pope Gregory I. was able to form a more independent judgment upon this question than many Protestants living ten centuries later. It follows that the canonicity of a book may be maintained, even when its authorship is left in doubt, provided the book itself contains nothing that conflicts with the normal character of the theocracy in the Old, or of the Gospel in the New, Testament. But should criticism extend its investigations to the question of *canonicity* also? If so, to what extent? That it did so in the ancient Church is a matter of fact, and it is to the exercise of such criticism that we owe the rejection of apocryphal writ-

¹ A very correct and much more intelligent view than that entertained by many pious people of to-day was advanced by Richard Baxter (died 1691) in his work *De casibus conscientiarum*, T. iii, p. 174: "Non est ad salutem necessarium, ut quis credat singulos libros aut versus Scripturæ esse canonicos aut scriptos per spiritum Dei. Si liber aliquis periret aut in dubium vocaretur, v. g. epistola Judæ, non inde sequeretur, una cum ipso omnem veram fidem spemque salutis perituram." Comp. also *Episcopii Institut.* iv, 1. "It must become evident at some time," says J. L. Rückert, *Theologie*, i, Leips., 1851, Pref., p. 4, "that all the results of criticism may be acknowledged, and a thoroughly independent mode of thinking may be followed, without destruction to the Christian character. It must become evident that Christian faith and volition do not depend upon our judgment respecting this or that particular book." Even Kahnis (*Dogmat.*), occupying the strict confessional ground of Lutheranism, has asserted his right to an independent position with regard to the canon; comp. his *Zeugnias v. d. Grundwahrheiten d. Protestantismus gegen Dr. Hengstenberg*, Leips., 1862.

² Umbreit (*Prakt. Comm. zum Jesaja*, p. 308) beautifully observes, "The auroral light of grace and salvation breaks forth from the joyously animated discourses which are appended to the book of Isaiah in a well-ordered succession. We hear the voice of *one of the greatest prophets* at the close of the Babylonish exile. *Even though his name is not Isaiah*, his high importance is apparent from every word proclaimed by him. . . . Well may we term him (this anonymous) *the evangelist of the old covenant*, for no one of the prophets has declared like him the glad tidings of the day-star from on high." The thorough discussions in relation to Daniel, which Bunsen places in the mouth of his Hippolytus, ii, p. 296, *sqq.*, are very similar.

ings. Whether the exclusion of such writings was absolute, or whether the boundary line between canonical and apocryphal is still in dispute, is a different question. The recognition of a distinct class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, and the distinction between proto- and deutero-canonical writings are of themselves evidence that such criticism was exercised. The Reformation asserted in its own behalf this right of the ancient Church,¹ and more recent times have likewise recognized it as a right and so employed it. We readily admit that the common feeling of the Church is not likely to consent that the slightest alteration in the canon be attempted, and cannot even desire it for ourselves;² but the right of judgment must be conceded and science must steadily respect it. However unlikely it may now be that at this late day books will be excluded from the canon by general consent, it is yet more unlikely that the canon will receive any addition or be enriched by the ^{Changes in the} incorporation with it of such writings as were formerly not known ^{canon unlikely.} at all or were misunderstood.³

It is not the genuineness of the sacred writings alone, however, that engages attention, but their integrity as well; and the latter is even more directly necessary to the canonical reception of a book than the former. Whole books or extended paragraphs, as well as particular expressions, or even single adjectives, particles, etc., may have slipped into a completed work or have been attached to a revered name, whether by a designed insertion (interpolation) or through mistake, by which, *e. g.*, a marginal note (gloss) written by a later hand was transferred to the text. The text may, moreover, have become corrupt in places or be defective by reason of the carelessness or inexperience of copyists, or for other reasons to be discussed in connexion with introduction itself (faded characters, abbreviations, absence of divisions between words, etc.). That

¹ Comp. Luther's criticisms of the Epistle of St. James and of the Apocalypse. With this comp. the opinion of L. Osiander (1614): *In eo autem erratum est, quod epistolam Jacobi et Judae et posteriores duas Joannis inter canonica scripta numerant, quae scripta non longe post apostolorum tempora non pro scriptis canonicis habita sunt. . . . Recte autem omissa Apocalypsis; ea enim non est Joannis Apostoli, sed cujusdam Joannis Theologi, et multa habet adeo obscura et perplexa, ut non multi dextre in ejus lectione versari queant*—in Spittler, *Ueber d. 60 Laod. Kanon*, p. 16. This citation is not designed as an approval of such opinions in themselves, but simply as a proof that independent views respecting the elements of the canon may consist with a decided faith in the Divine nature of Christianity.

² Comp. Schleiermacher, § 114, *sq.*

³ Discoveries made up to the present time (*e. g.*, of a lost letter by Paul to the Corinthians) have not, however, been sufficiently attested. But comp. Schleiermacher, § 111.

such things have occurred is, as Herder observes, not supposition, but fact.¹ Who can even assure us that, despite the great number of MSS. of the Scriptures, none of which reach back to the time of the original founding, the original form of expression was not lost here and there, and that this could not have been the case at a very early period, perhaps at the time when the first copy was made from the autograph?

Upon the purity of the text depends the internal value and character of our Biblical canon. It may be said that as a book may be canonical, though found to emanate from another than the reputed author, even so a single passage, *e. g.*, 1 John v, 7, may be allowed to stand in the Bible if it does not contradict the A pure text indispensable. *analogia fidei*. Reverence for the Bible, however, requires that every thing within our power be done to secure it in a form of the highest attainable purity, though the nature of the case is such as to prevent more than an approximate accomplishment of the task.

SECTION XV.

CRITICAL METHODS.

Criticism is, according to its objects, divided into external and internal, and, according to its results, into negative and positive. A further distinction is sometimes made between the criticism of books and that of words or texts;² but the two cannot easily be kept apart, though they are employed on different objects—the former being more concerned with the authenticity of entire books or separate paragraphs, the latter with the genuineness and purity of the text (*comp.* the preceding §). It is usual, though inappropriate, to designate the criticism of sections and books the higher, and that of words and separate passages the lower criticism.³ Not less misleading is the usage of others, who endeavor to include in the higher criticism what we would, more appropriately, term the internal, and in the lower criticism what we characterize as the external.⁴ The truth is that the business of the critic deals with

¹ "The evidence which lies on the surface long ago destroyed all the prejudices which formerly prevailed on this subject."—Schleiermacher, § 116. To this we add, "Ought, at least, to have destroyed them." Wetstein, *Proleg.*, p. 4, adduces a noteworthy example from the Aldine ed. of the LXX, in Gen. xiv, which reads *οι άνθρωποι αυτων*, instead of *οι υιοι αυτων* (אֲנָשֵׁי). The MS. had *υιοι* instead of *δνοι*, which was taken for an abbreviation of *ανθρωποι*, and in this way asses were transformed into men!

² Danz, p. 210.

³ Schleiermacher, § 118. Note.

⁴ Some writers apply the phrase, "the lower criticism," to the genuineness, etc., of single letters and words, and that of "the higher criticism" to entire books and sections. Schleiermacher has, however, forcibly demonstrated the mechanical and untenable character of this distinction. *Comp. Herm. u. Krit.*, p. 267; *comp.* 277.

various combinations which are all equally important, but which are sometimes directed toward the external, historical, empirical, and sometimes toward the internal and psychological side. We accordingly give the name of external criticism to that which seeks to demonstrate the authenticity and genuineness of a book, and also to discover the true readings from existing facts, viz.: from existing testimonies taken from Christian antiquity, from MSS. versions, etc. This is by no means to be denominated a lower criticism, as if it were contrasted with another kind, which might proudly claim a higher place, or even disregard its existence, but rather constitutes the necessary basis of all critical procedure, unless we intend to build on air. But this external application of the so-called critical apparatus is not alone sufficient; for on the one hand that apparatus is itself subject to higher critical conditions, since the age and the importance of MSS. versions, etc., must first be ascertained,¹ and on the other hand the most perfectly constructed critical apparatus cannot accomplish everything. It is necessary that internal criticism be brought in to complement the other. In this way conclusions may be arrived at respecting the authenticity of a written work, even though the testimony from external sources be indefinite or conflicting, or though no such testimony exist—the means employed being comparison with other works by the same author (*e. g.*, the Ep. to the Hebrews compared with the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, the Apocalypse with the gospel and the epistles by St. John, 2d with 1st Peter and with discourses in the Acts by the same apostle), the collocation and estimating of historical conditions (*e. g.*, in connexion with disputed predictions in the prophets), and finally the careful observation and comparison of the language in any particular period, its grammatical forms, figures of speech, etc. Upon the question of integrity the disturbance of the natural connexion caused by an interpolated passage (1 John v, 7–8) may be sufficient to arouse the suspicion of spuriousness, even before the authority of MSS. is appealed to; or with regard to the choice between different existent readings an important influence may be exerted, in addition to that exercised by the external superiority of some particular MS., by the internal relation of the passage to the whole connexion. It also becomes possible occasionally to show by internal criticism how a false reading could have originated, and

External criticism defined.

The office of internal criticism.

¹ In this regard compare the different critical systems by Bentley, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Hug, Matthaei, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf. At this point criticism and introductory science interpenetrate each other. See Schleiermacher, § 120; de Wette, Einl., § 37, *sqq.*

not rarely is it compelled to decide whether the preference is to be given to an easy or a more difficult reading; for while it is certain that words have been changed because they were not understood in such a sense or such a connexion, it is equally certain that many a difficult reading was introduced into the text by ill-timed polishing or thoughtless want of care on the part of copyists.

To discover the proper bounds to be observed between external and internal criticism in their application, is conceded Carefully fixed limits to be set to internal criticism. to be difficult. Great care is certainly required in connexion with the latter, and much mischief has already been caused by its use; but we cannot on that account give an unqualified assent to the idea that the critic's work should be of a purely mechanical nature, and that the authority of MSS. should alone be allowed to decide.¹ Harmonious activity of the intellectual powers, the combination of external with internal circumstances, comprehension and judgment, *doctrina* and *ingenium*, must go hand in hand in this pursuit. Who will deny that even the earliest and best codices were exposed to accidents, the very thing which the keen scent of criticism, certainly a natural endowment which is to be ennobled by learning, is to discover when possible? Above all arbitrariness and accident, however, stands science, combined with liberty and a higher necessity.

SECTION XVI.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CRITICISM.

The negative criticism endeavours simply to ascertain and cast out Negative and positive criticism; functions of each. what is spurious as a whole or in part; while the positive criticism seeks, with reference to authenticity, to discover the real authors of anonymous and pseudonymous works, and with reference to integrity to restore the text to its original condition. The former, when sufficient external evidence is wanting, is done by hypothesis, the latter by conjecture.

It is generally more easy to determine with certainty that a work was not written by the author to whom tradition has attributed it, than to discover who the real author was; and it is likewise more easy to arrive at the conclusion that a passage has been corrupted or mutilated than at a definite result in settling the true reading. Positive criticism receives occasional aid from external helps, however, even though they be not wholly adequate. Thus, *e. g.*, the testimony of Tertullian (*De pudic.* c. 20) led many to adopt the

¹ Comp., *e. g.*, Rettig's notice of Lachmann's N. T. in *Studd. u. Krit.*, 1832, No. 4. Baur (contra Thiersch et al.) has said much that is worthy of note, in opposition to pure mechanism in critical processes.

theory that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Sometimes, however, hypothesis puts forth claims, based solely upon possibilities, as in the case of Eichhorn's assumption of a primitive Gospel, and in many other instances of recent times. The claim of hypothesis upon our approval is even less authoritative in the latter class of cases (*i. e.*, of appeal to bare possibilities) than in the former, and many writers have accordingly forsaken the way of hypothesis, as being entirely too uncertain, and have ceased altogether from making use of the so-called positive criticism; bolder inquirers, however, still continue to employ it.¹ Similar considerations apply to conjectures relating to the readings. A former age was entirely too prone to apply conjecture, at first in the department of profane, and subsequently also in that of sacred, literature; but they are likewise wrong who unconditionally reject conjecture, for it is known that conjectures have occasionally been confirmed by readings that were afterward discovered. While therefore it may be advisable in general to insist upon the rule that "whatever of correct results may be obtained in the way of conjecture must be supported by facts connected with the history of the text," the rule must yet be so modified as not to forbid conjectural attempts in needful cases.²

Frequent fallacies of critical hypotheses.

¹ Comp. Hitzig, *supra*. The positive criticism is especially recommended by Hahn; understanding thereby not a criticism which so dreads negation as to cling with firmer grasp to the traditional, but that which conquers the negative, and which by concentrating its attention upon its object—the several books of the Bible and the circumstances of history—assigns to such books their definite and assured historical place.

² Schleiermacher, §§ 119 and 121, and Kritik, p. 291: "The canon that the divinational process (conjecture) is to be allowed only where documentary aids are wanting, or even that when the latter are not wanting, the right to employ conjectural processes does not exist, the best that manuscripts afford being all that we are authorized to ask—this canon does not apply absolutely, and may not even be assumed, because the interests of hermeneutics would suffer loss thereby." But see p. 312, and comp. Herder. "Conjecture, in the critical sense, resembles the scalpel of the surgeon. It may unfortunately become necessary and beneficial, but only terribly necessary, terribly advantageous; and the wretch who plays and whittles with it, cutting away at pleasure, now an ear, now an eye, now a nose, that does not suit his fancy—but mutilates himself." Specimens of vain conjecture are given by Herder in the Appendix to the Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu (Werke z. Rel. u. Theol., viii, p. 291). Similarly, Lücke, "Divinational criticism involves a dangerous element, and is least of all the concern of everybody; but it is needed for complementing the theological sciences of the canon." (Stud. u. Krit., 1834, No. 4, p. 267). Comp. Rosenkranz, Encykl., p. 121, *sqq.*; de Wette, Einl., § 59.

SECTION XVII.

THE RELATION OF CRITICISM TO EXEGESIS.

Although criticism is, in its idea, distinguished from exegesis, assuming the relation of an auxiliary to the latter, it can yet be conceived of in reality only in connexion with the functions of interpretation ; for an interest in criticism must be aroused, and a sense for it be quickened, by exegesis. The two sciences must accordingly be conceived of as continually acting upon each other, and therefore as conditioning and aiding each other.

Nothing is more hurtful, and nothing has done more to damage criticism in the estimation of pious people, than the ill-timed and superficial dabbling with it of persons who, before having properly read a single book in the Bible, or having been tested in the work of exposition, undertake to deal exclusively with the surface results of criticism, and swear by them as though they were established facts—who pronounce their dictum *about* the Bible without being well read *in* the Bible, or having learned anything of value from it. How frequently has a taste for the Bible been destroyed at the outset by forcing upon the notice of young men such oracular decisions of criticism, before they had become well acquainted with the sacred text ! If it is highly unpedagogical to trouble pupils who have not thoroughly read an ode of Horace or an oration by Cicero, with criticism in connexion with the explanation of the classics, it is nothing less than sin to disgust young theologians with the study of the Bible from the beginning, or, what is worse, to lead them to cultivate a foolish self-conceit, by means of depreciatory criticisms. It might therefore be sufficient for the beginner at first if he were to make himself acquainted with the tasks which criticism is to perform, leaving the practical employment of its operations for a later time, when he shall have become familiarly acquainted with his Bible, and shall have tasted somewhat of its positive contents, even having refreshed and nourished his soul thereby. This is possible, however, only in the rugged way of a thorough exegesis. Critical virtuosity, as

Relation of criticism to exegesis.
Mischief done by dabblers in criticism.
Critical and exegetical skill the result of practice.

Schleiermacher terms it, is to be attained only as the result of practice ; and exegetical virtuosity is its necessary prerequisite, although neither of them can attain to its completion without the aid of the other. Such reciprocal action between exegesis and criticism is self-evident, however. If the choice of a reading affects the interpretation, or, rather, if it pro

¹ Schleiermacher, § 122, sq.

vides the matter for interpretation, it is conversely true that the correct explanation of a passage throws needed light upon the various readings which exist, so that, not unfrequently, a more accurate comprehension of the connexion inclines us to readopt a reading which we had rejected, or to reject one which we believed ourselves obliged to hold, before the passage itself was understood. The authenticity of a book and the acknowledgment of its author may likewise be affected, and suspicion against the book itself be excited, by the misunderstanding of a passage, while a profounder apprehension of the writer's spirit and of the situation may restore its genuineness. Conversely, a superficial knowledge respecting the authenticity of a book may allay all questionings, while a thorough examination of the matter may excite doubts warranted by the facts, and call for a more exhaustive discussion of the points in doubt. It will thus be seen how necessary it is, first, in every case, and before the judgment has been formed, to have regard to the results obtained by others, and in this way to employ in reading the Bible a text as *critically correct* as may be possible; but, second, while making use of the best critical aids at command, to preserve unbiassed the keenness of our own mental vision in the work of interpretation.

Criticism and exegesis act on each other.

HISTORY OF CRITICISM.

To provide the history of criticism fully is the task of Introduction. The text of the Old Testament, upon which the copyists expended conscientious care (the synagogues-rolls), engaged the attention first of all of the Masorites, Jewish scholars, whose principal school flourished at Tiberias in the beginning of the sixth century. They compared the codices, noted the various readings, (Keri and Chetib,) and even anxiously numbered the words and syllables. To them we likewise owe the vowel-signs, pointings, etc. Among Christians, meritorious services were rendered by Origen († 254), who compared the Greek versions of the LXX, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus with the Hebrew original (Hexapla); and by Jerome, who improved the existing Latin version (Itala) and published a version of his own (Vulgata), which soon came into general use and acquired ecclesiastical authority in the Western Church. The prejudices which this man, usually so anxiously cautious, was compelled to encounter in connexion with this work, are well known. The "two-legged asses," as he terms his opponents, even went to the length of calling him falsarius, sacrilegus, corruptor sanctarum Scripturarum! The New Testament was gradually collected. The

Historical sketch of Biblical Criticism.
The Masorites.

originals are no longer extant. The most ancient MSS. do not reach back further than the fourth century. An inclination to adulterate the text was apparent at an early day, against which the Church was obliged to guard. Copies were made, in the first instance, for the use of Churches, and "without any philological supervision." It was reserved for science in later ages to divide the different codices, according to their age (Uncials and Cursives), or according to the countries in which they originated (Oriental and Occidental), into families and recensions. The most important MSS. of the New Testament are, The Cod. Alexandrinus (A) in the British Museum at London; the Vaticanus (B) at Rome; the Codex Regius (Parisiensis); also the Cod. Ephraem Syr. (a palimpsest) at Paris (C); and the Codex Cantabrigiensis (D). To these must be added, as of highest importance, the Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ), discovered by Tischendorf in 1859 and published in 1862; comp. Stud. u. Krit., 1860, 4; 1862, 1, 4; 1864, 3 (by Wieseler); Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeigen, 1860, No. 177; Prot. Kirchenzeitung, 1862, No. 50; Zarncke's Centralbl., 1860; Literaturbl., 1863, No. 69; Hilgenfeld's Zeitschr., 1864, 1, and *Volbeding: Constantin Tischendorf, 1862; Tischendorf, Die Sinaibibel, etc., 1871. See also article on Sinaitic Manuscript in M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia, and Harman's Introduction, Appendix. This Codex is distinguished not only by its age (Tischendorf assigns it to the former half of the fourth century, which is, however, already denied by others) but also by its completeness, even the Epistle of Barnabas, in the Greek text, and the Shepherd of Hermas being included in it.

But little was done for criticism during the Middle Ages. Alcuin, about A. D. 802, improved the Vulgata based on the translation of Jerome, by the command of Charlemagne. New revisions were undertaken by Lanfranc in the eleventh century and Cardinal Nicholas in the twelfth. At about this time the Correctoria biblica appeared (concerning which see De Wette, Einleitung, p. 108, sq.). The work of Cardinal Hugo de St. Caro in the thirteenth century, who divided the Bible into chapters, was rather mechanical than critical. The division of the New Testament into verses was not performed until the sixteenth century, when Robert Stephens devised the present arrangement. The undertaking of the Cardinal Ximenes, shortly before the Reformation, was, on the other hand, a magnificent conception, to which we owe the so-called Complutensian Polyglot, which was followed by those of Antwerp, Paris, and London, being critical collocations of the text and versions after the manner of Origen. A rich bib-

Biblical Criticism in the Middle Ages.

ical apparatus was given in the prolegomena to the London Polyglot (also published separately) of Brian Walton († 1661). The first critical edition of the New Testament was issued by Erasmus (Basle, 1516) at nearly the time when the Complutensian Polyglot was completed.

First critical edition of the New Testament.

All this work was text criticism; but the Reformation called into life a universal spirit of inquiry. Luther permitted himself to form independent opinions respecting various parts of the Scriptures, though he was rather influenced by subjective feeling than by scientific considerations. The progress of an unbiassed criticism was long hindered afterward by the strictness with which the Protestant Church clung to the principle of adherence to the letter of Scripture, and to the idea of inspiration connected with that principle. The Reformed Formula Consensus raised even the inspiration of the vowel-points into a dogma! A new critical impulse was given, on the other hand, to the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century by Richard Simon, who expressed independent views, among other things, with regard to the composition of the Pentateuch, etc. (In relation to him see Bernus, Richard Simon et son histoire critique du vieux Test., Lausanne, 1869.) The dogmatists of both Churches were, however, unceasing in their efforts to fill up the way which he had opened, to use Lessing's expression, "with floods of rubbish constantly renewed." The criticism of the text likewise came to an end, after the age had become accustomed to regard the *textus receptus* of the sixteenth century as an authority. A new interest in it was excited by the English scholars Fell, Mill, Bentley, and Kennicott (the latter in Old Testament criticism). When Wetstein, having been encouraged by Bentley, was preparing his critical edition of the New Testament, about the middle of the eighteenth century, he was exposed to severe attacks of opposition (comp. Hagenbach in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theologie, 1839, 1); but Bengel nevertheless undertook to perform in behalf of orthodox theology what Wetstein had begun in sympathy with a more sceptical habit of thought. While these scholars confined their efforts more particularly to the department of text-criticism, Semler, on the other hand, after the middle of the eighteenth century, excited numerous doubts with regard to the genuineness of entire books in the Bible by his *Free Examination of the Canon*.

Revival of Biblical Criticism in the 18th century.

Beginning with Semler of the Rationalistic Criticism.

With Semler begins the period of independent research in this field, but also of abuse and subjective arbitrariness. Sober science, however, continued to pursue its assured course in the midst of such fluctuations. On the one hand, diplo-

matic text-criticism continued to gain in settled principles and in historic ground through paleographic researches which were steadily prosecuted, through the comparison of MSS., etc., and various systems were developed in this direction, upon which the processes of criticism rest. (The labours of Hug, Griesbach, Schulz, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf.) On the other hand, inquiry was more intelligently directed toward the several parts of the Old and the New Testament canon. Single books in either Testament were at first attacked, without the recognition of any definite principle, but rather under the influence of the personal impressions of critics; but the investigation gradually secured firmer points of connexion with historical facts. The inquiry has been chiefly directed upon the Pentateuch, the Books of Chronicles, the Prophets, (the second part of Isaiah, Daniel,) the Psalms, and the writings of Solomon in the Old Testament, and the Gospels, (their origin and relation to each other,) the Pastoral epistles and the second epistle to the Thessalonians, the epistle to the Hebrews, Second Peter, and the Apocalypse in the New. Such fragmentary operations do not cover the whole ground that has been gone over, however; but after the latest speculative (Tübingen) school, Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, & tendency critics. *al.*, had attempted an historical construction of Christianity from its principles, it involved the entire canon of the New Testament books in the critical process of disintegration connected with that attempt, assigning most of them to a later date, and, at the same time, charging them with subserving tendencies which are not always reconcilable with the purity of purpose belonging to an apostle. It can be confidently affirmed that despite the bold, though often widely divergent, conclusions of the more recent critics, (Hilgenfeld, Volckmar, Holsten, Overbeck,) genuine science can still hold an assured footing for a further advance in the service of truth.

The leadership in biblical criticism was successfully maintained by English scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for eighty years (1657-1737). The fifth volume of Brian Walton's London Polyglot contained the text of the New Testament in six languages, with a large collection of various readings. He did not, however, undertake to form a revised text. Bishop Fell (1625-1686) added much to this stock of critical material, and was besides the friend and patron of Dr. John Mill (1645-1707.) Thirty laborious years were spent by Mill on his Greek Testament. He recollated all the codices used by Walton for the London Polyglot, and accumulated a mass of readings from many sources, which he exhibits in his prolegomena. "Of the criticism of the New Testa-

ment in the hands of Dr. John Mill," says Scrivener, "it may be said that he found the edifice of wood and left it marble." Richard Bentley (1662-1742) projected a revision of the text of the New Testament, which he never completed. We can readily conjecture what his extraordinary critical sagacity would have accomplished in this field. From the time of Bentley little was done by English scholars in New Testament criticism for more than a hundred years. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles issued from 1857 to 1872 his Greek Testament from the most ancient MSS. and from ancient versions. Tregelles bases his text on a small number of manuscripts. Frederick Henry Scrivener has contributed a valuable Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament (Cambridge, 1861, 1874). Messrs. Westcott and Hort have, since the appearance of the revised English Testament, published a text which has been long in preparation, and also a companion volume containing an appendix and introduction to their work. Although the revisers of the English Testament have not attempted "to construct a continuous and complete Greek text," the text adopted by them has been published by their secretary, E. Palmer. (Oxford, 1881.)

1. *Critically revised portable editions of the Old Testament of recent date.*¹

- * *Biblia hebraica manualia ad praestt. edit. edita a Joh. Simonis.* Halle, 1752, 1767, 1822, 1828. Various books of this edition (Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, etc.) have also been separately published.
- * *Biblia hebraica digressit et graviore lect. variet. adj. J. Jahn.* Vien., 1806. 4 voll. Ed. 4., 1839.
- Biblia hebr. ad Eb. v. d. Hooght ed. nov., recogn. et emend. a Judah d'Allemand.* Lond., 1825.
- * *Biblia hebraica ad optim. edit. fidem summa diligentia ac studio recensa.* Basileae, 1837. (Largely after van der Hooght.)

¹ With regard to the history of the text and other critical apparatus for the Old Test. comp. Franke, p. 96, sqq.; Rosenmüller's Handbuch, and the Introductions to the Old Test. (de Wette's, §. 76, sqq.); Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vetus Test. Hebr.*, quibus agitur, I. de codicibus et deperditis et adhuc exstantibus, II. de textu biblicorum hebr. qualis talmudistarum temporibus fuerit. Lips., 1873. Ancient versions: a) Greek (the Alexandrian of the so-called seventy translators, and those by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, etc.); b) Oriental (the Syriac [Peshito], Ethiopic [ed. by Dillmann], Egyptian, Arabian, Armenian, Georgian); c) Latin (ante-Hieronymian [Itala], Vulgate); d) Slavic; e) Chaldaee Paraphrases; comp. de Wette, §. 89, sqq. Concerning the Hexapla of Origen comp. ibid., §. 45, sqq.: F. O. Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacra et profana ex oriente et occidente allata sive notitia codicum graecorum, arabicorum, syriacorum, etc., cum excerptis multis maximam partem graecis et 35 scripturarum antiquissimarum exemplis.* Lips., 1861, 4.

Older, and usually large, editions of the Old Testament: (de Wette, §. 95. Rosenmüller, I, 189 ff. Benj. Kennicott, *dissertationes super ratione textus hebr. V. T. in libris editis. Latine vertit et auxit W. Abr. Teller.* Lips., 1757-65. 2 voll.): von Soncino (1488-94), in der complutens. Polyglotte (1514-17), Bomberg I. (1518-21), Bomberg II. (1526), S. Münster (Froben, 1536), R. Stephan I. (1539-43), R. Stephan II. (1544-46), Plantinus (1566-71-84), E. Hutter (1587), J. Buxtorf (1611-18, 1619, etc.), J. Athias (1661), Jablonsky (1699, Handausg.), van der Hooght (1705. Lond., 1822, Handausg.), Optiz (1709), Michaelis (1730, Handausg.), Houbigant (1753), Kennicott (1776, 80), Reineccius (1735, Handausg.), Döderlein u. Meisner (1793).

- תורה נביאים וכתובים.** Biblia hebr. sec. edit. Athiae, J. Leusdeni, Jo. Simonis, impr. Eberh. van der Hooght rec. A. Hahn. Ed. ster. Lips., 1831-39.
- Biblia hebr. ad optimas editiones, imprimis Eb. van der Hooght ex rec. A. Hahnii impressa (cur. K. W. Landschreiber; praef. est E. F. K. Rosenmüller). Ed. stereot. Lips., 1834-38. 12.
- תורה נביאים וכתובים.** Biblia hebr. ad optimas edit. expressa. Curavit et indices nec non clavem masoreticam add. C. G. Giul. Theile. Ed. stereot. Lips., 1849. (Genesis, Psalms, Job, Isaiah, etc., also published separately.) New ed. 1859.
- Testament utrumq. edd. Theile et Tischendorf (V. T. hebr.; N. T. gr.) Lips., 1850. 2d ed., 1862.
- ספר הקודש.** Vien., 1852.
- * Polyglottenbibel, Zum prakt. Handgebrauch. Prepared by Dr. Rud. Stier and Dr. K. G. W. Theile. A. u. N. T. Bielef., 1846-55. 5 vols. 3d ed. of the O. T. and 4th ed. of the N. T., 1868-64. (Embraces the Original, the LXX, the Vulgate, Luther's translation, and the most important various readings of ancient and modern versions.)

Separate portions of the Old Testament,

- Pentateuchus in usum scholarum academicarum ex editione utriusque testamenti Tauchnitziana separatim edendum curavit C. G. G. Theile. Lips., 1861. Ed. ster.
- Liber Geneseos sine punctis exscriptus curaverunt F. Muehlau et Aem. Kautzsch. Lips., 1868.
- Liber Genesis. Textum Masorethicum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1869.
- Jesajae, Liber. **ספר ישעיהו.** Textum Masorethicum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1872.
- Liber Psalmorum hebraicus. Textum Masorethicum accuratius quam adhuc factum est expressit, brevem de accentibus metricis institutionem praemisit, notas criticas adjecit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1861.

a) Large Editions of the Septuagint:

- V. T. ex versione LXX interpr. — post Grabe et Lee ed. J. J. Breitinger. Turic., 1730-32. 4 voll. 4.
- V. T. graecum, cum. var. lectt. edd. R. Holmes et Parsons. Ox., 1798-1827. 5 voll. f.

b) Manual Editions:

- V. T. Graec. ex versione LXX una cum libris apocr. ed. Ch. Rheineccius. Lips., 1730-57.
- V. T. gr. juxta LXX interpr. cur. L. v. Ess. Lips., 1824. Ed. nova, 1855.
- V. T. gr. juxta LXX interpr. ed. J. N. Jager. Par., 1834.
- V. T. gr. juxta LXX int. Textum Vatic. emendatus ed., argumenta et locos N. T. parall. notavit, lect. var. subj., comment. isag. praetexuit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1850. 2 voll. Ed. 4. 1869. Ed. 5. 1875.
- For the history of this version: Aristae historia LXXII interpr.; gr. et lat. Oxon., 1692. (New ed. in Merx' Archiv I, 3. 1868.) Comp. the works of Hody, van Dale, Ussher, Voss, u. A. Comp. Winer, Handb. d. theol. Lit. P. 49.
- L. T. Muecke, de origine vers. LXX interpr. Zulich., 1789.
- Thiersch, de Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina. Erl., 1841.

Editions of the Vulgate:

- Biblia S. vulg. edit. ad conc. Trid. praescriptum emend. et a Sixto V. recogn. Rom., 1590. fol.
- Biblia S. vulg. ed. Sixti V. jussu rec. et ausp. Clementis VIII. ed. Rom., 1593-4.
- Portable editions by L. van Ess (Tüb., 1822-24. 3 Bde.), J. H. Kistemaker (Münst., 1823-46), B. Galura (Innsbr., 1834-35. 3 Bde. 4.), B. Loch (Regensb., 1849. 2. Aufl., ebend., 1867 ff.), J. F. v. Allioli (Landsh., 1853), Fleck (Neues Test. Lpz., 1840).
- Important for critical purposes: Codex Amiatinus. N. T. latine interprete Hieronymo, ex celeberrimo cod. Amiatino omnium et antiquissimo et praestantissimo nunc primum ed. Const. Tischendorf. Lips., 1850-54. Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani edidit. prolegomenis introduxit, commentariis adornavit Ernest. Ranke. Marb., 1868.
- The Gothic version by Ulfilas, with parallel Greek and Latin versions, by H. Massmann. Stuttg., 1855.

2. Editions of the New Testament.¹

- Novum Testamentum graece, recogn. atque insign. lectt. varietat. et argument. notat. subjunxit G. Chr. Knapp. Halle, 1797, 1813, 1822, 1830. Ed. 5. 1840.
- * N. T. graece. E rec. Griesb. nova vers. lat. illustr., indice brevi praecip. lectt. et interprett. diversitatis indice instr., auct. H. A. Schott. Lips., 1806, 1811, 1825. Ed. 4. 1839.
- N. T. graece. Ad fidem optimor. librr. rec. J. A. H. Tittmann. Ed. ster. Lips., 1820. 28. Ed. nov. cur. A. Hahn, 1840; 1861.
- N. T. textum gr. Griesb. et Knappii denuo recognovit, delectu variet. lectt. testim. confirm., adnott. tum criticis tum exegeticis, indicibus, etc., instruxit J. S. Vater. Halle, 1824.
- N. T. graece. Ex rec. C. Lachmanni. Ed. ster. Berol., 1831.
- N. T. graece nova versione lat. donatum ed. F. A. Naebe. Lips., 1831.
- N. T. graece et latine. Ex rec. Knappiana adjectis variis Griesb. et Lachm. lectionibus ed. A. Goeschen. Lips., 1832.
- N. T. ad optt. librr. fidem rec. A. Jaumann. Mün., 1832.
- N. T. graece, ex recogn. Knappii emendatus ed., C. G. Guil. Theile. Ed. ster. Lips., 1841. Ed. 7., 1858. Ed. 8. 1865. Ed. 11. 1875. Also in Greek and Latin (Vulg.) 1854, and Greek and German, 1852, by the same publishers.
- N. T. gr. et lat. (Vulg.) ed. F. X. Reithmayr. Mün., 1847.
- * N. T. graece. Textum ad fidem antiquorum testium recensuit, brevem apparatus criticum una cum var. lectt. Elzeviriorum, Knappii, Scholzii, Lachmanni subjunxit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1841, 1848, 1849. 7th ed., 1859. 8th ed., 1869-72.
- Editio stereotypa. Lips., 1850. Ed. nova, 1873. (A good manual edition.)
- N. T. gr. Par., 1842. 12; gr. et lat., ed. Jager et Tischendorf. Par., 1842.
- Ἡ καὶ διαθήκη. N. T. graece, recens. inque usum academicum omni modo instruxit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1855, 1861. 16. Edit. 5., ibid., 1867. Ed. 9. 1876.
- H. A. W. Meyer, das N. T. griechisch, nach den besten Hilfsmitteln kritisch revidirt, mit einer deutschen Uebersetzung (see Commentaries).

¹ For the history of the N. T. text comp. de Wette, II, §. 37, sqq.; with regard to versions, see §. 10, sqq. Polyglotts: a) the Complutensian (1514-17); b) Antwerp (1569-72); c) Paris (1645); d) London (by Walton, 1657). Comp. Franke, p. 139, sqq. With regard to the different classes of editions (1. such as exactly reproduce the text of a given MS.; 2. such as are based upon several MSS. and other helps; and 3. such as merely reproduce earlier editions with unimportant changes); and also, with reference to the so-called Textus Receptus (vulgaris) of the Elsevir edition, comp. Danz, §. 19, and the works there mentioned, Franke, p. 161, sqq.

- N. T. græce ad fidem potissimum cod. Vat. rec., Phil. Buttmann. Lips., 1856, 1862. Edit. 3., ibid. (without date).
- Testamentum novum triglottum, græce, latine, germanice . . . ed. Tischendorf. Lips., 1854. 4. Edit. 2., 1865.
- N. T. tetraglottum. Archetypum græcum c. versionibus vulgata latina, germanica Lutheri et anglica authentica, in usum manulem edend. curaverunt C. G. G. Theile et R. Stier. Bielef., 1855. Edit. 2. 1858.
- Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη. Nov. Test. ad fidem Codicis Vaticani ediderunt A. Kuenen et C. G. Cobel. Lugd. Bat., 1860.
- Novum Testamentum Vaticanum. Post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit. Tischendorf. Lips., 1867.
- Bibliorum sacrorum græcus codex Vaticanus studiis Caroli Vercellone et Josephi Cozza editus. Tom. V, (contains the N. T.) Fol. Rom., 1869.
- Testamentum Nov. post Lachmannum et Tischendorffium ad fidem optimorum librorum denuo diligenter recognovit lectionumque varietatem notavit Aug. Hahn. Edit. ster. Lips., 1861.
- * Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. Auspiciis aug. Imperatoris Alexandri II. ex tenebris protraxit, in Europam transtulit, ad juvandas sacras litteras ed. Constantinus Tischendorf. 4 voll. Petrop., 1862. (A costly library edition.)
- A cheaper edition is Testamentum Novum Sinaiticum s. Nov. Test. cum epist. Barnabæ et fragmentis Pastoris ex codice Sinaitico, etc. Lips., 1863.¹ 8vo. 1864.
- E. Reuss, Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Græci, Brunsvigæ, 1872, gives a descriptive list of all the published editions of the New Testament.

Synopses.

- Synopsis evv. Matth., Marc. et Luc., una cum iis Jo. pericopis, quæ hist. pass. et resurr. Chr. complectt.; textum recogn. etc., J. J. Griesbach. Hal., 1776-97-1809. St. John's Gospel is wanting in the 1st ed., 1774.
- Synopsis evv., etc.; ex rec. Griesb. edd. W. M. L. de Wette et F. Luecke. Berol., 1818, 1841. 4.
- Synopsis Mt., Mc. et Luc. c. Jo. peric. parallelis, ed. M. Roediger. Hal., 1829-39.
- R. Anger, Synopsis evv. Mt., Mc., Lc. cum locis qui supersunt parall. literarum et tradit. evv. Irenæo antiquiorum. Lips., 1851. Ed. 2, 1863.
- C. Tischendorf, syn. ev. ex 4 evv. ord. chron. concinnata. Lips., 1851; ed. 4, 1878.
- J. H. Friedlieb, quatuor evv. in harmoniam redacta. Vratisl., 1847.
- H. N. Clausen, quat. evv. tabulae synopticae. Havn., 1829.
- Sevin, die drei ersten Evangelien synoptisch zusammengestellt. Wiesb., 1866.
- Synopses in German by H. Planck (Gött., 1809), Fr. A. Beck (Berl., 1826), G. C. R. Matthäi (Gött., 1826), J. Gehringer (Tüb., 1842), P. J. Sindler (Augsb., 1852).
- A Harmony of the Gospels by Sevin, 1867.
- Upon the whole of this richly endowed branch of literature comp. Hase, Leben Jesu (4th ed. Lpz., 1854), pp. 20-26.

¹ Older editions of the New Test., aside from those contained in the Polyglotta: (Comp. de Wette, §. 41, sqq.); 5 by Erasmus (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535), 3 by Robert Stephens (1546, 1549, 1565), 4 larger eds. by Theodore Beza, (published by Stephens, 1565, 1582, 1589, and 1598), and 6 smaller, 1554-91; upon the 3d ed. of Stephens, as improved by Beza, depends the authority of the so-called Textus Receptus; John Fell (following the London Polyglott, 1675), John Mill (1707), Kistler (1710-23), J. A. Bengel (1734; republished in manual eds. 1739, 1753, 1762, 1776, and by his son, Ernst Bengel, in 1790), J. J. Wetstein (1761; new ed. by Lotze, Rotterdam., 1831). Larger critical editions of more recent date: * J. J. Griesbach (Halle, 1774, 1775, 2 vols.; Leipz., 1806, 1807, 4 vols.), Chr. Fr. Matthæi (1788-88), F. C. Alter (1786, 1787), Andr. Birch (1788, 1801), David Schulz (Griesb. T. Berl., 1827), M. A. Scholz (Lpz., 1830), K. Lachmann u. Ph. Buttmann, (Berl., 1842, 1850. 2 Bde.), E. v. Muralt (Hamb., 1846, 1848), W. Greenfield u. J. P. Engles (Philad., 1851).

3. *Theoretical works on Criticism and Critical Helps.*¹

- L. Cappelli *Critica sacra s. de variis quae in sacris V. T. libris occurrunt lectionibus libri VI. Rec. multisque animadversa. auxit G. J. L. Vogel.* Vol. 1. Hal., 1775
Voll. 2, 3, ed. J. G. Scharfenberg., 1778, 1786.
- J. J. Griesbach, *symbolae criticae ad suppl. et corrig. variarum N. T. lectt. collectiones.* Hal., 1785-93. 2 voll.
- *Commentarius criticus in textum graec. N. T.* Jen., 1798-1811.
- J. G. Reiche, *commentarius crit. in N. T.* 3 Tom. Gött., 1853-62.
- * F. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik u. Kritik mit bes. Beziehung auf N. T.*, published by Lücke. Berl., 1838. (Vol. 2 of the *Nachl. zur Theol.*)
- † J. M. A. Löhns, *Grundzüge d. bibl. Hermeneutik und Kritik.* Giessen, 1839.
- Convenient for students: * *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon bis auf Hieronymus*, published by J. Hirschhofer. Zürich, 1844.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

1. *Critical Editions of the Old Testament in Hebrew.*

- An Interlinear Hebrew-English Psalter. The Book of Psalms in Hebrew, with a closely literal English Translation under each word. 8vo, pp. 240. London, 1882.
- Davidson, Samuel. *Revision of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. Synopsis of Readings, Revised from Critical Sources.* 8vo, pp. 234. London, 1882.
- Hahn's Hebrew Bible. New ed. Revised by Isaac Leeser and Joseph Jaquett. 8vo. Philadelphia.
- Hebrew and English Psalms. The Hebrew Text of Van der Hooght, with the Authorized Translation of 1611. In parallel columns. 8vo, pp. 100. London, 1882.
- Hebrew Psalter. 32mo. Andover, 1864.
- Hughes, Joseph. *The Prophecy of Joel. The Hebrew Text printed Metrically, with a new English Translation and Critical Notes.* 8vo. London, 1882.
- Letteris, Myer Levi. *The Hebrew Bible, Revised and carefully Examined. With a Key to the Masoretic Notes.* 8vo, pp. 1404. New York, 1872.
- Modern Polyglot Bible in Eight Languages. Giving the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, and a Series of the best European Translations. To which is added the Peshito-Syriac New Testament, with Tables of the various Readings of the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Greek, and Syriac New Testaments, etc. Crown folio, 2 vols. London, 1882.
- ספר תהלים. The Book of Psalms, in Hebrew and English. Arranged in Parallelisms. Andover, 1862.
- The Hebrew and English Scriptures of the Old Testament. Consisting of the Original Hebrew Text, and the Authorized English Version. With Appendices and Clavis to the Masoretic Notes. 4to, small. London, 1882.

¹ See the more general critical and philological works of Valesius (1740), Heumann (1747), Morell (1768), J. Clericus (1778), Beck (1791), in Ast (In the work mentioned under Hermeneutics, at the end). "A barely sufficient guide (to New Test. Criticism) is found partly in the prolegomena to the critical editions (by Bengel, Wetstein, etc.) and is partly contained in that *olla podrida* to which the title of Introduction to the New Test. is commonly applied." Schleiermacher, §. 123, note. Hence comp. the literature under Introduction, *supra*.

The Hebrew Bible of the Polyglot Series: The Text after Van der Hooght. Also the various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch. 8vo, pp. 635. London, 1882.

Walton's Polyglot. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. Edidit Brianus Waltonus. 6 vols., folio. With Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Hebrew, Chald., Syr., Samar., etc. 2 vols., folio. Together, 8 vols., folio. 1657-69.

Wright, C. H. H. *The Book of Genesis in Hebrew; with a Critically Revised Text, various Readings, and Grammatical and Critical Notes*. 8vo. London, 1859.

2. *Critical Editions of the Septuagint.*

Hexaglot Bible; comprising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues; together with the Septuagint, the Syriac, (of the New Testament,) the Vulgate, the Authorized English and German, and the most approved French Versions, arranged in parallel columns. Vols. I, II, III, (to be completed in 6 vols.) 4to. London, 1871-3.

Septuagint Text, with Variorum Readings. 5 vols., folio. London, 1880.

The Greek Septuagint. With an English Translation in parallel columns. 4to. London, 1882.

The Septuagint according to the Vatican edition. Together with the real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha, including the Fourth Book of Maccabees, and an Historical Account of the Septuagint and of the Principal Texts in which it is Current. 8vo, pp. 958. London, 1882.

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. Tables of the Various Readings of the Alexandrine Text, and the Septuagint according to the Vatican Text. 8vo, pp. 689. London, 1882.

Tischendorf, Constantinus. *Vetus Testamentum Græce Juxta LXX. Interpretes*. 8vo. Leipsic, 1869.

Vetus Testamentum, Græce. Juxta LXX. Interpretes. Pp. 1088. Oxford, 1859. (Gives the Hebrew and Greek Texts in parallel columns.)

3. *Editions of the Vulgate.*

The Latin Bible. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata Editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII.* 8vo, pp. 773. London, 1882.

The Vulgate New Testament, compared with the Douay Version of 1582. Parallel columns. Small 4to. London, 1882.

4. *Critical Editions of the New Testament.*

Alford, Henry. *The Greek Testament, with a Critically Revised Text; a Digest of various Readings, etc., and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary*. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. clv, 924; lxxxvii, 723; cxxix, 435; cclxxxviii, 750. London, 1868.

— *Greek Testament with English Notes*. Abridged by B. H. Alford. 8vo. London, 1869.

Bagster's Large Print Greek Testament, with various Readings from Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, and references to Parallel Passages. 8vo. London.

— *Critical New Testament, Greek and English, containing the Greek Text of Scholz, with Readings, both Marginal and Textual of Griesbach, and variations of Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevir*. 16mo, pp. 624. New York, 1868.

Bloomfield, S. T. *The Greek Testament with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical*. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 629, 631. Philadelphia, 1868.

- Butts, Henry A. The Epistle to the Romans in Greek, etc. With References to the New Testament Grammars of Winer and Buttmann. 8vo, pp. 42. New York, 1876.
- Cambridge Greek Testament. Ex Editione Stephani Tertia, 1550. 12mo. Cambridge.
- Codex Vaticanus. Novum Testamentum Graece ex Antiquissimo Codice Vaticano edidit Angelus Maius S. R. E. Card. Ad fidem Editionis Romanae Accuratus Impressum. 8vo, pp. 502. London, 1859.
- Cowper, B. H. Codex Alexandrinus, H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, etc. Ad Fidem Ipsius Codicis Denuo Accuratus edidit. 8vo. London, 1866.
- Dobbin, Orlando T. The Codex Montfortianus. A Collation of this Celebrated MS. throughout the Gospels and Acts, with the Greek Text of Wetstein, and with certain MSS. in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 280. London, 1882.
- Fairbairn, P. The Pastoral Epistles; the Greek Text and Translation. 12mo. New York.
- Green, T. S. The Twofold New Testament. A newly-formed Greek Text, with new Translation into English. In parallel columns. 4to, pp. 466. London, 1882.
- Grinfield, E. V. Novum Testamentum Graecum, Editio Hellenistica. Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum. 4 vols., 8vo. London, 1843-48.
- Hahn, A. Greek Testament, edited by E. Robinson. 12mo, pp. 536. New York, 1842.
- Hansell, E. H. The New Testament. The most Ancient MSS. of the Original Greek, printed in parallel columns, with a Collation of the Sinaitic Codex. 3 vols., 8vo. London, 1880.
- Major, J. R. The Gospel According to St. Mark, in the Original Greek, with a Digest of Notes from various Commentators. 16mo. London, 1871.
- New Testament, Griesbach's Text, with the various Readings of Mill and Scholz, Marginal References, and Parallels, and a Critical Introduction. 12mo, pp. 650. London, 1859.
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SECTION XVIII.

HERMENEUTICS.

G. Seyffarth, über Begriff, Anordnung und Umfang der Hermeneutik des N. T. (Lpz. 1894), womit jedoch zu vergleichen die Recens. in Winers und Engelhardt's Journal Bb. 4. S. 334 ff. A. Tholuck, über den Mangel an Uebereinstimmung unter den Auslegern des N. T. (theol. Studien und Kritiken Jahrg., 1832, S. 325). Planck's Sacred Philology and Interpretation, translated by Turner; Kitto's Cyclopaedia, vol. ii, p. 20. For a very full history and bibliography, see Tarry's Hermeneutics, Part III.

Biblical Hermeneutics treats of the principles on which Scripture is to be explained. These principles are, upon the whole, the same Definition of that apply to any work of human origin, and Hermeneutics. eutics, as a theological science, differs from the science in its general (philosophical and philological) character simply with regard to the object upon which it is employed. In this connexion the peculiarly religious character of the Bible certainly demands recognition.

Hermeneutics from *ἐρμηνεύω* (which is to be traced back to the Hermes of the ancients¹) is, in Schleiermacher's language, an art-doctrine; "for the complete understanding of a discourse or writing is a work of art, and requires a technical apparatus."² It Distinguished stands in an inverted relation to rhetoric, in so far as from rhetoric. the latter is dependent on logic; for while the logical part of rhetoric furnishes the laws by which our thoughts are to be connected, arranged, and presented, Hermeneutics teaches how to apprehend the given discourses or writings of another person, and how to follow and interpret them. In proportion as the logically ordered thinking in a discourse or book becomes clear, as it will when the matter to be imparted is developed before the mind of the hearer or reader in a well-arranged style, will the need of explanation and of an art of explanation be small; for which reason, e. g., purely mathematical lectures need no hermeneutics if definitions are first understood. But when the logic is hidden in the discussion, and when the words do not represent mere formulas and figures (the expression of magnitudes), but are, according to the nature of the subject under consideration, the not fully adequate signs of a profoundly apprehended original, when they are the bearers, borrowed from the world of sense, of ideas which are invisible, there arises the need of an interpreter who shall know how to trace back to the original idea the letter which was first correctly apprehended through the mechanical processes of grammar, and who shall thus restore the written or spoken word, so

¹ See Creuzer, Symbolik, i, pp. 9-15: 365 sqq.; ii, p. 617.

² Schleiermacher, § 132.

that it becomes for the reader or hearer what it was to the writer or speaker from whom in the freshness of its originality it emanated.

For this reason the ancients already joined divination to hermeneutics; and this likewise indicates why an exposition according to rules of art is more necessary with poets, epigrammatists, and poetizing philosophers, than with simple prose-writers.¹ Works, moreover, that belong to a distant age, and are written in a language which has itself passed through many historical vicissitudes, are more likely to engage the attention of hermeneutics than writings and discourses belonging to our own times, whose meaning is more apparent to us by reason of their nearness. And, lastly, the allusions contained in a discourse or writing will need a key to their interpretation, in proportion as they bear upon individual matters, which is especially the case in epistolary compositions. If we apply these considerations to the Bible, it will appear that it needs the art of hermeneutics in each of these regards. Few books, in the first place, in the form of expression, fall so much behind their wealth of contents, and few, accordingly, belong so fully to the class of pregnant writings, as do these modest envelopments of supreme ideas. Luther strikingly likens them to the swaddling-clothes in which the Christ-child lay, and the great Reformer was led to use the expression that the words in Scripture are not merely "written words, but living words," whence it becomes a frequent necessity to read between the lines. But the Bible at the same time shares with all works of antiquity, including the less pregnant also, the fortune of having been written in times, and among a people, into whose circumstances we must enter and live, and in languages with whose spirit and expression we must become familiar, if we desire to accurately understand what is written.²

¹ "There is no lack of examples in our own experience of an author's mind being, *e. g.*, exalted to such an intuitive penetration of its object as to be enabled to speak of it with an unusual pregnancy of word and meaning which his own reflection is unable to resolve into details; it even happens that when he descends from his intuitive center-point to his ordinary level of thought, his own work will appear like a strange object, respecting the development of whose meaning he finds as much difficulty as do others."—J. T. Beck, *Enil. in das Syst. d. Chr. Lehre*, p. 253. An example is found in Hamann.

² "He who would interpret, needs, by drawing as near as may be possible, to descend to the condition of the first readers and hearers."—Lutz (*Hermeneutic*). "Pour ne pas errer sur le sens que nous appelons extérieur, il faut avoir une idée précise de la langue des auteurs, je veux dire de la valeur des signes et des formes de cette langue, comparés aux formes et aux signes correspondants de notre propre langue."

How thoroughly individual, too, is the Bible, never dealing in abstract generalities, always singling out the concrete instance, the special condition and its needs, the disposition and mode of culture of persons and communities !¹ How natural, then, that we should seek to obtain a key ! This can be no magic key, however, which some angel must bring down from the third or the seventh heaven, or whose possession is restricted to a sacred caste ; but, generally speaking, the same art has its application here, which must be employed, according to the natural laws of a historico-logical method of estimating the past, upon every work that requires explanation. This art belongs to the higher department of the science of language, of philology, and hence of applied philosophy.

Biblical hermeneutics a branch of general hermeneutics.

It is a theological science merely in its special application to this object,² for every rule established by theological hermeneutics for the exposition of the Scriptures must be based upon the general principles of hermeneutics or deducible from them, and all that can be done in the interest of the Bible is that such principles be properly applied. Arbitrary departure from them, or making so-called "exceptions to such rules," is never beneficial. When the latter course is followed the proper inference is that the general law itself has not been apprehended, or that confusion or a misconception is involved. Should a one-sided, scanty legislation confine the interpretation of the Scriptures to the purely external meaning of the letter so exclusively as, while considering the notation of the letter (the grammar), to forget the notation of the spirit, should it designedly seek to blot out the individuality and originality of an author, in order to put in the place of the forms which reveal a richness of ideas, the vaguely outlined shadows of abstract commonplaces, it will of course be exposed to the danger of seeing those who are not content with such meagre fare forsake its school and submit themselves to the impression of an undefined feeling. This is a result the more likely to come to pass because of the failure

En d'autres termes, il faut savoir à quel taux il faut prendre le mots principaux, qui reviennent le plus souvent et entrent dans le passages les plus importants."—Vinet (Homilétique), p. 124.

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, § 135 : "The explanation of the New Testament Scriptures is especially difficult, both on account of the nature of their contents, and by reason of external conditions."

² Schleiermacher, § 137, *sq.* It is evident that within this specifically biblical hermeneutics, another and yet more special (Old and New Test., Pauline, Johannan, etc.) may be conceived of and wrought out. Comp. *ib.*, § 136.

of such teachers to instil the scientific principles sought at their hands.

If hermeneutics has regard to the deeper psychological features of the writers to be explained, whether they occupy the field of poetry, philosophy, or religion, and if it establishes as the leading principle that he only is competent to correctly appreciate an author whose mind possesses elements related and analogous to that author's, or, at least, who has learned how to think himself into the mental state of his author,¹ it certainly has also the right to require an unconditional submission to its rules on the part of the expositor of the Bible. All the wanderings of the so-called allegorical interpretation find their excuse in narrow hermeneutics, whether of the orthodox or the rationalist letter, and may be corrected and finally laid aside by the application of the true science of spiritual exposition.²

The science of hermeneutics could not be formed before frequent experiments in interpretation had been made, and such practice had resulted in the more or less conscious ap-
Gradual growth of hermeneutics.
 plication of the laws of interpretation which were developed in the way of practical exposition. Even then it remained "an aggregate of separate, often valuable and praiseworthy, observations,"³ rather than a systematic art, "whose precepts would constitute a system resting upon clear principles deduced from the nature of thought and of language." This experience belongs alike to general and biblical hermeneutics.

¹ "Who will the poet understand must journey into poet-land." Luther already observed that the Eclogues of Virgil are thoroughly plain to him alone who has lived with shepherds, and that he alone can properly understand Cicero's epistles "who has served twenty years in a first-class regiment." Lutz observes similarly (in *Hermeneutik*), "The contents (of the Scripture) are understood only by him who apprehends and values them in the spirit of one who is saved by Christ and out of interest for the Christian Church." Comp. also Schenkel, *Dogmatik*, I, p. 327, and Krauss, *Bedeutung des Glaubens für die Schriftauslegung*.

² Diestel (*infra*), p. 778, justly observes, in opposition to one-sided tendencies in exegesis, that only an all-sided illumination can do justice to the object to be explained. He designates (1) the rational, (2) the historico-philosophical, and (3) the religious principles, as elements which must interpenetrate each other in any truly theological method of investigation. At the same time we are to remember that "an absolute knowledge of the religion of the people of God will continue to be a far-off goal that twinkles in the distance, so long as human development shall continue; and in the same measure, even as Christianity likewise can never be exhausted, and the knowledge of it, in its depth and fulness can only represent a constant approximation toward the highest ideal."

³ Schleiermacher, *Outline of Theology*, § 133. See also the succeeding paragraphs to § 140 inclusive.

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¹ Older works in Danz. p. 226; to which add, Rudorff, Diss. de arte interpretandi scriptores veteres profanos. Lips., 1747.

² Much that applies here may also be found in the above-mentioned works (under Grammar, Introduction, Criticism, etc.) by Glassius (Philologia sacra), Richard Simon, etc. Here, too, Semler opened the way in part: Apparatus ad libral. V. T. interpret. Hal., 1773. Ad N. T. 1787. Neuer Versuch, die gemeinnützige Auslegung und Anwendung des N. T. zu befördern, 1786. Individual forerunners: Rambach, Pfeiffer, Wolke, Carpvov, etc., see Danz. *ubi supra*.

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- * Schleiermacher und † Löhnis. See above under Criticism.
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SECTION XIX.

EXEGESIS.

Exegesis, as an art product, accomplishes that for which herme-
 Definition of neutics, the theory, lays down the rules, and toward
 exegesis. which the other auxiliary sciences direct their efforts,
 namely, the exposition of holy Scriptures, based on comprehension
 of the languages and antiquities involved.

Reference must be made for the sake of clearness to the terms
 in common use, though in this as in many other instances the usage
 is arbitrary. The words *ἐρμηνεία* and *ἐξηγήσεις* have at bottom the
 same meaning; but exegesis has come to denote the
 Distinguished action of the expositor himself, and hermeneutics the
 from herme- theory of the art of exposition.
 neutics.

In the broad sense of the term, exegesis includes both the inter-
 Includes both pretation and the explication of Scripture. The former
 interpretation and explication. of these confines its endeavors solely to the apprehend-
 ing of facts narrated by an author, or of doctrines pre-
 sented by him, in a purely objective light; while the latter brings
 them into relation with other facts or doctrines, or possibly with
 the judgment of the expositor himself with respect to the facts as
 stated, or the doctrines as presented. Mere interpretation will, ac-
 cordingly, be less susceptible to influence from the individual views
 of the expositor than explication, which is more open to the infu-
 sion of elements derived from his subjectivity. The former cor-
 responds to translation, and is its authentication; the latter finds its
 expression in paraphrases.

We follow the accepted usage, though it might well be reversed,
 since the expositor in fact does nothing more than simply explain
 the meaning and throw light upon what is dark, while the inter-
 preter still further subdivides and spreads out the matter that has
 been explained.¹ Thus it is said of a preacher that he knows how
 to interpret a text when he not only clears up what is dark to the
 mind, but when he at the same time develops in every direction
 what has been made plain, for the purpose of a fuller understand-
 ing of it. In the terminology of the science, however, the words
 have come to bear the above signification. The work of the inter-

¹ Comp. Eberhard, *Synon. Handwörterbuch*, s. v. erklären, auslegen, deuten, p. 101;
 Ast, p. 184: "To explain is to develop and lay down the meaning; for explanation
 presumes understanding and rests upon it, since only what has been rightly conceived
 and comprehended, what is understood, can be imparted and explained as such to
 others."

pres is ended when the author's meaning has been simply stated,¹ e. g., when it has been shown that he records a miracle, or that he teaches a certain doctrine. The commentator, however, goes further, seeking to understand how the author came to narrate and teach as he does. He compares him with himself, with his contemporaries, with the spirit of the time in which he lived (historical, as contrasted with merely grammatical exposition), and he finally brings practically what he has ascertained into connexion with the sum total of the facts possessed. This will indicate the extent to which it is possible to speak of pure objectivity in connection with exegesis. Interpretation must certainly remain independent of every existing dogmatical system,² and it has become increasingly so in recent times. Rationalism especially has ceased to dispose of miracles, by perverting them, in the way of an exegesis framed to favor its system.

The functions of the interpreter and of the commentator distinguished.

Interpretation should be independent of dogmatical systems.

It would even appear that the negative tendency of the present day finds, in connection with its so-called avoidance of predisposition, a special pleasure in placing a greater burden in this respect on the biblical writers than is admitted to belong to them by an unprejudiced exegesis, in order, however, it must be admitted, to afterward throw overboard the whole, as being without substance and meaning. But this very absence of predisposition is governed by a prejudice, that of "modern culture," and this has its influence upon exposition, even though the interpretation may not be affected thereby. Instead of quietly, and with unbiassed spirit, entering upon the subject in hand, the exposition assumes a hostile attitude toward the writer at the beginning, and treats him with injustice. The school which occupies the purely grammatical and historical point of observation, and abstains from judging at all, avoids such impassioned courses, and its position is certainly more worthy of respect

The so-called avoidance of "predisposition" a prejudice.

¹ On the distinction between sense, signification, and understanding, see Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik*, p. 41.

² "To ascertain the contents of Scripture in obedience to the accepted views of the Church remains, despite all exceptions and provisos, a dishonest procedure from the outset, by which we have before we seek, and find what we already have."—Meyer, preface to *Krit.-exeget. Handb.*, 2 ed., p. 12, sq. "Seek to discover the real meaning of your author by the use of all proper means at your command; lend him nothing that is yours, but take nothing from what is his. Never insist upon what he should say, but never be alarmed at what he does say."—Rückert (see Rheinwald, *Report*, 1839, 5. p. 97). Comp. Kling in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1839. Bengel cries to the expositor of the Scriptures, in similar language, "Non timide, non temere," and adds the counsel, "Te totum applica ad textum et totum textum applica ad te."

in both a moral and a scientific light. But is it satisfactory?

A religious disposition essential to the right interpretation of the Bible.

Does not the ultimate and really scientific profit consist in transforming what learned industry has discovered into a possession of the mind? Why concern myself about an author who is nothing to me, and who confers

nothing upon me, and with whom I am not inwardly

conscious of being in any wise connected? As only a poetic intellect is capable of interpreting a poet, so is a religious disposition the only one that can apprehend and understand a religious writer, or, more particularly, only a Christian intellect can correctly render a Christian author. And as the letters of an absent member of the family are understood in their profoundest meaning at home, while the stranger finds in them a mere surface matter too tedious for consideration, so is it with these writings of the gift conferred by love divine.¹ The exegete will

The spirit of the true exegete.

accordingly reveal the bottom of his heart in the manner in which he explains his author, and his subjectivity

will be a disturbing element so long only as it remains out of harmony with the key tone of the spirit of the Bible.² This does not imply that the exegete must, from the first, make an unconditional surrender of his own thoughts. He should retain sufficient mental independence and freedom from prejudice to properly estimate the personal peculiarities of his author, and whatever may belong to his individual culture, his relations to his age, etc. He may, in one respect, occupy a position above his author, while in another he must be subordinate to him. Here, too, a living inter-

¹ "Verily I say unto you that Lord Byron would, with a scanty knowledge of the Hebrew language, have given a rendering of the chief penitential psalm of David (the fifty-first) superior to that of many of the most celebrated grammarians." Umbreit (Review of Tholuck's *Comment zu d. Psalmen*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1845, 1, p. 177).

² "He who lacks a profound apprehension and a living conception must, with every degree of technical skill for interpreting Nature or the holy Scriptures of the New as well as the Old Testament that he may possess, remain a bungler who gnaws away at the shell and never penetrates to the intellectual heart in which the idea sparkles in its everlasting truth." Umbreit in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, No. 3, p. 656. Usteri (*Comm. über d. Brief an d. Galater*, p. vi) expresses a similar opinion: "It appears to me that the grammatico-historical principle is merely the *conditio sine qua non*, or the negative rule of interpretation; the positive task of the exegete seems to me to require, so to speak, that he should sink himself wholly into the spirit of the author, in order that the picture drawn in the Scripture, with its accessories of time and place, may afterward be held up before the reader's eye in the light of his researches in language and matters of fact." Comp. Billroth, *Comm. zu d. Briefen an d. Corinthier*, p. v.; Lücke in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1834, 4, pp. 769-71; Schleiermacher, *Herm.*, p. 50; Bunsen, *Gott u. d. Geschichte*, p. 122, sqq.; Krauss, *supra*.

action, a sympathetic yielding to the spirit of the work, and an incorporation of the results of the inquiry with what before existed, are needed to further the exposition.¹ It is apparent, as a general truth, that exegesis is not finished at one effort. He who reads an author for the tenth time, and the hundredth time, will explain him otherwise than he who reads but once.² Such multifarious intellectual activity in the work of exegesis, such harmonizing of the grammatico-historical with the higher, ideal, and sympathetically religious interpretation, has been termed panharmonic interpretation, (Germarus), and subsequently the name *pneumatic* has come into favor (Beck). The word is of no importance; but our age largely feels and acknowledges that while the human standpoint must be retained in the explaining of the human element in the Scriptures (which will ever be the necessary barrier against all the perversions of superstition), the Holy Spirit himself must in the final instance be the real interpreter of his words, the *angelus interpres* who opens for us the meaning of the Bible.³

Complete exegesis dependent on spiritual growth.

SECTION XX.

THE APPLICATION OF EXEGESIS.

The application of the Scriptures finally should carefully be distinguished from both the interpretation and the exposition; for while it is based upon the former, it yet belongs, according to its nature, to a different department—the practical.

Scripture, when interpreted, to be practically applied.

The holy Scriptures were at first explained for devotional purposes—the Old Testament by the writers of the New, and both the New and the Old by the Church fathers, although some among the latter already began to distinguish between practical and scientific exposition. It is still the office of exegetical study to produce fruit for the benefit of the Church, of the exegesis of the schools to serve the exegesis of the pulpit, a principle often overlooked from a spirit of scientific superciliousness. But is scientific exegesis to govern itself from the

Practical exegesis the result of the scientific.

¹ So Lücke also speaks of a mental disposition on the part of the exegete to *immerse* himself in, and to *emerge* from, the spirit of the work he seeks to explain Comp. Herm. Schultz, *Über doppelt., Schriftsinn*, (Stud. u. Krit., 1866, 1, p. 37).

² Thus Luther boasts that he had read the Bible through twice a year for several years, and that he had each time beaten off a few more fruits from its branches and twigs.

³ According to Luther (comp. Lücke's Supplement to Neander in his *N. T. Hermeneutik*), or, according to Flaccius, "In order that God himself should remain the supreme Lord and Judge in all controversies and debated questions." In Pelt, p. 175.

outset by the demands of the pulpit, so as to accept from the start the idea that the interpretation which will best promote the work of edification is the true one? Or is a special kind of interpretation (with Kant'), the churchly-practical (or, in his language, the moral), to be established beside the scientific in such a way that both shall remain independent of each other? Neither of these. Practical exegesis must result from scientific, and a conscientious preacher will present no interpretation to the people which cannot be scientifically justified. Such an interpretation could lay no claim to the title "moral," but would be thoroughly immoral, like every thing that is not of the truth. The preacher should, however, bring the truth of Scripture to bear in every direction upon the religious needs of the age and congregation. He should

Process by which exegesis is made practical. eliminate, from the immediate surroundings in which it is found by the exegete, the passage of Scripture upon which his remarks are based, and without doing violence to its original meaning, should endeavor, now to generalize its teaching, and again to apply it to the most individual and special matters, so as to transform what is outwardly and historically given into a picture of inward states, and into an exponent of the present situation; for what was said to the Churches at Rome, Corinth, Philippi, etc., is still said by the Spirit to the Churches of to-day.

It would, however, be a serious confounding of different departments for scientific exegesis to apprehend the statements immediately in their subjective application to human conditions,' as

¹ *Religion innerhalb d. Grenzen d. blossen Vernunft*, Königsb., 2 ed., 1794, p. 158, sqq.; per contra, Rosenmüller's *Bemerkungen*, Erl., 1794.

² This applies especially to the Old Test., where it is the task of exegesis to apprehend the writer from out of his own age, and to comprehend even the so-called Messianic sections in their immediate historical surroundings. While it furnishes the threads which lead over into the New Test., it must yet refer their connection to other branches, and never should "Old Test. exegesis in its known scientific and artistic limitations be confounded with the retrogressive Christian inquiries which have their starting-point in the New Testament," (Umbreit, *supra*, against v. Meyer and his school). A different view in Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, p. 8: "The nature of prophecy is entirely misunderstood when its principal importance is found in the service it renders to Christianity—in which, of course, all prophecy comes to its fulfilment—by attesting its divine origin. Christianity would be in an unfortunate predicament, were it still unable to dispense with the attestation derived from the actual fulfilment of predictions, and it would be even worse for prophecy were it to remain without meaning and significance until hundreds or thousands of years should have passed away. Prophecy is designed—every other signification is secondary and subordinate to this—to open up the understanding of the *present*, its position and its duty, not only the immediate present in which it was first given, but also *every subsequent present (f)* to the extent to which the latter has substantially the same basis, the same needs, and the same task."

the preacher is authorized to apprehend them, or for the preacher to timidly content himself with the most immediate and apparent meaning of the letter.¹ The scientific expositor may likewise explain the writer to the edifying of his hearers; but this is assuredly not done by entering upon edifying observations, or by constructing a patchwork of passages taken from ancient and modern ascetics. He must rather proceed by a quiet stating and unfolding of the sense of Scripture which confines itself within self-imposed limitations, and in this he resembles and excels the mathematician, who is able, by the cogency of his proofs, even to excite the feelings of persons who attentively follow his demonstration. Hints relating to the further practical development may be given in connection with scientific exegesis,² but the practical work, in the proper sense, and for homiletical purposes, belongs to practical theology. It follows, accordingly, that interpretation, exposition, and application, reach over into a further theological field, the interpretation into history, exposition into dogmatics, and application into practical theology.

SECTION XXI.

THE METHOD OF APPLYING EXEGESIS.

In the carrying forward of exegesis it may be handled either cursorily or statedly. Both modes of instruction are to be united. The use of learned commentaries will be of real value to him only who has tried his own powers in the way of exposition; for too many aids rather confuse than guide aright, and the beginner needs to be on his guard against relying upon the authority of others as greatly as against a mistaken striving after originality. A moral and religious earnestness when approaching the holy Scriptures, and a mind decidedly devoted to the cause of the Bible and Christianity, will be the most efficient aids to preserve him from error and to secure that self-renunciation without which no work of real greatness can be accomplished.

¹ Rosenkranz, *Encycl.*, 1 ed., p. 125: "The distinction between popular and scientific exposition lies in the reference to the original limitation of the sense. The former must be governed by the principle of treating the sense of Scripture in as fruitful and manifold a way as is admissible: it may freely make every addition to the text that it will bear, avoiding only what is strained and directly perverted. The latter, on the other hand, is to ascertain the sense of Scripture which it was originally designed to bear." Comp. Vinet, *Homiletica*, pp. 146, ff., who distinguishes between amplification and paraphrase, so that the former would be suitable for practical use, but not the latter. Comp., too, Hagenbach, *Pref. to Festpredigten*, Basle, 1830, ix-xi.

² De Wette, *Prakt. Erklärung der Psalmen*.

Before entering upon theology the student should have read his Bible through many times, and especially the New Testament, while the more important parts should have been perused in the original. Private reading should be also regularly continued while the course of theological study is pursued; for we are to live in the Scripture, as it were to arise and lie down in it. Thus only can we receive living impressions from it; while if it be regarded solely as the object of purely scientific inquiry it will remain external to our minds, and not be inwardly assimilated with our being. Let, furthermore, the thought be banished, that it is necessary from the beginning to intrench one's self behind a wall of commentaries. This has the appearance of greater thoroughness than is warranted by the truth, and it often becomes impossible to see the forest because of the mass of trees. It is better to practice the *writing of translations* of the section to be explained, and it may be well even for instructors to precede or follow their expositions with an English or Latin translation. The latter will be more suitable in proportion as the version partakes of the nature of a paraphrase, the former (*i. e.*, the writing by the student,) as it is confined to a mere verbal rendering, which itself needs further explanation. It will be also useful to look up and compare the parallels adduced in connection with the lecture, and carefully to compare the quotations in the New Testament from the Old with the original and the LXX. before entering upon the use of commentaries. It is a grave error to suppose that the task of exegesis is confined to the selection of one from among the different versions which already exist, rather than to engaging in personal investigation and examining with an independent eye.¹

When, however, additional helps are employed it will still be advantageous to consult those chiefly which, after the manner of the scholiasts, afford grammatical and historical aid (Schoettgen, Lightfoot, Grotius, Wolf, Bengel), and only subordinately those which develop the writer's train of thought in his peculiar fashion.² The latter should form the

¹ In harmony with this, Melancthon, *Postille* II, 626, already counsels, "Amate doctrinam et scripta Pauli et saepe legite; id magis proderit, quam si legatis magnos acervos commentariorum. Qui ordinem observat in Epistolis Pauli et saepe relegit, plus discit, quam qui multos evolvit commentarios." Gausseus, *diss.* 1, p. 26: "Atque illud est, quod soleo studiosis usque ad fastidium inculcare, ut ad commentarios non adeant, quin prius illis aqua haereat neque ultra possint in loci examine proprio remigio pergere."

² "Caeterum, cum commentarios dico, eos intelligo, qui scripturam brevibus ad sensum literalem accommodatis observationibus illustant; non qui occasione scrip-

crown of the industrious research. On the other hand, the false ambition to construct new and independent expositions will be less prevalent where the number already extant is not known (if known it could now excite nothing more than a desire to add another one to the many already in existence), and the confirmation given by an approved exegete, who is afterward consulted, to the results obtained by our own independent effort, will only serve to increase our satisfaction. This does not mean, however, that in every instance the support of some learned authority is necessary to warrant confidence in the explanation arrived at by independent effort; for we must, as Protestants, admit that new expositions, that is to say, such as are more thoroughly sustained by the language and historical data, are always possible, in proportion as philology and historical studies advance among us, although distrust of our own powers of observation, which cannot be too highly recommended, should lead us in such matters to apply the strictest and most searching tests. In this regard, too, a straightforward, simple disposition is often able to discover the best method.¹ Woe to him who converts the Bible into a medium for exhibiting his vanity! To him truth in its pureness will certainly not be disclosed, even though he should succeed in extracting some particulars which cover him with an ephemeral distinction. But blessed is the exegete by whose side, as by that of the picture of St. Matthew, the evangelist, the angel stands with a face of infantile innocence and unprejudiced acceptance of the truth!

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION.

Comp. Diestel, *supra*.

The exposition of the Bible, as has already (sec. xx) been remarked, was at first intended to meet a practical want. It was First exposition of the Bible wholly practical. of primary importance to master the contents of the sacred books. To settle their original form, and distinguish

turæ suas, quas locos communes vulgo vocant (ihre Dogmatik) in medium protrudunt, quibusque adeo libri sacri non tam sunt commentariorum argumentum, quam præjudiciorum loci quidam atque indices."—Gausseus 1, 1, p. 27.

¹ "Certe, quemadmodum vina, quæ sub primam calcationem molliter defluunt, sunt suaviora, quam quæ a torculari exprimuntur, quoniam hæc ex acino et cute uvæ aliquid sapiant, similiter salubres admodum et suaves sunt doctrinæ, quæ ex Scripturis leniter expressis emanant, nec ad controversias . . . trahuntur."—Baco Verul. de augmentis scientiar. IX, p. 488. Sam. Werenfels, in the Dissertation mentioned below, likewise warns against those who rather seek their argutielas, allegorielas, allusiunculas, etc., in the Scriptures than the direct and simple meaning. The simple lay-mind occasionally finds the true goal more readily than the vision of the learned exegete befogged with the vapors of the school.

the consciousness of the time of their origin from that of a later period was reserved to become the task of a subsequent reflective age. (Comp. Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 186, *sqq.*) But after the Jews, particularly those of Alexandria, became acquainted with the wisdom of the Greeks, they were, above all, concerned to show that the divine, with which they believed themselves here also to be in contact, was grounded in the Scriptures, and to discover the germs of a profound gnosis beneath its humble guise; on the other hand, their Palestinian brethren held fast to the historical interpretation. The former tendency led to the allegorical method,¹ which must be regarded as a stage in the natural development of the history of Bible exposition, rather than as the arbitrary invention of certain persons.

Rise of the allegorical method of interpretation.

When Christianity had been introduced into the world, and the prophecies and expectations of former times had thus been realized, it was natural that an age, yet wholly under the influence of the mighty impression which the appearance of Christ had left behind, should find the Messiah everywhere in the Old Testament, and should discover traces of his being in the most incidental matters. "The brighter and more glorious the light which Jesus shed over the Old Testament at large and as a whole, for the Israelites who had learned to believe in him, the more confident were they that every particular in the sacred book, however dark, would receive light from the same source." (Rothe, p. 196.) Every red cord became a type of the blood that was shed, and every thing that even remotely resembled a cross was held to prefigure the cross on Calvary. (Comp. Barnabas, Justin Martyr, *et al.*) This was the case even before Origen († A. D. 254). He was not the discoverer of the allegorical interpretation, but the first among Christians² to raise it into a canon, and to assign to it a place approved by science, beside the grammatico-historical method. The contrast between the allegorical and the grammatico-historical methods now became apparent, and Origen sought to harmonize this contrast. He taught a threefold sense in

¹ The word *ἀλληγορεῖν*, from *ἄλλο* and *ἀγορεύειν*, is found in Gal. iv, 24 (part): "The most hurtful diversion in this direction is the cabalistic interpretation, which, in the effort to find every thing in every thing, turns to particular elements and their signs." Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik*, p. 28. It likewise originated among the Jews after the captivity (the book *Sohar*), and passed over from them to the Christian world. Comp. Z. Frankel, *Einfluss d. Palæst. Exegese auf d. Alexandr. Hermeneutik*, Leips. 1861, and Hirschfeld, *Die Halachische Exegese*, Berl. 1840; *Die Hagedische Exegese*, Berl., 1847.

² Among the Jews, Philo had previously made a conscious distinction between the esoteric and the exoteric sense.

Scripture (answering to the body, soul, and spirit in man)—the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. Whatever cannot be justified by the letter, as derogatory to the honor of God and the Bible, is to be explained allegorically. The anagogical and the tropological are related to the allegorical (with reference to which further particulars are given in connection with the history of hermeneutics). This Origenistic-Alexandrian hermeneutics was opposed in the fifth century, however, by the more sober school of Antioch, whose representatives, as opposed to the fanatical Cyril, were Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, Ephraem Syrus, and Theodoret.

Origen's three-fold sense of Scripture.

The school of Antioch.

From this time the historico-theological method, which had been employed at an earlier date, however, was cultivated side by side with the allegorical. Among Latin teachers Jerome and Ambrose were distinguished in exegesis; while Augustine owed his fame less to exegetical learning and precision than to the originality and depth of intellect with which he dominated his age. He, too, was partial to allegorizing, and held to a fourfold sense in Scripture. Gregory the Great († 604), the Bishop of Rome, was allied to Augustine. Independent research now gradually began to give way before the *authority of the Church*, and in proportion as people became accustomed to believe the Gospel through the Church, the traditional and churchly method of interpretation became general, and must be considered another stage in the development. Nearly all the expositors during the Middle Ages held to this method. Collections of what good things and less good things had been said by the Church teachers about the Scriptures (*σείραι, catenae patrum*)¹ constituted the generally accepted authorities; and, besides these, the mystics especially practised a fanciful allegorizing.

The exegesis of the Latin Fathers.

Middle Age exegesis.

The neglect of the study of the Bible and ignorance of the original languages deprived scholastic theology of an assured Scriptural basis. Importance attaches, however, to the Jewish Old Testament expositors in the Middle Ages, especially after the eleventh century, *e. g.*, the rabbins Jarchi, Aben Ezra, David and Moses Kimchi, Maimonides (R. Mose Ben Maimon, abbreviated Rambam), and others. Christian exegesis likewise began to appear after the study of Hebrew had been renewed among Christians through the influence of Nicholas Lyra († 1340), Laurentius Valla († 1457), and Reuchlin († 1522), and after the spread of Greek literature conse-

¹ On these exegetical collections see Herzog, *Encykl.*, iv, p. 282, *sqq.*

quent upon the capture of Constantinople (1453). The stability of a traditional and Church interpretation, and the arbitrariness of a fanciful allegorical method, were again threatened by a sober, tasteful, and philologically grounded exegesis as developed by Erasmus, which was adopted by the more intelligent minds of the century;

Effect of the
Reformation
on exegesis.

but a still broader range was given to exegesis by the Reformation. Luther directed attention to the deeper elements of the Scriptures, and prepared the way for the spiritualizing (pneumatic) mode of interpretation. His position as a translator of the Bible for the people is unique (Comp. note 9, *infra*.—*Drs. M. Lutheri exegetica opera latina*, curaverunt J. M. Irmischer et Hy. Schmidt, vol. xxii, Francof., 1860); but it should be remembered that he was aided by the more exact linguistic learning of Melancthon and others. Zwingle, whose classical training was of great value to him, proceeded with a more measured pace; but Calvin (see Tholuck, *Verm. Schriften*, part 2) was distinguished above all others for exegetical keenness and precision. His pupil, Theodore Beza, proved a not unworthy associate in this work.

The study of the Holy Scriptures was prosecuted, upon the whole, more generally in the Reformed Church than in the Lutheran, the latter giving larger attention to systematic theology; and Lutheran exegesis, moreover, again became dependent on the confessional teaching of the Church, thereby contradicting the principles of Protestantism; "for it is a fundamental proposition in the writings of the reformers that the interpretation of the Scriptures is independent of the dictum of the Church and of all human authority whatsoever." (Clausen, *Hermeneutik*, p. 230.) The orthodoxy of the Reformed Churches likewise was exposed to the danger of establishing a

The Remonstrants—Grotius.

settled exegesis; but the Remonstrants (Arminians) who had come out of the Reformed Church, and among them especially Grotius, advocated the grammatico-historical principle, though often with a regard for facts that was but one sided. In opposition to that principle Cocceius defended the doctrine that a pregnant meaning lies everywhere in the Scriptures, which was applied with special fulness in the search for Messianic features in the Old Testament. Sam. Werenfels, on the other hand, developed very sound hermeneutical principles in his

Ernesti, the restorer of sound exegesis.

work *De scopo interpretis*, printed in the *Opuscula*. Ernesti († 1781) is regarded in the German Lutheran Church as the restorer of a grammatical and historical method of interpretation, independent of dogmatics. The adher-

ents of this method continually increased in numbers; it recommended itself to the spirit of the times, which yearned for emancipation from the yoke of orthodoxy. That spirit itself, however, succeeded only too speedily in enlisting the services of exegesis in its own behalf, and proceeded to vaunt its expositions as timely in proportion to their shallowness. Neology

Rise of neological exegesis.

—whether because it retained a remnant of respect for the authority of Holy Scripture, or because of fraudulent intentions—had long accustomed itself to find its system taught in the Bible. Miracles and mysteries, a number of which had been unnecessarily explained *into* the Bible by a former age, were now explained *out* of it and interpreted away by every conceivable art, often in opposition to the most explicit language. The rationalists were not alone liable to this charge, however, for the supernaturalists, acting in the interests of apologetics, understood how to fit much of the Bible to their views, and in point of fact taught the rationalists this lesson (false and impracticable attempts at constructing harmonies).

Kant endeavoured to restrain such indecorous behaviour by severing scientific (theological) from practical (ethical) interpretation. The Church, however, could

Kant's separation of dogmatic from ethical exegesis.

not long support this unnatural separation, which, as has already been observed, even depends upon an immoral principle. The age strove to effect a reconciliation between science and life. The rationalistic school was purged by the influence of thorough exegetical studies, and the loose methods of procedure in vogue were ended by a thorough philological discipline, such as De Wette and Gesenius introduced in the Old Testament field, and Winer in the New. The conflict of

Rise of the school of De Wette and Gesenius.

parties was relegated to the domain of dogmatics and the philosophy of religion, and the territory occupied by exegesis became neutral ground. The neutrality could not, however, be observed with entire strictness, for reasons developed above. The orthodox party again directed attention to the underlying sense of Scripture, which was not, however, to be ascertained by the setting aside of grammatical and historical facts, but by ascending to a loftier and more far reaching point of view. A glance over the exegetical literature of the most recent decades will, in fact, reveal a gratifying progress in this regard, even though there has been no lack of errors and deplorable lapses into the devious courses of former times.¹

¹See articles on Interpretation in Kitto's Cyclopædia, and the Biblical and Theological Cyclopædia of M'Clintock and Strong; also title "Interpretation," in Index of the Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 116.

COMMENTARIES.

ON THE ENTIRE BIBLE.

- * Ch. K. Josias Bunsen, Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde (Part 1. The Bible, translation and exposition; Part 2. Bible records; Part 3. History of the Bible). 9 vols. Lpz., 1858-70. (Comp. Bähring, Bunsen's Bibelwerk nach seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart beleuchtet, Lpz., 1861). 2d ed. Lpz., 1870.

α. ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

- * Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handb. zum A. T. Lpz., 1841 ff. (No. 1. the Minor Prophets, by Hitzig. 2d ed., 1852. 3d ed., 1863. 2. Job, by Hirzel. 2d ed., by Olshausen, 1852. 3d ed., by Dillmann, 1869. 3. Jeremiah, by Hitzig, 1841? 2d ed., 1866. 4. Samuel, by Thenius, 1842. 2d ed., 1864. 5. The Prophet Isaiah, by Knobel, 3d ed., 1861. 4th ed., by L. Diestel, 1872. 6. Judges and Ruth, by Bertheau, 1845. 7. Proverbs, by Bertheau, and Ecclesiastes, by Hitzig, 1847. 8. Ezechiel, by Hitzig, 1847. 9. Kings, by Thenius, 1849. 2d ed., 1873. 10. Daniel, by Hitzig, 1850. 11. Genesis, by Knobel, 2d ed., 1860. 3d ed., by Dillmann, 1875. 12. Exodus and Leviticus, by Knobel, 1857. 13. Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, by Knobel, 1861. 14. Psalms, by Olshausen, 1853. 15. Chronicles, by Bertheau, 1854, 2 Aufl., 1873. 16. Solomon's Song, by Hitzig, and Lamentations, by Thenius, 1855. 17. Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, by Bertheau, 1862.)
- C. F. Keil and Fz. Delitzsch, Biblischer Commentar über das A. T. I, II, 3; III, 1, 4; IV, 1, 2. Lpz., 1863-1873.

β. ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- J. Ch. Wolf, Curae philologicae et criticae. Hamb., 1741. 5 voll. 4. (Hamb. 1725-41.) Basel, 1741. 5 vols.
- * J. A. Bengel, Gnomon N. T. Tub., 1742-49, 1773. 4. 3d ed., by Steudel. Tüb., 1855. Stuttg., 1860. 2 Bde.
- J. G. Rosenmueller, Scholia in N. T. Norimb., Ed. 1-4, 1777-94; ed. 5, 1801-7, 5 voll.; ed. 6, 1815-31.
- J. J. Stoltz, Erläuterungen zum N. T. für geübte und gebildete Leser. Hannov. Nos. 1-4. 1st and 2d eds., 1796-1800. 3d ed., 1806-9. Nos. 5, 6. (1799-1801.) 1802.
- J. B. Koppe, N. T. graece, perpetua annotatione illustratum. Gott., 1810-32, 1809-28. Various editions, 10 vols. The whole unfinished, confused in arrangement, and by different authors: Heinrichs, Ammon, Pott, Tychsen.
- H. Olshausen, biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des N. T. Fortgea., von Ebrard und Wiesinger. Königsb., 1830-62. I, II, 1-3; III, IV, V, 1, 2; VI, 1-4; and VII.
- * Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handb. zum N. T. von W. M. L. de Wette. Lpz., 1836-48. 3 Bde. in 11 parts.
- * H. A. W. Meyer, Das N. T. griechisch, nach den besten Hülfsmitteln krit. revidirt, mit einer neuen deutschen Uebersetzung u. einem krit. u. exeget. Commentar. Gött., 1832. ff.
- C. G. Theile, Commentarius in N. T. (vol. xviii: Epist. Jacobi; vol. xiii: [auct. Hölemann] Epist. ad Phillipp.) Lips., 1833, 1839.
- J. Ch. K. v. Hofmann, Die h. Schrift des N. T. zusammenhängend untersucht. Nördlingen, 1862 ff.

Y. COMMENTARIES ON PARTICULAR BOOKS (selected).

1. *Old Testament.*

1) Historical Books.

Pentateuch: Vater (1802-5. 3 Bde.). Ranke (1834-40. 2 Bde.). Herheimer (1853-54. 3d ed., 1865). Baumgarten (1843, 2 vols.). Stähelin (1843). Hengstenberg, die Authentie des Pent. (2 vols., 1836, 1839). Graf, die Geschichtl. Bücher des A. T. (1866). De Lagarde, Materialien zur Krit. u. Geschichte d. Pent. (1867). Nöldeke, Untersuchung zur Krit. des A. T. (1869). Kayser, das vorrexil. Buch der Urgeschichte Israels (1874). Wellhausen, die Composition des Hexateuchs, (Jahrbuch. für deutsche Theol., 1876). A. Kuenen, (in the holl. theol. Tijdschr., 1877). Ryssel (1878). König (1879).

Genesis: Schumann (1829). v. Bohlen (1835). Theile (1836). Critical: Hengstenberg, (die Echtheit des Pent., 1836-39). Bleek, v. Bohlen, (in the Commentary). Bertheau, (die 7 Gruppen mos. Gesetze, Gött., 1840). Stähelin (1830, 1843). Hupfeld (1853). Böhmer (1860-62). Schrader, Studien zur Krit. u. erkl. der bibl. Urgesch. (1863). Ewald (in the Einl. zur Gesch. des Volks Israel). Lengerke (in Kenaan). Calvin (ed. Hengstenberg, 1838). * Tuch (1838, 2d ed., by Arnold and Merx, 1871). Kurtz (1846). Sörensen (1851). * Knobel (1852; 2d ed., 1860). * Delitzsch (1851; 2d ed., 1853; 4th ed., 1872). Hupfeld (1853); in Lange's Bibelwerk (1864).

Deuteronomy: Schultz (1859). Kleinert (1872). Riehm, die Gesetzg. Mosis im Lande, Moab (1854). Joshua: Maurer (1834). Keil (1847). Critical: Hauff (1843). Judges: Studer (1835). Bertheau (1845). Bachmann (1866). Ruth: Maurer, Bertheau (1845). 1st and 2d Samuel: Maurer and * Thenius (1842). Kings: Thenius (1849).

Chronicles. Critical: Gramberg (1823). † Movers (1834). Bertheau (1854). De Wette, Beitr. zur Einl., 1., 1806; Keil, 1833; Movers, 1834.

On the remaining historical books comp. Winer, Handbuch der Lit., p. 202, und Pelt, p. 196.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther: Neteler (1877). Esther: Cassel (1878).

2) Poetical Books.

Luther's Psalmenauslegung. A Commentary on the poetical books of the O. T., by Eberle. Stuttg., 1874-79. 3 vols.

* Ewald, Die poetischen Bücher des A. T. 4 Bde. (Part 1: General matter; new ed., 1866. Part 2: Psalms; 3d ed., 1866. Part 3: Job; 2d ed., 1867. Part 4: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and additions). Gött., 1839. (New ed. entitled "Die Dichter des alten Bundes." Gött., 1854. 2d ed., 1866-67).

Psalmen: Lutheri scholiae ineditae ed. Seidemann (1876). De Wette (4th ed., 1836, with translation; 5th ed., by G. Baur, 1856). Hitzig (1835; Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt; 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1863-65). Köster (1837). Tholuck (1843; 2d ed., 1873). Vaihinger (1845; 2. Aufl., 1856). Lengerke (1847). Aigner (1805). Hengstenberg (2. Aufl., 1850-52, 4 Bde.). Ewald (see above). Olshausen (1853). Hupfeld (4 Bde., 1855-62; 2d ed., 1867-71, von Riehm). De Mestral (Tom. I, French, 1856). † Reinke (1857; 1. Die messianischen Psalmen; 2. 1858). Delitzsch (1859-60, 2 Bde.; new ed., 1867). Böhl (12 messianische Psalmen, 1862).

Job: Schultens (1737, 1748). Umbreit (2d ed., 1832). Hitzig (1874). Zschokke (1875). Ewald (see above). Practical: Tholuck (1843). * Hirzel (1839; 2d ed., by Olshausen, 1852). Vaihinger (1842; 2d ed., 1856). Stickel (1842). Hosse (1859).

* Schlottmann (1851). Magnus (1852). Hahn (1851). Metrical version, by Spiess

- (1852). Hengstenberg (1856; a discourse). Elster (1858). Rohling (1879). Ebrard (1858). Berkholz (1859). * Merx (1871). Zachokke (1875). Hansen (1877). Kemmler (1877). Rogge, (1877). Critical: Budde (1876). Proverbs: Kleuker (Salom. Schriften, 1777-85; 3 Bde.). Umbreit (1826). Schultze (1748). Gramberg (1828). Löwenstein (1838). Stier (1849-50). Bertheau (1847). Delitzsch (1873). Ecclesiastes: Umbreit (1818). Kleinert (1864). Bloch (1872). Veith (Koh. u. Hohes Lied, 1877). Kaiser (1823). Knobel (1836). Ewald (see above). Hitzig (1847). Elster (1855). Wangemann (1857; practical). Hengstenberg (1859). Hahn (1860). Canticles: Hengstenberg (1853). Meyer (1854). Friedrich (1855). Hitzig (1855). Hölemann ("Die Krone des hohen Liedes," 1859). * Translation, by Th. Hirzel (1840-50). E. Renan (Par., 1860). Friedlander (1867). Altschul (1874). Sachse (1875). Schäfer (1876). Kämpf (1877).

3) Prophetical Books.

- Translations and introduction by Eichhorn (1816-19, 3. Bde.) by Fr. Rückert (1831, 1. Bd.). * Ewald, Die Propheten des A. T. (1840-41, 2. Bde. 2d ed., 3 vols., 1867). * Hitzig, Die Prophetischen Bücher des A. T. (Translation.) Lpz., 1854. * Praktischer Commentar über die Propheten d. A. T., by Umbreit. (1st vol., Iesaiah, 1842; 2d ed., 1846. 2d vol., Jeremiah, 1842. 3d vol., Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets (To Jes., Jer., Ez.), by Le Hir. (Par., 1877). Iesaiah: Gesenius (1821; trans. 2d ed. 1829). Hitzig (1833). Knobel (2d ed., 1854; 3d ed., 1861). Hendewerk (1838-43, 2 vol). Drechsler (3 parts, 1844-57; Vol. II, 2; and III, by Delitzsch and Hahn; vol. I in 2d ed., 1865). Critical: Möller (1825). Kleinert (1829, against Gesenius). Hengstenberg (Christologie des A. T. comp. lit. on § 62). Stähelin (Stud. und Krit., 1831, 3). Hävernick (in Introduction). Caspari (jesaianische Studien, in the Zeitschr. of Rudelbach and Guericke, 1848, 2.) † Schegg (1850, 2 Bde.). Meier (1st Part, 1850). Stier (Jes. 44-66, kein Pseudo-Jes., 1850-51). Eljakim (Visions d'Esaié, 1854; French metrical version, with exposition). † G. Mayer (1860). Delitsch (1866; 2d ed., 1869). Jeremiah: Hitzig (1841; 2d Aufl., 1866). * Umbreit (Prakt. Commentar, see above). Nägelsbach (1850). Neumann (2 Bde., 1856-58). Graf (1862 and 1863). Scholz (der masor. Text u. die LXX-Übersetzung des B. Jer., 1875). Lamentations: Hetzel (1854). Thenius (1855). Engelhardt (1867). Gerlach (1868). Ezekiel: Hävernick (1843). Hitzig (1847). Kliefoth (1864-65). Hengstenberg (1867). Daniel: Bertholdt (1806-8, 2 Bde.). Hävernick (1832). Lengerke (1835). Hitzig (1850). Auberlen (1854, having reference to the Apocalypse; 2d ed., 1856). Kranichfeld (1868). Füller (1868). Mayer (1866). Kliefoth (1868). Critical: Zündel (1861). Hilgenfeld (Ezra und Daniel, 1868). Caspari (1869). Rohling (1877). Doprez (Dan. and John, 1879). The Minor Prophets: * Theiner (1828). † Ackerman (1839). Hitzig (2d ed., 1852; 3d ed., 1863). † Schegg (1854). Schröder (Part I, 1829). Schlier (2d ed., 1876). Hosea: Böckel (1807). Stuck (1828). Krappe (1836). De Wette (Stud. und Krit., 1832, 4). Simson (1851). Kurtz (über Hos. I-III, 1859). Wünsche (1867-8). Joel: Credner (1831). Meier (1841). Wünsche (1872). Karle (1877). Merx (1879). Amos: Vater (1810). G. Baur (1847). Obadiah: Hendewerk (1836). Caspari (1842). Jonah: Krahmer (1839). Jäger (1840). Kaulen (1862). Micah: Caspari (1852). Reinke (1874). Nahum: Höleman (1842). Strauss (1853). Habakkuk: Baumlein (1840). Delitzsch (1854). † Gumpach (1860). Reinke

(1870). Haggai: Scheibel (1822). Köhler (1860). Reinke (1868). Zechariah: Baumgarten ("Nachtgesichte," 1854-55; new ed., 1858). Neumann (1860). Kliefoth (1862). Bradenkamp (1879). Critical: Ortenberg (1859). Malachi: † Reinke (1856). Köhler (1865).

2. *New Testament.*

1) Historical Books (Gospels and Acts of the Apostles).

- Ewald, Die drei ersten Evangelien, übersetzt und erklärt. Gött., 1850. New ed. entitled: Die drei ersten Evangelien und die Apostelgeschichte, 2 vols., 1871-2.
- Baumgarten-Crusius, Exeget. Schriften zum N. T. Part I: Matth., Mark, Luc; published by Otto, Jena, (1844).
- * Fr. Bleek, Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien, publ. by Heinr. Holtzmann, Lpz., 1862, 2 vols.
- Scholten, Das älteste Evangelium. Kritische Untersuchung, etc., der Evangelien nach Matthäus und Marcus. Transl. from the Dutch. Elberfeld, 1869.
- K. Wieseler, Beitr. zur richt. Würdig der Evv. und der evang. Geschichte. Gotha (1869).
- Matthew (comp. above): † Mayer (1818). † Gratz (1821, 1823). * Baumgarten-Crusius (publ. by Otto, 1844). Critical: Sieffert (1832). Klenert (1832). Olshausen (1835; new ed. by Ebrard, 1858). Näbe (1837). Asmann (1874). B. Weiss (Matth. u. Lucasparal, 1876). Wiehelhaus (publ. by Zahn, 1876). Keil (1877). Zittel (Matth. u. Marc., 1880). Pract.: Dieffenbach (1876). Sommer (1877), and others. Comp. Baur, über die sämtlichen Evangelien. Tüb., 1847. Wilke, der Urevangelist. Lpz., 1838. G. Müller, die Entst. der 4 Evv. u. der Br. des Ap. Paulus. 2d ed., Berlin, 1877. G. Meyer, la question synoptique. Par., 1878. Pierre Victor, les evangiles et l'histoire. Paris, 1879.
- Mark: Keil (Mark u. Luc., 1879). Critical: Saunier (1825). Knobel (1831). Wilke (1837). Hilgenfeld (1850). Baur (1851). Klostermann (1867). † Schegg (2 Bde., 1869-70). Volkmar (1870). Weiss (1872).
- Luke: Bornemann (Scholia, 1830). Critical: Schleiermacher (1817, and in Sämtlichen Werken), and in opposition, H. Planck (1819), † Schegg (3 Bde., 1861-65). Godet (French, 1871; German, 1862). Critical: Scholten (Het Paulinisch evangelie. Leiden, 1870).
- John: * Lücke (Commentar über die Schriften des Johannes; the Gospels in vols. 1 and 2; Epistles, vol. 3; 3d ed., 1856; Apokalypse, Introd., vol. 4; 1, new ed., 1851-52). Tholuck (7th ed., 1857). Baumgarten-Crusius (Theol. Auslegung der Johann. Schriften, 1 Bd., Evang. Johann., 1843). † Klee (1829). Herwerden (Holland, 1851). Luthardt (1852 f., 2 parts; 2d ed., 1875). Hengstenberg (1861 f., 2 parts). Ewald (1861 ff., 3 vols.) Baumlein (1863). Godet (French, 1864 f., 2 vols.; 2d ed., 1876 f.; German, 1869; 2d ed., 1876-78). † Haneberg (publ. by Schegg, 1878).
- Acts of the Apostles: Heinrichs (N. T. Koppl., vol. III). Hildebrand (1824). Bornemann (1848). Beelen (3 Tom., Lovan, 1850 f.). Stern (1872). Andreä (1876 f., 2 parts). Schneckenburger (1841). Schwanbeck (1847). Baumgarten (1851-52, 2 Bde., 2d ed., 1859). Lekebusch (1854). Zeller (1854). Trip (1866). † König (1867). Oertel (1868).

2) Pauline Epistles, and Epistle to the Hebrews.

J. Calvin, Commentarii in omnes Pauli Ap. epp. atque in ep. ad Hebraeos, ad ed. R. Steph., accuratissime exscripti; ed. A. Tholuck. Hal., 1831. 2 voll.

- J. Calvin, *Commentarii in epistolas N. T. catholicas*, ad ed. R. Steph., accuratissime exscr.; ed. A. Tholuck. Hal., 1832.
- Baumgarten-Crusius, *Exeget. Schriften zum N. T.*, vol. II (Rom., Gal., published by Kimmel, 1844 ff.). Vol. II, (Eph., Col., Philippians, Thess.; published by Kimmel and Schauer, 1845-48).
- Epistle to the Romans:¹¹ Tholuck (1824, 1828, 1831; 5th ed., 1856; with the resultant dispute with Fritzsche). Flatt (Tüb., 1825). † Klee (1830). Benecke (1831). Rückert (1831-39). Reiche (1833-34, 2 Bde.). Glöckler (1834). Köllner (1834). Nielsen (1841; German by Michelsen, 1834). † Stengel (publ. by Beck, 1836-46). Fritzsche (1836-43, 3 Bde.). Krehl (1845). Philippi (1848; 2d ed., 1856; 3d ed., 1866). Steinhofner (publ. by Bock, 1851). Bisping (1855). Van Hengel (1854, 1859). Umbreit (on the basis of the O. T., 1856). Th. Schott (1858). F. G. Jatho (2 Bde., 1858-59). Critical: Mangold (1866). Hebrew Version, by Delitzsch (1870). Diedrich (1873). Manoury (French; Paris, 1878). Godet (French, I, Paris, 1879). Rugge Holl., Römer und Cor., 1879).
- Epistle to the Corinthians: Neander (Ed. by Beyschlag, 1859). Burger (2d Epistle 1859-60). Comp. Bleek, in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1830-33, and Goldhorn in *Illgens Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1840-42. On the 1st and 2d Epistle: Oslander (Stuttg., 1847 u. 1858). Van Hengel (1 Cor. xv; 1851). A. Maier (1857-65). Klöppel (exeg. Krit. Untersuchung, on the 2d Epistle, 1869).
- Epistle to the Galatians: Schott (1834; with Thessalonians; see above). Fritzsche (on single passages; 1833-34). Hermann (do., 1834; comp. Schulthess, 1835). Möller (1830, Danish). † Windischmann (1844). Hilgenfeld (1851). Müller (1853, 1861). Jatho (1856). Wieseler (1859). Matthias (1865). Reithmayr (1865). Vömel (1866). Brandes (1869; New Titelausg., 1871).
- Ephesians: Harless (1834; 2d ed., 1858). Matthias (1834). Rückert (1834). Baumgarten-Crusius (1847). Stier (1848). Auszng. (1859). Schenkel (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1862; 2d ed., 1867). Bleek (publ. by Nitzsch, 1865). Ewald (Sieben Sendschreiben des N. B., 1870). Ernst (pract., 1877). Hahn (1878). Holtzmann (critical, 1872). Koster (Holl., 1877). Luther's *Exegesis*, by Eberle (1878).
- Philippians: Rheinwald (1827). Flatt (Phil., Col., Thess., Philem., 1829). Matthias (1835). Van Hengel (1838). Rilliet (Genève, 1841). Hölemann (1839; comp. above). Baumgarten-Crusius (publ. by Schauer, 1848). Brückner (1848). Wiesinger (Olshausen, v, 1, 1850). Weiss (1859). Schenkel (ubi supra). Jatho (1857).
- Colossians: Junker (1828). Bähr (1833). Böhmer (Theol. Auslegung, 1835; Isagoge, 1829). Steiger (1835). Huther (1841). Dalmer (1858). Critical: Meyerhoff (1838). Schenkel, ubi supra. Bleek (publ. by F. Nitzsch, 1865). Thomasius (Practische Auslegung, 1869). Holtzmann (critical, 1872; see above to Ephesians).
- Thessalonians: Schott (comp. Galatians). Pelt (1830). Baumgarten-Crusius (see Philippians). Koch (1849). Lünemann (see above). Auberlen und Riggenbach (see above, Lange's *Bibelwerk*).
- Pastoral Epistles: Heydenreich (1826-28; 2 Bde.). Flatt (1837). Matthias (1840). † Mack (1836, 1841). Leo (on 1st and 2d Tim., 1837; 1850). Huther (1850). Wiesinger (1850). Ewald (Sieben Sendschreiben des N. B., 1870). Plitt (Practische Ausleg., 1872). Bahnsen (2 Tim., 1876). Beck (2 Tim.; publ. by Lindemeyer, 1879). Holtzmann (1880). Critical: Eichhorn (Einleit. ins N. T.). Schleiermacher (against the authenticity of 1 Tim., 1807; per contra: Planck, 1808, und Wegscheider, 1810). Ferd. Baur (1835; denying authenticity in general). Defenders: Baumgarten (1837), and Böttger (1838 u. 1840). Baur in reply in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift*. Comp. Lücke in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1830; 2 S., 422.

- Philemon:** Schmid (1786). Hagenbach (1829), ad fidem versionum oriental. ed. Petermann (1844). Demme (1844). Koch (1845). Wiesinger (1850). Kühne (1852 and 1856, 2 vols., *Bibelstunden*.) Bleek (by F. Nitzsch, 1865).
- Hebrews:** Morus (1786). Storr (1789, 1809). Dav. Schulz (1818). Böhme (1825). * Bleek (1828-40, 3 Bde., by Windrath, 1868). Kuinöl (1831). Paulus (1833). Tholuck (3d ed., 1850). † Klee (1833). Stein (1833). Critical: † Stanglein (1835). Thiersch (1848). † Stengel (publ. by Beck, 1849). Ebrard (Olshausen, v, 2; 1850). Bisping (1854; 2d ed., 1864). Lünemann (1856; 2d ed., 1861; 3d ed., 1867). Delitzsch (1857). Riehm *Lehrbegriff*, 1858-59. Adalb. Maier (1861). Wieseler (Krit. Unters., 1861). Kluge (1863). Reuss (French, 1862). Andrea (practical, 1866). Kurtz (1869). Ewald (Hebräer und Jacobus, 1870). Stier (1842; 2 vols.). Werner (1876). Biesenthal (1878).

3) Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse.

- Augusti (Lemgo, 1801-8, 2 Bde.).** † Nickel (1852). Grashof (1880). Jachmann (1838). Pott (N. T. Koppii, vol. IX).
- Ewald (Sieben Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes. Gött., 1870. 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, Ephesians, Tim., Titus, Pastoral Epistles).**
- † Bisping, *Erklärung der sieben katholischen Briefe*. 1871.
- Epistles of St. Peter:** Steiger (1 Brief Petri, 1832). 1 and 2 Peter and Jude: Huther (1852; 2d ed., 1859; 3d ed., 1867). Critical: Mayerhoff (1835). In reply: † Windischmann (*Vindiciae Petrinae*, Ratisb., 1836). On 2d Ep. of Peter: Ullmann (1821). Dietlein (1856). Wiess (1856). Wiesinger (1862; in Olshausen). Schott (1 Petri, 1861; 2 Petri und Judä, 1863). Steinfass (2 Petri; 1863).
- Epistles of St. John:** Lücke (3d ed., 1856, by Bertheau). Paulus (Die 3 Lehrbriefe, des Joh., 1829). Rickli (Predigten über 1 Joh.; Luz., 1828). Mayer (1851). Wolf (1851). Neander (1851). Sander (1851). Düsterdieck (1852-56). Huther (1856; 2d ed., 1861, in Meyer). Erdmann (Prima Joh. ep. argument. nex. et consil. 1855). Haupt (Der Erste Brief des Johannea, Colberg, 1869). Stockmeyer (1873). Rothe (publ. by Mühlhauser, 1878).
- Epistles of James to Jude:** Herder (Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu, 1774). Scharling (1841).
- James and 1 Peter:** Hottinger (1825).
- James:** Schulthess (1825). Gebser (1828). Schneckenburger (1832). Theile (1833). Kern (1838). Jacobi (Predigten, Berl., 1835). Wiesinger (1854, in Olshausen). Huther (see above). Wold. Schmidt (Lehrgehalt, 1869). Blom (De Brief van Jacobus, critical, Dort., 1869). Ewald (Hebräer u. Jacobus, 1870). Weiffenbach (über Jac. ii, 14-26; Giessen, 1871).
- Jude:** Stier (1850). Huther (see s. v. Epistles of Peter). Arnaud (1851). † Rampf (1854).
- Apokalypse:** Tinius (1839). De Wette (1848; 2d ed., 1854; 3d ed., 1862). Hengstenberg (1849-51, 2 Bde.; 2d ed., 1861). Dressel (1850). Holzhauser (1850). Stern (1851). Ebrard (1858). Auberlen (see Daniel). Böhmer (on the date of composition, etc., 1855). Gräber (Hist. Erklärung, 1857). Stier (Reden des Herrn Jesu, etc., 1859). Düsterdieck (see above). Bleek (publ. by Hossbach, 1862). Volkmar (1862). Kienlen (Paris, 1870). Füller (1874). Kliefoth (1874). Harms (2d ed., 1874). Burger (1877). L'Hôte (French; Paris, 1877). London, 1879). Kratzstein (pract., 1879).

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Calvin, John. Commentaries. 45 vols. Edinburgh: Calvin Trans. Society.

Clarke, Adam. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. The Text carefully printed from the most correct Copies of the present Authorized Translation, including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes. 6 vols., 8vo, pp. 884, 829, 902, 865, 920, 1070. New York, 1832.

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Poole, Matthew. Annotations upon the Whole Bible. 8 vols., royal 8vo, pp. 1030, 1008. New York, 1880.

Whedon, D. D. A Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. Intended for Popular Use. 13 vols., 12mo. New York, 1866. (Old Testament not yet complete.)

2. *Commentaries on the Old Testament.*

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Keil, C. F., and Delitzsch, F. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. 25 vols., 8vo. Edinburgh, 1864-78.

3. *Commentaries on the New Testament.*

Alford, Henry. New Testament for English Readers; containing the Authorized Version, with a Revised English Text; Marginal References, and a Critical and Explanatory Commentary. New ed., 4 parts, or 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1868.

Barnes, Albert. Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the New Testament, Designed for Sunday-School Teachers and Bible Classes. 25th ed., revised and corrected. 11 vols., 12mo. New York, 1859.

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Doddridge, Philip. The Family Expositor; or, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament. 8vo, pp. 1242. London, 1829. New ed., 1862.

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Birks, T. R. *The Exodus of Israel. Its Difficulties Explained and its Truth Confirmed.* 8vo. 1868.

Bush, George. *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Genesis. Designed as a General Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction.* 26th ed., 2 vols., 12mo, pp. xxxv, 388, 444. New York, 1863. Also on Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, and Numbers, the whole with Genesis in 8 vols.

Jacobus, M. W. *Notes on the Book of Genesis.* 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 304, 256. New York, 1865. Also on Exodus.

Murphy, J. G. *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Genesis, with a Translation. With a Preface by J. P. Thompson, D.D.* 8vo, pp. 535. Andover, 1866. Also on Exodus, pp. 385, and Leviticus, pp. 318, both 8vo.

(b) THE POETICAL BOOKS.

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Augustine. *Exposition of the Psalms. Translated, with Notes.* 6 vols., 8vo. Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1848.

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Hibbard, F. G. *The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, with Historical Introductions.* 8vo. New York, 1856.

Noyes, G. R. *A Translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, with Explanatory Notes.* 12mo. Boston, 1846. Also a volume on the Psalms. Boston, 1876.

Perowne, J. J. Stewart. *The Book of Psalms; a New Translation, with Introduction and Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* New ed., 2 vols., 8vo. pp. 534, 477. Andover, 1876.

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(c) PROPHETICAL BOOKS.

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Bwald, Heinrich. *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Translated from the German by J. F. Smith.* 5 vols. London, 1875-81.

Fairbairn, Patrick. *Ezekiel and the Books of his Prophecy. An Exposition.* 2d ed., 8vo, pp. 512. Edinburgh, 1851.

— *Jonah: Life, Character, and Mission.* 12mo. Edinburgh, 1849.

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Moore, T. V. *The Prophets of the Restoration; or, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. A new Translation, with Notes.* 8vo, pp. vii, 408. 1856.

Pusey, E. B. *Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes.* 2d ed., 8vo, pp. 755. Oxford, 1868. Also on the Minor Prophets. 4to. Oxford, 1871.

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Wright, C. H. H. *Zechariah and his Prophecies.* 12mo, pp. lxxv, 614. Bampton Lectures for 1878. London, 1874.

II. The New Testament. —

(a) GOSPELS AND ACTS.

Alexander, Joseph Addison. *The Gospel According to Matthew, Explained.* 12mo, pp. 460. New York, 1867. Also Mark. 1 vol., 12mo. New York, 1874.

Baumgarten, M. *The Acts of the Apostles; or, The History of the Church in the Apostolic Age. From the German.* 8vo, 3 vols., pp. 457, 459, 383. Edinburgh, 1854.

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Hackett, H. B. *A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles.* New ed., revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. 480. Boston, 1866.

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CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

J. G. Dowling, *Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1838; H. J. Roysaards, *Oratio de theologia historica cum sacri codicis exegeti rite conjuncta*, Utrecht, 1837; A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History*. London, 1857.

THE scriptural material for history and doctrine, which is brought to light and restored to its pure state by exegetical theology, becomes the very foundation of historical theology. The latter includes both the biblical elements (Sacred History) and their development in the Church (Church History and History of Doctrines). It, accordingly, reaches back into exegetical theology, and forms, at the same time, the bridge for passing over into systematic theology.

In contrast with modern encyclopædists, we prefer to separate exegetical from historical theology. But this is only relative. The work of the exegete is historical in the broad sense of searching for required sources; but this is certainly a merely preliminary historical task. The exegete may be likened to the miner ^{Relations of historical and exegetical theology.} who descends the shaft in order to bring into the light of day the gold of pure scriptural truth, while the historian resembles the artificer who melts the masses down, and gives them their form and impression. The process of separating the gold from the material in which it is held, *e. g.*, the presentation of the body of doctrine apart from the ideas of the age in which it originated, is also the work of exegesis, although this constitutes the line at which exegetical theology transfers its material to historical. This, too, is the point at which the researches coincide which have generally been prosecuted in distinct and separate fields of inquiry. The exposition of the Gospels, for instance, is an exegetical, not a historical, task, while a critical representation of the life of Christ, upon the basis of the Gospel records, is a historical work, which the exegete will regard as the point at which his labours terminate. Here, as everywhere else, the one must aid the other. Historical theology extends likewise into the pre-Christian, or Old Testament, element.

Biblical archæology is an important aid to exegesis, and, at the same time, an historical science. The exegete needs it in order to understand the Bible, for which reason some acquaintance with this branch is to be required and presupposed when he enters on his work. But inasmuch as it is the task of history to represent the life and spirit of the Israelitish people, historical theology is also entitled to lay claim to the service of archæology as a product of exegesis. Disputes of this sort about boundaries may, however, be reconciled very peaceably, and serve merely to prove the elastic nature of the organism of science.¹ And while biblical archæology, separately considered, has been treated in a former section as an exegetical aid, it will, on the other hand, be proper for us to class the biblical history as a whole—which, of course, involves the archæology as well—with the general organism of historical theology.

SECTION I.

SACRED HISTORY.

Sacred history, like the Bible itself, is divided into Old and New Testament, and constitutes the point of transition from exegetical into historical theology. Hence, what has been said with regard to the Bible in general has its particular application to this subject.

This is the place for historical criticism, involving not merely the question whether the book which claims to be a source is derived from the author in whose name it appears, but also the further inquiry whether the author, known or unknown, has aimed to write actual history, and in what way he has executed his plan. The propriety of historical criticism, when applied to the books of the Bible, is, doubtless, open to graver doubts from the standpoint of supernaturalism than criticism of the text. But the necessity for it will be seen in the fact, that we must guard against its abuse by recognizing the spirit and object of the Bible history, its superhuman and divine plan, and its development under the conditions of time. He who derives his standard of measurement directly from the history of revelation itself, will naturally decide otherwise than will he who applies the foreign standard of ancient or modern wisdom.

¹ This, too, with reference to the reminders by Pelt (review of the 2d ed.) in Bruns and Häfner's *Repertorium*, xiv, 3, p. 268.

SECTION II

HISTORY OF THE ISRAELITISH NATION.

W. Hoffman, *Die göttliche Stufenordnung im A. Test.* Berl., 1854; † Gfrörer, *Urgeschichte des menschl. Geschlechts*, Schaffhausen, 1853; Pressel in *Herzog Encykl.*, xvii, p. 245, sqq., Art. Volk Gottes; J. H. Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1859; S. Sharpe, *History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature*, London, 1872; A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols., New York, 1866-77; H. H. Milman, *History of the Jews*, 3 vols., New York, 1889.

The history of the nation from which the Founder of Christianity came forth to be the Saviour of the world, is of equal value for the Christian theologian with the general study of the Old Testament. The following are the periods of principal religious importance subsequently to the primitive period—from Adam to Abraham. Periods of Hebrew history.

1. The Patriarchal Age, being the period of the earliest revelation from God—from Abraham to Moses.
2. The period of founding the theocracy and subduing the land by the theocratic leaders—from Moses to Samuel.
3. The further development of this theocracy under the law, and the theocratical institutions of the priesthood, the sovereignty, and the prophetic order, considered both in their positive and their negative features—from Samuel to Solomon, and thence to the Captivity.
4. The periods of disintegration under the influence of foreign rulers and foreign customs, and of transition to a new period during and after the Captivity.

The history of Israel, in the strict sense, begins with the head of the race, and his emigration to Canaan. But the records of pre-Abrahamic times are included, as preliminary history, within the circle of Old Testament historical studies. The difficulties touched upon in exegetical theology, with reference to the age of the historical documents that have been preserved to our time, and their trustworthiness, are also felt in the historical treatment. The principal difficulties attach to the earliest periods. We have not hesitated to designate them as the time of the earliest revelations, because we share, with Hauff,¹ the conviction, that a belief in revelation does not only admit of, but absolutely requires, criticism of the historical books of the Bible. If the divine and the human, wonderfully interpenetrating each other, impress us anywhere, it is when we are meditating upon these oldest of all histories, for whose examination we need, Difficulty connected with early period.

¹ Comp. his work, cited above, and the *Introd.*, by K. A. Menzel, to his *Staats u. Religionsgesch. der Königreiche Israel u. Juda*, Breslau, 1853, pp. 8f.

in harmony with this thought, minds open to childlike conceptions, and religiously and poetically inclined, and a judgment and understanding prepared for an unprejudiced investigation, and sometimes accessible, among other things, to historical discussion.¹ Where either of these exists alone, where we apply only the belief instilled by the lessons of childhood, and seek to retain this in its naïve directness at the cost of historic truth, or where, perverted at

the outset by the so-called modern enlightenment, we
Necessity of freedom from prejudice. approach the sacred narratives in order to exercise our

pedantic skill upon them, the result will be that our judgment will be speedily formed, since we will either literally accept every thing without examination, or reject every thing without understanding it. In no age has there been so much talk of myths as in our own. Every people, like every individual, has its childhood history, and we can no more expect to find purely historical reminiscences without the golden thread of poesy, in the primitive history of nations in general, than we can suppose that the recollections of an individual can reach back with entire accuracy into the twilight in which poetry and fact are intermingled with each other.² The important thing in this connection, is, that the ideas of legend and myth be clearly fixed. There is no need of being frightened at a word. What does *μῦθος* signify? It is applied

to narrative and legend as well as to fable and poem.
Meaning of myth.

But the ancients, already, distinguished between *logographs* and *mythographs*,³ and modern science has in like manner distinguished between historical and philosophical myths (myths proper), so as to make the former actually historical legends (*λόγοι*), even though conceived and developed in a poetic spirit, while the latter contain simply doctrines or views clothed in historic garb, or presented in the guise of history. It is a well-known fact that a

¹ Comp. Bunsen, *Gott in der Gesch.* (Part ii, *Bibel, Leben, u. Weltgeschichte*), p. 101: "I assert, that by its internal unity, and the truth of its monotheistic consciousness, this book (the Bible and its history) has controlled the consciousness of the world, including its noblest tribes, during many centuries; it has realized the noblest hopes of mankind and authenticated its holiest anticipations, such as in moments of serious consciousness you feel arising in yourself." Also Pressel, *supra*: "If the gods of heathen nations are simply the reflection of the national spirit, Israel, on the other hand, is, in its character as the *covenant people*, an organ for the erection of the kingdom of God, a product of the grace of God."

² "Go back," says Herder, "in connexion with historical writings, to the infancy of the world, to the poverty and needs of the writers. In this poor hovel God dwells; to this childhood the Father speaks." Theophron, *Werke* x, p. 317.

³ See Creuzer, *Hist. Kunst d. Griechen*, (Lpz., 1803), pp. 40 and 178, where the ancients are quoted.

controversy exists as to whether historic facts or philosophical doctrines in natural history underlie heathen mythology itself. But the same question has been raised with reference to the Bible, and we are not at liberty to set it aside without investigation. The distinction between legend and myth is important even for the Old Testament history. The former is more nearly related to actual history than the latter; for the legend, even when poetically colored, contains a historical kernel, while the kernel enclosed within the myth is always a dogma instead of history, a religious conception in historic garb. The task of the historian will, accordingly, differ as he deals with myths or with legends. In the case of the myth, it is needful, from the outset, to ignore the historical germ, in the usual acceptation of the word, and to seize upon the dogmatic germ, which, indeed, presumes a recognition of the historic state of things. In dealing with the legend, however, the attempt must be made to strip off the covering which was gradually formed about the historic germ, and to extract that germ, so far as possible, from the enveloping shell. Some critics have gone to the length of including all the older history of Israel among myths, so as to leave but little of the historical element beyond the theocratic idea that the Israelitish nation was the people of God, and was described as such in a series of symbolical images.¹ But even this extreme application of the myth idea is decidedly different from the ruthless transforming of the sacred histories into nature myths, which overlooks every religious feature, and by which we are asked, with Nork,² to find astronomical emblems; or, with Daumer and Ghilany,³ even the worship of fire and Moloch, in the purely human narratives of the Bible.

Difference between myth and legend.

Such unnatural mythologizing of history into nature, however, rectifies itself. The healthy historic spirit rejects it. But so much the more meritorious is the effort, made in the way above indicated, to distinguish between myth and legend by means of a thorough examination.⁴ If the results of such inquiries are not always at

¹ Thus de Wette, in his *Beiträge*.

² *Vergleichende Mythologie*, etc., Lpz., 1836, and several other works by this writer.

³ *Comp. Rheinwald, Repertorium*, 1844. Daumer has since done penance, however, and has "returned" into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.

⁴ George, *Mythus u. Sage*; *Vers. einer wiss. Entwicklung dieser Begriffe u. ihres Verhältnisses zum christl. Glauben*, Berlin, 1837. "Legend and myth diverge in different directions; the former gives the appearance, and from this we argue back to the idea; in the latter, on the contrary, the idea is given, and the appearance is deduced therefrom." P. 11. On the distinction in certain cases, which is none the less relative only, and on the difficulty of always determining the character of a nar-

once apparent, they yet lead into the right way, and toward the ultimate goal. It is not necessary that we should at once think of fraud and deceit when poetry, especially of a religious sort, is mentioned. This is possible only to a worldly-wise, petrified understanding, which is incapable of suspecting the existence of any higher form of truth in poetry, while it is the special work of the latter to represent, if not bare and tangible realities, yet the highest form of truth.¹ However, the greatest prudence is necessary, on the other hand, and it is a question whether the word "myth," which always has a reference to the point of view occupied by heathenism, ought to have been transferred at all to the territory of the Bible.² The theological standpoint is that which regards the Bible narratives as sacred history, as compared with profane. Every thing contained therein, whether it be poetry, tradition, or actual history, relates to a single grand idea, which creatively controls the whole, but which does not remain merely an abstract theory, but moves through this history and biblical narrative, comes concrete in it, celebrating its consummation at the end in the Revelations of the New Covenant. The student who overlooks this feature misconceives the fundamental character of the history, whose peculiarity lies in the fact that this is not history, whose limitations are fixed by its own nature, but, as one writer beautifully observes,³ it is "the history of God from a human point

rative, comp. *ibid.*, pp. 13, 14. With reference to the New Test., see O. Bagge, *Princip. des Mythos im Dienst d. christl. Position*, Lpz., 1865; comp. also Immer, *infra*, p. 24: "Myth and legend, often passing over into each other, have this in common, that both have sprung from the unintentionally poetizing spirit of the people, and contain, in confused mixture, both idea and history. If the two are to be distinguished from each other, the myth will designate an idea that has become embodied history in the mouth of the people, and legend a history which has become involved with ideal elements in the fancy and traditions of the people."

¹ "The idea of the unconscious (naïve) must necessarily be retained, unless it is desired to wholly abandon the ground of myths and legends." It is by this feature that that field is distinguished from that of "intentional deception and fiction." George, *supra*, p. 15; comp. also Hauff in the work referred to above, *passim*. It is, however, apparent that the highest, i. e., the essentially religious, ideas, are represented precisely by myths (in case the designation be adopted), while the purely historical can claim to be religiously significant only in a secondary way. Comp. Genesis with the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Which is the more distinctively religious?

² Comp. Schenkel, *Dogm.*, i, p. 307, *sq.* (referring to Ewald). A similar idea holds true of the word *oracle* as applied to the prophets. The phrase "scriptural myth" has also been suggested, in order to avoid the analogy of the heathen myth.

³ J. G. Mueller, *Theophil.*, p. 246. Augusti, too, was accustomed to describe Israelitish history as an *ἡραξ λεγόμενον* in the history of the world. Hegel entertained different views of Jewish history at different times, as may be seen in Rosenkranz,

of view, and the history of man from the divine point of view." It accords, upon the whole, with the laws of human development, that the earlier history of a people should bear a partly legendary and partly mythical, or epical, character, to a greater extent than the later, which falls within the province of historical writings proper.

The old economical and pedagogical idea, according to which God condescended to the level of human ideas, and entered into the childish apprehensions of men, in order to attract them to himself, needs only to be rendered scientifically intelligible, from a genuinely theistic point of view, in order to approve itself as the only tenable one in the practical field. This by no means excludes a true pragmatism, which takes the human element into account, and treats it with due historical recognition of its importance, but simply provides for it a proper basis and the necessary higher aims.

LITERATURE.

I. EARLY HISTORY.

The sources for Israelitish history are the historical books of the Bible, including the historical Apocrypha. For the post-exilian period the First Book of Maccabees is especially important. In addition, we have Josephus (comp. Archæology), who is a valuable authority for the period extending from the close of that covered by biblical sources down to his own time. Philo's Life of Moses has little historical value, because of its allegorical tendency. Among non-Jewish writers, the Grecian authors Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, and the Romans Justin and Tacitus,¹ deserve mention; also the Egyptian Manetho (B. C. 280?), whom Josephus cites and controverts, and upon whose existence and trustworthiness opinions are still divided. Eusebius, among the Christian fathers, treated Israelitish history, in the first books of his Ecclesiastical History and the Præp. Evangelica, and others followed in his footsteps. A critical treatment was inconceivable in connection with the theory of an exact and minute verbal inspiration, and was first introduced by Spinoza (Tractatus theologico-politicus), Richard Simon, Clericus, and others. There are other works, more or less critical and pragmatical, by Buddæus (1726), Humphrey Prideaux (1715, 1718), Shuckford (1728-38), Holberg (1747), and Lange (1775), being supplemented in later times by the following :

Leben Hegels, p. 49, where it will also appear how "it violently repelled him, and again engrossed him, and gave him life-long trouble as a dark riddle" (1).

¹ Comp. J. G. Mueller in Stud. u. Krit., 1843, and F. O. Meier, *Judaica seu veterum scriptorum profanorum de rebus judaicis fragmenta*, Jena, 1832.

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SECTION III.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

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The life of Christ, as the Son of God, is to be regarded as the central glory of Scripture history, in which all the rays of former historical manifestations of God are concentrated, and from which they again radiate, to extend over the whole history of the Church.

Christ's life the
centre of his-
tory.

Should the life of Christ be regarded as a special branch in the course of theological science? Should it not, rather, shine forth from all the other branches? It results from the exegesis of the Gospels, stands at the head of Church History, and is the very soul of apologetics, dogmatics, ethics, and practical theology.¹ But for this very reason, it is essential that we gain as satisfactory a view of this life as possible. This involves grave difficulties, of course; for the Gospels do not furnish, as is conceded by the most evangel-

¹ "The life of Jesus is the central point of a newly rising light for the history of Christianity." Ammon, *Fortbildung d. Christenthums zur Weltreligion*, I, p. 183. "The life of Jesus reconciles all the interests of speculation, the religious feeling and history. It presents to our notice a personality, for the possession of which heaven and earth are in dispute, but which may not be exclusively assigned to either; which consists of fragments and elements which are transmitted to us by tradition and documentary records, and which, nevertheless, cannot be made to fit into our moulds; which is conceived as the type of every human being, and yet appears under circumstances and in situations such as ours are not now and never can be." *Ibid.*, iv, p. 277 sq. "The life of Jesus is a biography which flows out, as does no other, into a large and extended history of nations and even of the world. It describes an individual life, but the life of a character who is, antecedently, in the exaltation of his self-consciousness and in his spiritual might, a symptom of the world's history, and truly a new stage in the development of the human spirit, and who, in the next place, be-

ical scholars,¹ a minute and complete biography, but only *memorabilia* (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*), which, moreover, while partially coincident, yet diverge from each other in their relations and points of view. John, the most confidential friend of Jesus, said at last: "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." Hence it becomes necessary to subject the Gospel narratives to criticism, as a preliminary measure. Here, again, exegetical and philological criticism turns over its work to the investigations of historical criticism. The former deals only with the authenticity of the Gospel records, as belonging to the canon, and with their relation to each other, while the latter inquires into the credibility of the sacred writers themselves. There is no ground for alarm at such criticism, since, by the judgment of strictly orthodox theologians, both these writings and their contents fall within the range of the same historical criticism to which all historical monuments are subject.² It may even be admitted that discrepancies occur in the Gospels, but that does not necessitate the conclusion that the Gospel, as a whole, contradicts itself. It would therefore be, not piety, but frivolous opposition to God's order, to

Negative criticism no ground for alarm.

came, by the labors of a brief career, the creator of a new and higher cosmos, whose world days are to be reckoned by thousands of years, and are to be measured by the circumference of the earth." Keim, *Gesch. Jesu v. Nazara*, I, p. 1, and the passage from Origen, *De princ.*, 4, 5, quoted there.

¹ By Hess, for instance, in the *Leben Jesu*.

² Ebrard, *Kritik d. evang. Geschichte*, I, p. 2: "It follows, from the nature of the case, that a photographic picture of the Saviour could not be given at all; for a perfect representation of the Saviour in a single picture was impossible, in view of his universal character and the unavoidable narrowness with which he would be apprehended by the consciousness of a single observer, and, consequently, in the representation of a single writer. The entire Christ could only be presented to view by a number of descriptive pictures, the whole combined so as to oblige the observer to view them as a unit. God would not deprive us of this combined view. That is to say, he would not take from us the personal, scientific reconstruction of his image, upon the basis of a historical investigation of the several representations of Christ which are contained in the New Testament. The application of historical criticism to the Bible is certainly an infinitely complicated and wearisome task, and one that can ever be only approximately completed. But much has been gained when the task has been definitely devolved upon, and honestly recognized by, theology, in the spirit of renouncing all unbelieving fear." Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 308 sq. Comp. also Immer, *Die Geschichts-quellen des Lebens Jesu* (Lecture at Berne) in the *Prot. Vorträge*, V, 7, Berlin, 1873, p. 28: "All research into the sources of the life of Christ can have no other end than to free the pure and concrete image of Jesus from the scattered traits in which it is enveloped, without which work the influence emanating from him, and the results originating with him, are inconceivable."

refuse to see this fact, and to seek to avoid such critical labor under the questionable plea that damage to the Christian faith must result from such an undertaking. The only essential consideration at this point is, that criticism should occupy the proper point of view. In recent times it has been urged that an entire absence of predisposition is necessary. This is impossible in any absolute sense, for even they who make this demand have prepossessions; for example, as to the possibility or impossibility of miracles. But a developed doctrine of Christ (Christology) is not to furnish the rule of procedure, any more than dogmatics may be allowed to govern exegesis.

The life of Jesus is matter for *history* only in so far as it is definitely *human*. The unprejudiced study of that life must, and will of itself, lead to the recognition of its divine element, but it must not be postulated *a priori* in dogmatic formulæ, or imposed upon the history.¹ The student who makes the life of Jesus an object of scientific investigation will, nevertheless, enter upon it with a certain amount of preconceptions. He knows what life it is which is to be studied. But the sacred awe² with which he enters on his task can in no way harm historical impartiality; on the contrary, a spiritual and vivid treatment of any life, as well as that of the Saviour, is impossible without it.³ It is as impossible to comprehend

¹ Comp. Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 14.

² Comp. the confessions of Lavater and Anna Maria v. Schurmann, in the preface to Neander's *Life of Jesus*. "The life of the Christian," remarks the latter, "is the best biography of Jesus."

³ "The enumeration of outward fortunes in a career is unintelligible and dead without an apprehension or idea of the individual life itself, from which, as the innermost point in the life, all externalities may be explained." Hase, *Life of Jesus* (Bost. ed.), p. 21. "The self consciousness of Jesus of Nazareth must be clearly before the eyes of the Christian, as an actual historical fact which is to explain a true philosophy." Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, i, p. xliii. "The personality of Jesus stands before us as the connecting link between two worlds. It stands between the two developments of the old and the new worlds, not as an effect of the old world, but as its consummation; not as a mere harbinger of the new, but as its enduring type, and as a fountain of life to mankind through the Spirit." *Ibid.*, Gott in der Gesch., p. 60; comp. p. 100. "He was man. He was neither Jew nor Greek, prince nor priest, rich nor mighty, but, in contrast with them all, a man. He lived and died for mankind. But for this very reason he is called, and is the image of, the Son of God, as none other before or after him. His mortal, finite being had truly become a likeness of God, a divine nature." "The real centre in the life of Jesus lies in his consciousness. It is, however, by no means merely the idea of the unity of the divine and human natures that constitutes the peculiarity of his consciousness, for such an idea was present in a hazy form in both Plato and Aristotle. It is rather the consciousness of a real union of the Divine and human natures in his person in absolute energy, so that in this consciousness are united not only the fulness of the Deity with the fulness of his own inner life, but also the

the life of the Saviour by refusing to measure it by its own rule, and to trace each one of its expressions back to our own need of salvation, as it is to understand the life of a mother who sacrifices herself for her children, where the only conception of greatness is that belonging to conquerors or artists. Something that is immeasurable will still remain in this unique personality. Besides, while the distinction between a historical and a real Christ is wholly inadmissible on the plan of absolutely separating between them, and connecting them only in outward form, as though by accident, it is yet certain that when we resolve the life of Jesus into its separate elements, and follow it step by step, or trace it feature by feature, we often find ourselves required to supplement, from the idea, matters for which no definite historical data can be found. However, this must not be an arbitrary idea, constructed and introduced into the subject by ourselves, but it is rather one to be gained as the sum of historical inquiry. As Scripture explains Scripture,

The life of Jesus its own explanation.

so does the life of Jesus as a whole explain the separate features in that life. The life of Jesus contains its own measure—the absolute measure of the Deity glorifying itself in human nature. The attributes which constitute the peculiar character of Christ are not, therefore, to be at once excluded from the range of historical inquiry as transcending the bounds of human conditions, and impossible, but must be taken into account in the development of his humanity. Unless this be done, the picture will crumble in our hands, and we shall obtain only an inadequate and Ebionitic fragment, instead of a thoroughly human and really historical portrait. We cannot, and should not, remove the picture of Christ from the golden canvas upon which it has been painted, not by the fancy of men, but by the finger of God, even though we attempt to follow the lines of the drawing by historical methods, and seek to arrange them, so far as may be possible, by the application of critical processes. In this work the critical effort to combine must be aided by the insight which belongs to the congenial spirit of a religious disposition.

Spiritual sympathy necessary for correct criticism.

entire dealing of God with the entire history of his being, yea, the Deity with humanity." J. P. Lange, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, i, p. 349. Comp. Kliefoth, *Einl. in d. Dogmengesch.*, p. 39. Karl Ritter has also expressed himself well in opposition to an unspiritual and atomistic treatment of the life of Jesus: "His entire life lies open and clear before us like a charming landscape, with no cloud to interrupt the rays of light, which, without the tedious explanations of an uninvited guide, we comprehend with sacred joy at every step, upon which we stroll in pleasure, and the heart bounds with exalted premonitions. This place soon becomes our home, and upon it we could desire to live in joy and sadness until we die." *Lebensbild von Kramer*, vol. i, p. 232 *et seq.*

The portrait of Christ as outlined in the New Testament writings was compared, even before a mythical interpretation was thought of, to a torso, upon which the imagination of successive centuries has wrought its improvements.¹ The comparison is unjust, inasmuch as the torso lacks the essential feature, the countenance; and it is precisely the countenance that shines forth in the Gospels, with genuinely human lineaments, from the surrounding glory of the Deity, while the complete outlining of the members of the body, as with paintings of the old German school, is either wanting, or at least leaves much to be desired in the drawing. But the case is here as it is with every other human and historical countenance, which differs greatly in accordance with the different points of view from which we regard it, or with the light in which different painters apprehend it. Christ seemed different to ^{Different views} the world of the Middle Ages from what he does to the ^{of Christ.} world of our time. Zinzendorf, Herder, Schleiermacher, and others, each, in his own way, arrived at a different conception of him. This, however, need by no means frighten us from attempting to solve the problem, nor force us to accept the alternative of "either investing the Jewish Messiah with all the attributes which the theology of the Jews ascribes to him, or of furnishing a natural history of the Prophet of Nazareth, such as Venturini wrote."² For both are caricatures, the original for which is yet, even approximately, to be discovered. Still less are we authorized to dispense with any historical Christ, and to search for the Redeemer of the ^{Absurdity of} world solely in the region of myths, on the ground that ^{the mythical} some things cannot be explained and fitted with cer- ^{theory.} tainty into the framework of history. This would be to render the inexplicable yet more inexplicable, since Christianity without a historical Christ would remain an incomprehensible riddle, and the Church of Christ a historical monstrosity. The proper course is, while making use of historical criticism, with other agencies, "to have confidence in God and in the truth, which is much nearer to us than we think, and cheerfully expect that assured and certain results will, in the end, be realized through such investigations."³

¹ Kähler, *Supranaturalismus und Rationalismus*, p. 117.

² See Röhr's *Krit. Predigerbibl.*, vol. 18, No. 1, p. 13. *Comp. Briefe über den Rationalismus*, p. 26 *seqq.*

³ Ammon, *supra*, i, p. 125.

SECTION IV.

HISTORY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF JESUS.

Biographical effort began in the early centuries with an external collocation of sources,¹ and this method continued to be employed down to Bengel. The productions of the Middle Ages were "without criticism, fantastic, and legendary, and consisted chiefly in works for entertainment and devotion."² The old Saxon harmony of the Gospels, entitled "Heliand," is, however, of great importance for the history of civilization and literature,³ and with this should be compared that of the Weissenburg monk, Otfried, of the ninth century.⁴ In other regards, "the life of Christ was represented in the 'passion-plays' in the most literal sense, through the aid of sculpture, painting, and the dramatic art."⁵ The dogmatic element still predominated after the Reformation. It was not until after the Thirty Years' War that "the manifestation of Christ was intensely studied for its own sake." The theology of Herrnhut forms the leading agency in this "worship of Jesus," which now began to be manifested in hymns and prayers. People became accustomed to regard Jesus as the concrete God, sometimes irrespectively of his relation to the Trinity, and his history was a history of God, in which character it yielded Klopstock the material for epical treatment. Rational reflection, which felt itself called to consider the human element in a human point of view, asserted its claim in opposition to this undeniably monophysite tendency.

The attack by the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, in 1777 and the following years, forced apologetics into this human method of apprehending the psychology of Jesus and of estimating the moral bearings of his plan. The critical and pragmatistical treatment of the life of Christ dates, accordingly, from this time; that is, from the time modern ideas became established. This method has resulted in making of the life of Jesus a subordinate branch of theological study, so that what is now understood by that phrase is certainly a "modern idea."⁶ Foremost in this period were the apologetic and somewhat rational representa-

¹ Monotessaron, Harmonia, Synopsis. Comp. Hase, *Life of Jesus*, p. 20. ² *Ibid.*

³ Editions of Hayne (2d ed.), Paderborn, 1873, and Sievers, Halle, 1878. Translated by Simrock, 2d ed., Elberfeld, 1866; and by Grein, Cassel, 1869.

⁴ The "Christ," edited by Kelle, Ratisbon, 1856-59, 2 vols. Translated by the same, Prague, 1870.

⁵ Rosenkranz, *Leben Hegels*, p. 50.

⁶ Strauss, *Leben Jesu fürs Volk*, 1864, p. 1.

tions of Reinhard and Hess.¹ The divine was separated from the human, so far as was possible, and attention was called to the difference between the Johannean view and that of the synoptics. Herder, for instance, viewed the life of the "Son of God" and of the "Son of Man" in accordance with these two distinct points of view. There was no lack of coarse reactions, however, in connexion with the humanizing process, and rude hands tore away the tender screen which had preserved the picture of the Lord from being profaned. "Natural histories of the Prophet of Nazareth" were published by Bahrđt, Venturini, and, later, by Langsdorf, and it became a favorite employment to draw parallels between Socrates and Christ, often to the disadvantage of the latter. This, certainly, grew out of an utter misunderstanding of the personality of either. Others, like Paulus and Greiling, acting from good intentions, sought to eliminate the miraculous from the life of Jesus, in order to recommend him as a wise and humane teacher to a conceited age that was inclined to make a mock of him. The later theology, beginning with Schleiermacher, again took up the ideal element in Christ, and sought to prove it in his historical manifestation. Schleiermacher himself, in this spirit, but with independent criticism, in 1819, and again in 1832, delivered lectures on the life of Christ. These lectures were not published until their author had been dead thirty years, but they were nevertheless timely, though no longer adequate to complete the argument in all its details. Hase proceeded in a method similar to that of Schleiermacher, in prosecuting the task of showing "how by divine appointment, through the free act of his spirit and the interference of his age, Jesus of Nazareth became the Redeemer of the world."

These various attempts were at once neutralized by Strauss, who cut the knot with the sword, not, indeed, by denying that a Jesus had lived, but by reducing his historical existence almost to a historical nullity, since he recognized in the Gospel records only a mythical expression of ideas, unconsciously and innocently invented by the infant community of Christians, as influenced by the extant prophecies of the Old Covenant. This work was designed to preserve the poetically speculative truth of the ideal Christ, but its tendency was to dissolve him into air, like an unsubstantial image in the clouds. The hypothesis of Strauss

¹ See the titles of the works below, and comp. Hase, *supra*, and Ammon, *Fortbildung d. Christenthums zur Weltreligion*, vol. iv, p. 156 *sqq.* It is remarkable that Hess received the impulse to treat the life of Jesus from Middleton's *Biography of Cicero*.

was modified by Weisse, 'who sought to discover the mystery of the life of Jesus, in part, by introducing the higher biology of magnetism, and other factors, but rejected, on the mythical hypothesis, what could not be forced into this magic circle. Bruno Bauer, finally, passed beyond Strauss, claiming to find not harmless poetry, but designed inventions, in the descriptions of the evangelists. The Jew, Salvador, regarded the life of Jesus from the standpoint of modern Jewish enlightenment, but retained the historical personality of Jesus, reducing it, of course, to that of a simple Jewish reformer and demagogue.

All of these negative efforts resulted simply in a more thorough investigation of the subject under discussion. Not only were numberless works issued in reply to Strauss, but the life of Jesus itself was studied with a universal breadth of inquiry that could only be productive of gain to science, even though inquirers occupied very diverse points of view, and were influenced by very various prepossessions.¹ We refer also to the Dutch works of Meijboom, Van Oosterzee, and others. Bunsen announced, prospectively, a new "Life of Jesus," but it never appeared.² Ewald's History of Israel, on the other hand, entered on the life of Jesus with the fifth volume, the author expressly designating it the "Life of *Christ*," and treating it as such, making use of independent criticism upon details, but preserving the sacred contents as a whole. This has influenced the character of his representations also, in which Strauss was unable to find more than a "deafening volume of words and phrases." Riggerbach's lectures present the portrait of the "Lord Jesus" in a simple manner, their tendency being apologetic and harmonizing, combined, however, with the steady aim to do justice to the questions raised by science by a thorough examination of details.

A period of cessation and quietude now seemed to open, which
 Renan. was suddenly disturbed by the publication of the Life of Jesus by Renan, in France, through which an agitation was produced that equaled the one caused by Strauss thirty years before. Numerous editions and translations have placed it upon the same level with the most recent productions of the lighter literature of France for the great world of readers, which it is designed to reach. The science of Germany could not rest satisfied with the

¹ "The numerous lives of Jesus of the better class represent a new dedication of the theological temple, which, it is to be hoped, will not speedily be brought to a close. . . . But it will be necessary to remain patient if the variegated merchandise of ordered or fabricated works connects itself with the dedication." J. P. Lange, Pref. to *Leben Jesu*, pp. iii, iv.

² Preface to *Hippolytus*, p. xlix.

work, though in it the learning of the Orientalist vied with the captivating rhetoric of the fine writer, to warp the judgment of sentimental amateurs. Schenkel, who had expressed the opinion that the great theme could only be adequately treated upon German soil, now came to the front with his *Character of Jesus Portrayed*, which had been in preparation during an extended period. Simultaneously with this work, Strauss published, not a new edition of his former work, but a new revision, adapted for the people. In this, as in the other work, the criticism of sources comes into play, combined with the appropriation of the negative results obtained by other laborers in this field. An enormous number of replies and treatises in opposition to the works of Strauss, Schenkel, and Renan were written by scholars in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant communions; so that we again stand in the midst of a crisis, which was introduced by those works. How far we are from having reached the end may be seen from the fact, that the opinions of the latest writers are entirely diverse upon the question of the early character of sources (the original Matthew and Mark); but it may be said, in the meantime, "*In magnis voluisse sat est.*" Time must show to what extent the work by Keim, which is now concluded, will have contributed to the advancement of the inquiry. It has, at any rate, taken an important step toward the goal for which the efforts of science were directed from the vantage ground secured by its former progress. But when shall the time come that the Church, no longer being in conflict with the results obtained by science, but rather delivered from prejudice thereby, shall see the face of the Lord in its purity and its greatness, in the combined historical dignity and divine glory, which are not bestowed on him by us, but which are his from the beginning and are secured to him for all eternity?

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SECTION V.

THE APOSTLES.

Life of the Apostles and the Founding of the Church, Article "Apostolisches Zeitalter," in Felt, Herzog's Encyclopædie, vol. 1.

The life of the persons by whom the doctrine of the kingdom of God in the world was introduced, is connected with the life of Jesus. Here, there is less interest in the Twelve, several of whom are known to us only by name, than in the men and their coadjutors who were most successful in this work of founding the Christian community. Among these Paul is preëminent by reason of his character, teaching, and deeds.

Concerning the wider and more limited meanings of the word *ἀπόστολος*, see the New Testament. A comparison of the history of the apostles by Luke with the list of the apostles in the Gospels (Matt. x, 1-4) will reveal to most inquirers the fact, that the sacred narrative leaves us in the dark with regard to the history of a majority of the Twelve. Of these, Peter, James, and John are prominent, even in the Gospel records, and we have relatively more information respecting them than others, although the last days of both Peter and John lie beyond the limits of the canon, and fall within the realm of tradition. This applies still more fully to the work of other apostles. A new period of development evidently begins with Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, who, Paul. supported by Timothy, Silvanus, and Titus, not only extended Christianity to the furthest outward limits, but, together with John, also developed its profound internal character, and furnished the greatest and most important contribution toward the doctrinal canon of the New Testament. He became the founder of a body of doctrine, not theoretically, but out of his inmost experience, and through the revelation which, according to his own testimony, was imparted to him.¹ He was the firstfruits of those in whom the grace of God in Christ was glorified, and in whom the Gospel was demonstrated to be the power of God. The exposition of the book

¹ Comp. *H. Paret, *Paulus u. Jesus, Observations on the Relation of Paul and his Teaching to the Person, the Life, and the Teaching of the Christ of History*, in *Jahrb. für Deutsche Theologie*.

of Acts and the Pauline epistles is, of course, the work of exegetical theology. But this is merely a work preliminary to the history, while, to combine the work of the apostles into a single picture, belongs strictly to the department of historical science. At this point we stand on the boundary line between sacred and Church history. Though the latter cannot exclude the history of the apostolic age, yet it needs a broader foundation than it there finds. For this

The apostolic age requiring separate treatment. reason the apostolic age, like the life of Jesus, has received a separate treatment in theological literature.

Peculiar difficulties attach to this treatment, however, because recent criticism has endeavored to shake many points in the primitive history of Christianity, as found in the apostolic history by Luke, and in the apostolic epistles, and has sought to explain, by later events, the history of the older heresies, and what has been regarded as belonging to primitive times. Much that the Church regarded as belonging to the "apostolic age" was in this way classed under the "post-apostolic." The destructive efforts upon the apostolic history emanating from the Tübingen school, like the Life of Jesus, by Strauss, gave rise to apologetic attempts at reconstruction, some of which ascribed an importance to the old ecclesiastical traditions that was scarcely to be looked for after all the preliminary critical work accomplished in former decades. The controversy still goes on, and much remains for more thorough investigation, in which research historical inquiry is to take a part equal to that of exegesis.

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SECTION VI.

THE HISTORICAL FORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE.

BIBLICAL DOGMATICS AND THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

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Bible doctrine, like sacred history, results from exegesis, and, like sacred history, furnishes the basis for its further historical development. Inasmuch, however, as the contents of this study are systematic and didactic in their nature, it is found that the boundaries of exegetical, historical, and systematic theology cross each other upon its soil, but in such a way as to make the historical element its chief foundation.¹

Biblical dogmatics² is the intellectual bond which unites exegetical, historical, and dogmatical studies, the focus where the various rays are collected. On this account it forms, in many respects, a luminous point in theological study. The point from which it is regarded is of importance. If, without reference to systematic development, it be considered simply as a collocation of proof texts in behalf of dogmatics, it becomes the immediate fruit of exegesis; and, in point of fact, only an accomplished exegete is fitted to work in the field of biblical dogmatics. But if it be regarded as combined into a system, as governed by any leading idea, it will approach the positive science of dogmatics itself. Between these two operations, however, is a third, namely, the task of comprehending the revelation of the Bible itself as a historical fact in connexion with the spiritual development of mankind in other directions. In this way we come to occupy the ground of history. Biblical dogmatics is thus simply the internal side of sacred history. The representation of the life of Jesus requires a representation of his doctrine, or, better, of his divine and human consciousness, and his relation to the world and the history of mankind as conditioned by that consciousness, just as a proper conception of the idea that moved and deter-

Biblical dogmatics a theological centre.

¹ Schleiermacher, Danz, and Rosenkranz regard it as a historical science. Comp. Gabler, p. 183 *seqq.*

² The name "Biblical Theology" which is preferred by some (Baumgarten-Crusius, Hävernick, and, more recently, H. Schultz), is evidently either too broad, if the term theology be taken in the modern sense of a collection of the theological sciences, or too narrow, if it be taken to mean merely the doctrine concerning God. Comp. de Wette, *Bibl. Dogm.*, and Danz, p. 301, note 1. The term Dogmatics may also be found to be too limited in its meaning; as Hävernick says, "the fundamental ideas of ethics must also be included." Beck's expression, "The biblical science of doctrine," would, accordingly, be the most appropriate. But so long as the ethical ideas alone are involved, and are not developed into a system of biblical ethics, the phrase Biblical Dogmatics may appropriately be retained. On the inadequacy of the term dogmatics in general, see later, on Systematic Theology.

mined his entire life is the *πρῶτον κινεῖν* of Christian dogmatics in general.¹

Life and doctrine dissolve into each other with Jesus as with none of our mortal race. The life of an apostle, too, cannot be given in any other way than by placing before our eyes his inner life, as it was determined by intercourse with Jesus or by familiarity with his teaching.² The history of doctrines issues from Church History, and becomes a separate branch of it. In the same way the material for the history of doctrines which is contained in the Bible can be utilized for the purposes of historical examination. Thus we acquire a juxtaposition of biblical doctrine as a point of departure for the history of Christian doctrines; with the difference, however, that it is not yet wrought out in scientific form, and is not a complete body of dogmatic ideas. These doctrines are rather pliable substances, possessing the capacity for life, and include the germs of ethical as well as of dogmatical development, in accordance with which the systems of faith and morality in the Bible are chiefly given in combination.

A largely systematizing treatment, or a purely historical and genetic procedure, may prevail in this regard, however, according as the contents of biblical doctrine are apprehended as a whole, thus constituting the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments; or are divided, to correspond with different times and persons, in thus forming the doctrine of Hebraism, of the later Judaism, of Jesus and the apostles; or, with a still closer reference to persons, forming the teaching of Paul, of John, and others. Each of these is given, so far as possible, in its genetic development, which holds good especially of the Pauline system of doctrines.³ The more

flexible the treatment of biblical dogmatics becomes in this regard, and the more the material which has crystallized into ideas is brought into its original flowing condition, the more closely will it approximate the history of doctrines, and the more decidedly will it fall within the historical field. But if the leading object be to represent, in its internal connexion, and as the foundation of ecclesiastical doctrine, the substance of

¹ On the peculiar difficulties of this task, see Schirmer, pp. 51-55. Should the first Gospels, or St. John, furnish the type?

² How St. Paul attained to his theology, and what is the relation of his teaching and that of the other apostles to the teaching of Jesus, are important inquiries in this connexion. See the treatise by Paret, referred to above.

³ An analogous arrangement is possible in connexion with the Old Testament also, e. g., the religion of Abraham, Mosaism, the religion of David, Solomon, Isaiah, etc. The individual element is less prominent in the Old Testament, however, being lost in the theocratic. Comp. Schirmer, p. 50.

Bible teaching as developed through exegetical¹ and historical inquiry, biblical dogmatics will partake more largely of the nature of systematic theology. It will be distinguished from dogmatics proper, however, by confining itself entirely to the beginning, *i. e.*, to the primitive Bible times, without in any way intruding upon ecclesiastical development.

A certain view exists which designedly ignores such development, so that the history of doctrines becomes an article of luxury, and chooses to know no other than biblical dogmatics. This opinion will be examined hereafter, in connexion with the history of doctrines. We may observe here, however, that, in assigning this position to biblical dogmatics, the aim is not to degrade it to a mere historical science, which could only be said with propriety if history were understood to designate what is antiquated. It is, on the other hand, our intention to lift it out from the rigid trammels of the letter into the living organism which forms the subject of historical inquiry. We do not, however, accept the view which holds that what was original is inferior and imperfect, and needs to be purified and elevated into the character of a higher wisdom.² The biblical doctrine, on the contrary, although by no means finished and complete in itself, and certainly needing to be explained in harmony with its historical development, continues to retain its normal dignity. The task of biblical dogmatics will be to so present this doctrine in its original vitality and its universal bearings upon the well-being of mankind, that the eternal and ever applicable idea of the God-given truth shall clearly and powerfully shine through the temporal veil of conceptions.³

SECTION VII.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL DOGMATICS.

This science really began with the Reformation,⁴ for it was the Reformation that delivered the whole of the science of dogmatics from its scholastic fetters, and established it on the Bible. But

¹ In exegesis the leading object is to recognize the tendency of the subjectivity and individuality in the original form; in dogmatics we seek to discover the identity and truth of the matter. The unity of both tendencies, accompanied with a steady consciousness of their diversity, must therefore be the governing idea in biblical dogmatics. Usteri, *Entwickl. d. Paulin. Lehrbegr.*, 4th ed., Pref., p. vii.

² Comp. Strauss, *Glaubenslehre*, i, p. 177, and Schelling, *Methode des akad. Studiums*, p. 197 *seqq.*

³ Very much that is valuable on the idea and method of this science may be found in Hävernicks, *Bibl. Dogmatik*, p. 1 *seqq.*

⁴ This does not deny that biblical theology, in the wide sense, has its origin in common with that of theology in general; for "the fathers of Alexandrian Christianity

biblical dogmatics was yet united with ecclesiastical by the Reformers Melancthon and Calvin; and when, in the seventeenth century, scholasticism again intruded itself into dogmatics, it was found necessary to remain contented with mere observations, as in Vitringa, or, so far as biblical dogmatics as distinguished from ecclesiastical was concerned, with expositions of Scripture texts, as in Seb. Schmidius, *Collegium Biblicum*, Argent., 1671-76; Hulaemann, *Vindiciae S. S. per loca classica systematis theol.*, Lips., 1679; Majus, *Theologia prophetica*, Francof., 1710; and Baier, *Analysis et Vindicatio illustrium S. S. dictorum*, Altorf, 1719. Spener's pietism, at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, again aroused a feeling for the restoration of the simple teaching of the Scriptures, but particularly with reference to its practical rather than its scientific aspects.

Theologia Biblica was understood to signify a popular presentation of the system of belief. It is remarkable that rationalism became the agency for turning back the current into the proper channel, its tendency in opposition to ecclesiastical orthodoxy causing it to labor for the separation of the Bible doctrine from that of the Church, and to endeavor to present it in its purity. In this effort it took away, however, the brightest of the peculiar ornaments of doctrine, so that the thinning out process of rationalizing abstraction left only the *caput mortuum* of a supposed rational doctrine. J. G. Semler published his historical and critical collections on the "so-called proof passages of dogmatics" (Halle, 1764-68) in this spirit, and Gabler wrote the work mentioned above with a like aim. The supernaturalists of that century saw themselves compelled, in the interests of a positive belief in the Bible teaching, to recognize the distinction between biblical and ecclesiastical doctrine. The elder Tübingen school (Storr, Flatt, Bengel, Steudel) took the lead in this direction. The Biblical Theology of G. T. Zachariae (five parts, the last by Vollborth, Gott., 1771-86), for instance, was written from the orthodox point of view; while Hufnagel's work (Erl., 1785-89) was composed in the interest of rationalism. Ammon, L. Bauer, and Bretschneider were likewise more or less in sympathy with the latter tendency. Concerning Kaiser, de Wette, Baumgarten-Crusius, von Colln, Vatke, and Bruno Bauer, and also with regard to the more recent development of this science in general, comp. Hävernick, *Bibl. Dogm.*, 2d ed., p. 8 *sqq.*, and Nitzsch, *supra*.

were essentially biblical theologians;" comp. Nitzsch, p. 220, where attention is also called to the services of Erasmus, in whose works "the most valuable outlines of a *Theologia Biblica* are contained."

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SECTION VIII.

CHURCH HISTORY.

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The central point of historical theology is Church History. It is the history of the outwardly visible community within whose limits the kingdom of God, which Christ founded, is manifested, and attains to its ultimate development.

Church history is certainly dependent upon our conception of the real nature of the Church.¹ But a completed doctrine of the Church

¹ On the meaning of *ἐκκλησία* (ἐκκλ. ηἵε) comp. Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, § 1; Bretschneider, *Systemat. Entwicklung aller in d. Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe* (4th ed., 1841), p. 749; Jacobson, *Individualität des Wortes u. Begriffes Kirche* (in *ibid.*, *Kirchenrechtl. Versuchen*, I, 58-125). The word "church" (Germ. kirche) has been derived from τὸ κυριακὸν ἢ κυριακή, *curia*, from the Celtic cyrch or cyleh (central-point, place of assembly), and from the Teutonic kieren, kören, or kiesen (to choose), supposed to have been connected with the Latin circus or with keliku (a tower), etc. Comp. Wackernägel, *Alt d. Wörterbuch*, and Grävell, *Die Kirche: Ursprung u. Bedeutung des deutschen Wortes* (Görlitz, 1856); for the derivation of κύριος comp. Grimm, *deutsches W. B.*, v, p. 790 ff.

"There can," says Trench, "be no reasonable doubt that 'church' is originally from the Greek, and signifies 'that which pertains to the Lord,' or 'the house which is the Lord's.' But here a difficulty meets us. How explain the presence of a Greek word in the vocabulary of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers? for that we derive the word mediately from them, and intermediately from the Greek, is certain. What contact, direct or indirect, was there between the languages to account for this? The explanation is curious. While the Anglo-Saxons and other tribes of the Teutonic stock were almost universally converted by their contact with the Latin Church in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, or by its missionaries, yet it came to pass that before this some of the Goths on the lower Danube had been brought to the knowledge of Christ by Greek missionaries from Constantinople; and this word *κυριακή*, or church, did, with certain others, pass over from the Greek to the Gothic tongue; and these Goths, the first converted to the Christian faith, the first, therefore, that had a Christian vocabulary, lent the word in their turn to the other German tribes, among others to

is no more to precede Church history than a doctrine of the person of Christ should form the introduction to a life of Jesus. It is, indeed, impossible to ascertain the nature of the Church in any other way than through its history. No great progress can be made by the adoption of the abstract notion of a religious association, whose origin is, perhaps, conceived after the analogy of Rousseau's Social Contract.¹ It will, accordingly, be necessary to start out, with Gieseler, with the statement that "the Church is a particular and historically given conception," which must not be generalized into that of a religious society. To speak of the Church relations of the Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindus is inexact, and the expression, "the Christian Church," is, properly taken, a tautology, or derives its significance from the contrast to the more specific conceptions of Catholic and Protestant, or of Romish, Spanish, and German Churches.

History to precede doctrine.

The Church not merely a society.

Some writers, such as Stolberg, have extended the idea backward into the Old Testament. But it would be equally proper to include Old Testament Christology in the life of Jesus. Nor does the life of Jesus belong within the range of Church history, which has its beginnings at the point where the circle of the earliest disciples begins to extend beyond the limits of a private association, and where a congregational organization is introduced. Hence Church history commences, strictly, as early as the apostolic period, but not until after the departure of Jesus from the earth. For this reason a majority of scholars regard the day of Pentecost following ascension as the birthday of the Christian Church. The apostolic period, at the same time, can only be considered the substructure upon which the edifice of the visible Church is reared, or the root from which the mighty tree

Pentecost the beginning of the Church.

our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; thus it has come round by the Goths from Constantinople to us. The passage most illustrative of the parentage of the word is from Walafrid Strabo (about 840), who writes thus: 'Ab ipsis autem Græcis Kyrch à Kyrios—et alia multa accepimus. Sicut domus Dei Basilica, i. e. Regia à Rege, sic etiam Kyrica, i. e. Dominica à Domino nuncupatur. Si autem quæsitur, quâ occasione ad nos vestigiatis: græcitatis advenerint, dicendum præcipuè à Gothis, qui et Getæ, cum extempore, quo ad fidem Christi perducti sunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorante, nostrum, i. e. theoticum sermonem labuerint.' Study of Words, pp. 79–81, N. Y., 1854.

¹ Comp. Locke: "A church I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him and effectual to the saving of their souls." Works, vol. ii, p. 145, Lond., 1751. For the insufficient and unhistorical nature of this view, comp. C. H. Weiss, *Reden über die Zukunft der evangelischen Kirche*, Lpz., 1849, p. 29 *sq.*

grows, with branches interlacing like an involved network. If the Church be regarded as a complex organization of communities, and if for that very reason it be again distinguished from those communities, it will be apparent that Church history, in the strict sense, begins where the external union of such communities has already been consolidated.¹ But the idea of the Church must be defined with respect to its nature, as well as its range through time and space, and, at this point, care is needed to guard against both a false idealism and a superficial empiricism. The correct view, by which the external and internal, visible and invisible, are apprehended in their proper connexion and correlation, but are likewise distinguished from each other, and according to which Church history has to do with the actualization of the kingdom of God in time and under determinate relations of time and place, stands midway between the purely social and abstract notion and the strictly theocratic view. For, according to the social view, the Church is merely an association of accidental origin, analogous to an insurance company, while the theocratic conception represents the Church as absolutely Divine even in its outward manifestation. The social form, which takes its shape under the influence of apparently accidental occurrences, constitutes the body of the Church, while the idea which is developed in harmony with the laws of spiritual freedom, and therefore by an inward necessity, is its soul.² Church history is required to estimate both according to their true value, because they would otherwise represent a life that is neither a corpse nor a ghost.³

The Church is not alone social or theocratic.

SECTION IX.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

The Church, like every other phenomenon endowed with life, has an external or bodily, and an internal or spiritual, side to its nature. These cannot be sundered from each other, though they may be separated to a certain extent, and severally treated with particular attention. In this way the different, but constantly interacting, departments of church life come into being, which determine the arrangement of the material of Church history, both with regard to the logical rubrics under

The Church both external and internal.

¹ Rothe fixes the beginning of Church history as late as the destruction of Jerusalem; see his *Anfänge der christl. Kirche*.

² Schleiermacher, § 51.

³ Concerning the relation of the ideal to the historical Church, see Schweizer, *Glaubenslehre*, p. 183 sq.

which it is to be placed and the more independent artistic combination and connexion of the matter itself.

Christianity entered the world, and was compelled to assume relations toward it. So, too, was the world required to enter into relations with Christianity. Christ himself had compared the kingdom of God to leaven which leavens the whole lump, and to a mustard seed which should develop into a wide-spreading tree. The expansive element is contained in the nature and the destination of Christianity—the Church must grow. In the first stages of the life of an individual the outward growth is more noticeable, and calculated to excite remark; and Church history has, similarly and most naturally, to deal, in its earliest periods, with the extension of Christianity. By the side of the expansion, Expansion and Limitation. however, we must trace the history of the limitation of Christianity—the persecutions—even as the shadow moves along with the person. For our Lord had even foretold that his Church would be obliged to suffer persecution.

The two elements cannot be torn asunder, since the extension of the Church often gave rise to persecution, while the latter, being overruled by God, aided in the extension. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Christianity struck its roots into the world, however, in proportion as its outward extent increased, and its growth involved, as well, the strengthening of the body of the Church. This must be regarded as the necessary condition of the life of the Church, although it seems to be connected with the danger of unduly emphasizing the body, and reducing the Church to the level of the world. To trace this incorporating process, and with it the course of partial secularization which it involves, is the task of the history of the constitution of the Church. But, Constitution of the Church. in connexion with this, we must give attention to the relations of the Church to the State, especially when, under Constantine, the latter became Christian; and to the internal social conditions of the Church itself, such as the separation of the clergy from the laity, gradations of rank among the clergy, the development of the hierarchy, morbid excrescences, divisions or schisms in the Church, and such special phenomena in connexion with its life as monasticism, the *vita canonica*. But within this body, composed as it is of numerous members, for whose study an acute eye is certainly necessary, the soul of the life of Christianity unfolded itself, being partly carried forward and partly hindered by the The soul-life of the Church. body. So, Church History, as a branch of theological study, is first of all to fix its attention upon the soul. The soul-life of the Church, moreover, as manifested in worship, doctrine, and

customs, is not only bound organically to the bodily element by numerous ties—for the history of the constitution of the Church holds an unmistakable relation of interaction to the history of worship and of doctrine—but it surrounds itself with a separate body. Worship seeks expression in various forms of art, and doctrine assumes the form of dogma, more or less fully developed, while both are determined by the spirit of special times and peoples, and by the degree of culture which has been attained by any particular age. It is, of course, true that Christian teachings and customs have superseded the old and replaced it by the new; but they have also been determined and modified from that very direction. The history of worship, doctrine, and customs, is, therefore, connected with the general history of civilization, in like manner as the history of the constitution stands related to ordinary political history.

The old conditions superseded.

No one side of the life of the Church can be thoroughly comprehended apart from the other. It would, therefore, be improper to treat Church history in the form of rubrics constructed on a merely external and logical plan, like the drawers in a sideboard. On the contrary, the richer the manifestation of that life is at certain points where it pulsates, the more impossible is it to enforce such a division. This is illustrated by the Reformation, which forces its way through all such limitations, with their superscriptions, by including in its scope at once the constitution, worship, doctrine, and life.

Advantage of groupings.

An arrangement of the material in the form of extended groupings, by which means, at times, one feature of the life of the Church may be brought into prominence, and at other times another, admits of great diversity in the shadings of the representation, and is, for this reason, certainly preferable, in an artistic point of view, to the abstract mode of treatment by topics.¹

It should not be forgotten, however, in the interests of methodology, that the storing away of the material in the memory is facilitated by the arrangement in tabular rubrics, and that the artistic treatment can be profitably employed only where a knowledge of the facts of history already exists.² It will be sufficient if, in connexion with the rubrical arrangement, we continually observe

A necessary change of rubrics.

the dependence of the several departments upon each other, and direct attention to the links of the organic chain. The rubrics, moreover, will be required to change their titles and relation to each other with the change of

¹ Comp. the works of Henke, Spittler, Hase, Schleiermacher, etc.

² Warnings have, with propriety, been raised against too much cutting up of the material; comp. Fricke, *Lehrb. der Kirchengesch.*, Part I, Pref., p. ix, and § 9.

times. It would, for example, be highly improper to assign the leading place in connexion with later times to the extension of Christianity, whose place has, in the course of progress, been removed from the centre to the circumference, while the foreground is occupied by the Church itself, whose outward form was, in the Middle Ages, conditioned by the papacy with its hierarchy. At the time of the Reformation, teaching, or dogma, again comes into the foreground. Such changes of scenery are positively necessary in order to avoid that fatal monotony of style which prevents the presentation from producing the proper impression. However, material cannot be arranged under such categories alone. Sometimes individual churches, in which the Christian spirit has taken on a peculiar stamp, such as the Church of Africa, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Germany, or Slavonia, demand a separate treatment. Sometimes great and exciting events, that shake the entire Church, and the world itself, break through the framework of established rubrics, and claim a special treatment. This applies, for example, to the history of the Crusades and the Reformation. A mode of arrangement that regulates itself according to the nature of the material will, consequently, become necessary, and in such plan the division with regard to time, or into periods, demands special attention.

SECTION X.

DIVISION INTO PERIODS.

The categories according to which the rich material of Church history is distributed, whatever may be their character, will be crossed by the lines of chronological division. The measure of these lines is found in those epochal events which have an important bearing upon the whole of the history, but not in the external symmetry of plan, or in occurrences of subordinate importance for the Church.

The division by centuries has, since Mosheim, been almost universally given up. The principle of outward symmetry, which certainly cannot be justified on scientific grounds, lay at its basis. But it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that the beginning of a new century, for example, the eighteenth, occasionally introduces an epoch.¹ The special point at

¹ To divide a historical representation by centuries is connected with inconvenient consequences. Events are not brought sharply to a close with any of them; the life and actions of mankind reach over from one to another. But all the reasons which govern any method of arrangement are based simply on some preponderating feature. Certain influences appear prominently in a certain century, without suggesting a desire to mistake the preparation for them, or to deny the future consequences they may have produced.—Goethe, *Farbenl.* ii, p. 169.

which the epoch that introduces a new period is to be assumed can hardly be definitely fixed, an approximation being the most that can ordinarily be secured. While Schleiermacher remarks that "the epochal points of chief importance are always such as not only possess equal value for the functions of Christianity, but are also important to historical development outside the Church," and the principle is correct in the main, attention may yet be called to the idea that distinct stages of development may be apparent in one field sooner than in the other, and that, therefore, the epochs of Church history can scarcely be identical with those of the history of the world.

The dependence upon theology, to which the latter was subjected in former days, may account for the custom of regarding certain great phenomena in the religious sphere, particularly the introduction of Christianity and the Reformation, in the light of epochs in the history of the world as well. Indeed, they certainly are such to the profounder researches of history into the past, though not to the immediate historical perception.¹ The influence of Christianity

Influences of
Christianity not
immediate.

upon the history of the world did not become apparent until much later, at the time of the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. This event, therefore, is better suited to be made an epoch in secular history than the immediate appearance of Christianity in the world, although the latter constitutes the most natural beginning of Church history.

A similar idea will apply to the Reformation. The political transformation of Europe, which was doubtless directly promoted by the religious revolution, delayed its appearance in the world of phenomena until the Peace of Westphalia. The latter, accordingly, possesses greater significance for political history than does the Reformation, while, in importance to Church history, it is inferior to the Reformation. In like manner, other and even religious events, for example, the appearance of Mohammed, occur, and form epochs in the sphere of secular history, which yet have but a subordinate importance for Church history as such, however grave may have been the consequences that reacted upon the fortunes of the Church. An agreement of opinions will always be most readily secured with reference to epochs in connexion with which the factor that moulds a period² is most prominently displayed. These, therefore, are epochs in the full breadth of the word.

¹ § 165.

² Christianity is, no doubt, the hinge between the Old and the New World, but the hinge itself has a breadth—of centuries!

³ The distinction between epoch and period is assumed to be from secular history.

In this sense the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, and the connected introduction of that faith to be the state religion, unquestionably constitutes an epoch, although it may be difficult to decide what year should begin the new period—A. D. 306, 312, or 325. With equal certainty Gregory VII. forms a strikingly noticeable feature in the history of the development of the papacy, and hence of the institution with which the character of the Church of the Middle Ages is involved. Nor will it escape the eye of the observer that the period from Gregory VII. to the Reformation embraces three stages—the progress of the papacy to the time of Innocent III.; its hold upon the elevation attained, to Boniface VIII.; and its subsequent decline, which may also be dated from the removal of the papal chair to Avignon at a somewhat later day, down to the period of the Reformation.¹

Finally, none will deny that the division of the Church in the sixteenth century forms an epoch in the treatment of Church history from both a Roman Catholic and a Protestant point of view, although the Council of Trent, rather than the Reformation, will be the turning point in the former case.² It will prove more difficult to find, on the other hand, one or more resting places—excepting Gregory the Great and Charlemagne, who are commonly assumed—between Constantine and Gregory VII. that would be equally acceptable to all persons. It is likewise difficult to fix an epoch between the Reformation and our own time, though all are compelled to acknowledge that a crisis intervened after the Thirty Years' War, and again during the first decades of the eighteenth century. It is difficult, however, to connect these with some single event of marked prominence, inasmuch as a multitude of factors co-operated to bring about the revolution in the character of that time. It follows that the settling of definite epochs will remain subject to a certain amount of fluctuations, which, however, involves no loss to science when the points upon which the whole must turn are clearly apprehended.

¹ To overlook the wholly diverse nature of these two courses of development, and the epochal effect of the removal of the chair to Avignon, is to misunderstand the principal features in which the life of the Church pulsates.—Rettberg, Pref. to vol. vii. of Schmid's Kirchengesch., p. vii. It is not easy to say why Gregory VII. should not himself present a suitable beginning for a new period.—Fricke, i., p. 12.

² It is apparent how very different the periodizing of the history of the Reformation must be when regard is had to the Reformation in Germany alone from what it would become when that of other lands is also treated. It is usual to conclude the history of the Reformation with the religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), but this forms a real conclusion only for the German branch of ecclesiastical history.

SECTION XI.

PROPER TREATMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The requirements for a thorough and profitable treatment of Church history, are:

1. An impartial recognition of the facts secured by the investigation of extant sources and documents. This is historical criticism.

2. Unbiased estimation of the historical material in harmony with the law of the lower and higher causality. This we may call historical pragmatism.

3. A living interest in Christianity, and a disposition to value its manifestations according to the Christian standard. This is religious fervour or enthusiasm.

1. It is evident that what has been indicated above can be required only of this study in its finished state. This holds good especially of the study of sources,¹ which can be required of the beginner only in limited measure, and in connexion with which the labours of others must in any case prepare his way. Every theologian should, nevertheless, engage in the study of sources in some directions, even though not intending to make a specialty of Church history, with a view to quicken the historical faculty, and become able to estimate the labours of others in this field.

The criticism to be employed on sources is twofold. In one respect it coincides in function with exegetical criticism, Twofold criticism of sources. as it deals with the authenticity and integrity of the historical monuments which it designs to use. It is governed by the same laws. To this philological criticism, however, is added that of real history. The question arises, whether the authority to whom we appeal could, in view of all his personal traits, his character, culture, and outward circumstances, have stated the truth, and whether he intended to state it? The examination must be impartially conducted, and the worth or worthlessness of the source as a whole, together with the truthworthiness of each statement in particular, be determined accordingly. Care must be taken, however, not to make the goal in this inquiry absolute truth, but relative, and not to apply the measure of our requirements to the earlier ages. A report based on the clear statements of a Difference in reports. trustworthy witness is termed reliable, while one that lacks such complete confirmation is doubtful, unsupported, and possibly even suspicious. A correct historical judgment will guard against both a hypercritical or skeptical tendency,

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 156, 157, 184, 190.

and such an uncritical direction as amounts to a blind belief in authorities and legends.

2. By the side of criticism stands pragmatism. To simply furnish approved narratives of facts, without any elaboration or adding of personal opinions, is the work of merely a good chronicler.¹ The mission of the historian is of a higher character, for history is a living, connected whole. The past is mirrored in the present, and contains within itself the germs of the most distant future. Every particular thing is the product of its age, which is itself determined by the co-operation of many individual elements. Nor can it be denied that national characteristics and constitutions, climate, and various other things, exert an influence over the subjective life, and that these, in turn, have a reflex influence upon the objective life.

It follows that an endless chain of causes and effects runs through the whole of history, that is, through the development of the moral world in time as through that of the physical world in space. To follow this chain, to ascertain and comprehend both the forces of attraction and of repulsion, according to the laws of social-polarity, is the task of historical philosophy, or historical pragmatism. We postulate a twofold law of causality, however, a lower and a higher, a mediate and an immediate. Every concrete fact appears to us, in part, as the product of outwardly traceable, mechanical causes. But it must be remembered that the causal element is itself the effect of other causes, and that the new product contains within itself that causative power which will produce still further effects. But underneath all the various causes, mutually sustaining and supporting as they are, must lie a primal force, in which they find their absolute and positively ultimate base. In a true study of history each of these features will receive due recognition. The tendency to an atomistic mode of treatment must be limited and complemented by the dynamic, in order that no feature be in any way exaggerated. To lead back every thing to known, accepted, and historical causes, and deduce the most exalted matters from inferior antecedents, or explain the original by what has been made or has come into being, what is spiritually necessary and free by what is accidental and arbitrary—in one word, to explain life by death, is belittling, and devoid at once of taste and spirit.

This would become apparent if the attempt were made to explain

¹ On the distinction between chronicle and history, see Schleiermacher, §§ 152, 154. Upon the whole subject, compare Gervinus, *Grundzüge der Historik*, Leipzig, 1837.

the spread of Christianity in the first three centuries simply on the ground of the political and financial condition of the Roman State, the pecuniary difficulties of certain emperors, the excellent character of the Roman roads throughout the realm, and other lesser factors, or the Reformation as resulting merely from an insignificant quarrel between Augustinian and Dominican monks, or Congregationalism from a personal grievance of Brown, or Methodism from John Wesley's individual disapprobation of Oxford formality. For it is true, in appearance only, that what is greatest not rarely springs from what is least, since what is mathematically small is yet dynamically great. The oak comes only from the true value of acorn. External and apparently accidental causes obscure causes. should not be overlooked and neglected, however, any more than they should be overrated. To endeavour to trace back every thing to a single, mysterious, primal cause, to the disregard of intermediate links, is to transform history into an exhausted garden, a magic lantern, out of which only disconnected, puzzling shapes arise, just to vanish again by a mere turn of the hand. "A shallow mind," says Herder, "finds and connects nothing in history but facts; a perverted mind seeks for miracles in it." The truth lies here, also, in the golden middle.¹

The moral estimate to be formed of persons and their actions, is likewise dependent on a correct pragmatism in the mode of treatment. Here, again, two extremes must be avoided. An atomistic pragmatism is usually ready to apply the measure of extremes to be avoided. moral perception belonging to its own time to every historical phenomenon, and in this way to be dictatorial over history. It scents fraud and base and dishonourable intentions everywhere, or it rejects, as being silly and fanatical, everything that does not correspond with its ideal of good reason. On this method the mediæval manifestations of the papacy and monasticism, especially, receive rough treatment, and doctrinal controversies assume the character of simply hateful quarrels. This method has no apprehension of the existence of the profounder impulses of the human spirit which are displayed under these fanciful forms. It lacks the elevation of soul that is needed to lift it out of its personal prejudices, and to

¹ There was a time—it can scarcely be termed fully past—when people found pleasure in explaining history, even in its most important points of change, out of mere blind, accidental occurrences. This was termed the philosophical method. In our days many have fallen upon a directly contrary method; and this, too, is denominated the philosophical method.—Reuchlin, *Geschichte von Port Royal*, p. 54. Comp. Gerwinus, *supra*, p. 69 sq. In more recent times Gfrörer has come to occupy this ground in part.

enlarge the individual consciousness until it becomes commensurate with that of the human species.¹

The contrast to this narrow habit of observation is formed by that sublime objectivity which, in entire abnegation of self, abstains from expressing any moral judgment, and looks down from its speculative watch-tower upon the evolutions of the world-spirit as upon a divine drama. History thus becomes a merely natural process, without the superadding of any moral element. Between these two extremes, the one of which is involved in the nature of deism and the other in that of pantheism, is the ground upon which proceeds the truly theistic method of historical research, ^{The theistic} whose principle is that history moves in the sphere of ^{method.} freedom, though guided by a Providence which binds and controls all the threads of progress. This real history, therefore, also lies in the sphere of a higher necessity—a necessity which cannot, of course, be established by us on *a priori* principles, but may yet be apprehended by that keen sensibility which improves under the process of quiet observation.

It is said that "history is the tribunal of the world." But we should probably find that the necessary documents for any real and practical application of the idea are wanting to us. God has reserved the judgment for himself; and for this reason our judgment should be exercised sparingly. The rule by which, in Church history, we are to estimate the different phenomena connected with the Church, can only be the word of God. This is the canon by which we are to judge of every further stage ^{God's word the} of development in the Christian life. In connexion ^{standard of} with every new appearance we are to inquire, "How is it related to the idea of Christianity, as laid down in the New Testament?" ^{judgment.}

This should not be construed to mean, however, that every special form of the Christian life which does not thoroughly resemble that of the apostolic Church is to be rejected. Such a view would

¹ Hence, Neander, speaking with reference to the Crusades, says: "The lowest place is occupied by cold reason, which, more than other judges, denies the native nobility of human nature, and looks with aristocratic pity upon such times; not because it is governed by enthusiasm for the truly real, but because only that seems real to its judgment which is the lowest of all that appears, and because precisely what is most beautiful in this connexion is regarded by it as only fancy—namely, labour and daring expended for things whose only value lies in the bosom of mankind."—Der heil. Bernhard (1st ed.), p. 210. "It is usual to say," observes a Roman Catholic writer, "that the chest makes the orator. It may be said, in a higher sense, that the heart makes the historian; truth does not rest on criticism alone, but much more on the determination to love it, even when its language is not pleasant."—Hist. pol. Blätter für das kathol. Deutschland, 1854, No. 8, p. 654.

be the death of all history, whose very nature requires development. The developed life is related to the original like the plant to the germ. The life of the germ, however, passes over into the plant; and the principle of Christianity must similarly be traceable in every manifestation, any phase of church life being morally justifiable only in so far as that principle can be made to appear. Wherever this principle is lacking, or has been perverted into its contrary, the existence of a morbid state cannot be mistaken, though there are many different degrees in the malady. An entire institution in the Church, for instance the papacy, may, with all its consequences, appear to deserve rejection from the standpoint of pure apostolical Christianity, as being itself morbid and the product of morbid conditions, without compelling the conclusion that the history of the popes is, for that reason alone, a history of antichrist. On the one hand, it will be necessary to consider the papacy itself in its historical relation to the Christian world under its Germanic form, as the counterpoise to barbaric wilfulness and boorishness; and, on the other, to estimate the different popes by the measure of the papal idea, which will at all events reveal a wide chasm between a Gregory VII and an Alexander VI.

It is also possible "for a historian to defend the mediæval popes, and, at the same time, to be a determined opponent of the persons who desire the restoration of the papacy of the Middle Ages for our own times."¹ The same applies to monasticism, from which the Reformation itself came forth, while the historical Reformation differs from a mere abstract theory of doctrinal improvement by reason of the fact that Luther passed through this very vital experience of the mediæval Church, upon which he was subsequently called to exert a reformatory influence. A comforting feature in history lies in the fact that error, even where it is most obdurate, is yet manifested only as an excrescence upon the truth, and that even a corrupt age contains within itself, though unconsciously, the remedies upon which a later time will lay hold with a more untrammelled judgment.

History thus becomes the teacher of the present, but only in the entirety of its development, though it may be said, with greater accuracy, that the present thus results from history. Hence it must be regarded as a gross abuse to make history subservient to so-called interests of the times and to personal preferences, in such

¹ Möhler, *Kleine Schriften*, i, p. 76. A striking example is found in Voigt in his treatment of Gregory VII.; comp. his *Antwort an den Bischof von La Rochelle*, June 28, 1829, (in pref. to 2d ed.)

way as to compel it to yield either ideals with which to dazzle the uninformed, or caricatures with which to excite their fears.¹ History is thus reduced to the character of an armory to which every combatant resorts for the weapon needed in any special emergency; and what they term "the spirit of the times," which they thus call up, according to their belief is not rarely "the spirit of the gentlemen themselves."

3. Our third requirement, the moral and religious disposition, is for this reason closely connected with the preceding remarks. It was during an extended period considered the highest wisdom of historical pragmatism to insist that the historian should belong to no religion, and that, therefore, the best Church History is that which displays the least affection for its object, and, at the same time, evinces no preference for any current tendency of thought—hence, which is distinguished by its lack of colour and animation. We recall attention, at this point, to our remarks on the objective tendency in exegesis. It is doubtless true that prejudice in any direction is damaging to free historical vision. The historian should be superior to the appeals of party interest. But this does not imply that he should neither have convictions nor express them. If such convictions do not amount merely to a clinging to blind prejudices, but are, instead, the fruit of intellectual effort, they may find expression, and naturally will, and ought to be, avowed, in proportion as they are living convictions. The person who possesses an enthusiasm for art, and has been initiated into the mysteries of its life, will surely be more competent to write its history than one who stands far aloof from it. Moreover, as a rule, the best history of a people will be furnished by him who has lived and felt with that people, and has been penetrated with a

Moral and religious disposition.

Damage from prejudice.

Best historians in sympathy with the people.

¹ Schleiermacher, § 155, note: "An excited, egoistic interest, and, consequently, every partial tendency, is a most potent influence to pervert the historical vision in the scientific sphere, as in common life." Comp. Ullmann, p. 677: "In an age that is agitated by the spirit of partisanship, nothing is so likely to mislead as the temptation to make historical inquiry, among other things, subserve the demands of party and the interests of the day, because fame and advantage may be thus secured, for the moment at least, if not permanently. But where this is the case, the thorough and comprehensive study of sources will possess no great value." "The introduction of present interests into historical labours," says Ranke, "generally results in hindering the independent performance of such undertakings" (Pref. to Engl. Geschichte, p. xi). Ranke, no doubt, follows his objective tendency to an extreme, with reference to ecclesiastical contrasts as well as other matters. He writes history "in the placid frame of a painter of fancy pictures." See the review in the *Augsburg Allgem. Zeitung*, supplement, 345, 1860.

recognition of its most sacred interests—such as Tacitus, Möser, J. von Müller, Macaulay, Palacky. The objection might be raised, indeed, that, for example, on this principle, the history of Islam could be best treated by a Mohammedan, and that of Judaism by a Jew. We must acknowledge the force of this reply, in so far as the Christian inquirer into history who would know and describe those religions as they are in their inmost being, will be required to enter personally into the life of Mohammedanism or Judaism, so as to reproduce them from within himself. It only remains to inquire whether such reproduction be possible; and at this point frequent errors have, unquestionably, taken place. Often, too, has the narrow spirit of Christian ecclesiastical historians prevented them from forming a correct estimate of the conditions of heathendom. For

Christianity not chargeable with narrow Church history.

this, however, Christianity must not be blamed. Where the latter has attained to its highest development, it can be said with propriety that the Christian “proves all things.” For the most independent and unprejudiced representation of a lower condition is always executed from a higher

The lower best understood by the higher.

level. Indeed, the really moving principle of the lower state can be thoroughly apprehended and understood by him only who occupies the higher level.¹ The manner in which the Christian may apprehend and elaborate Judaism and Mohammedanism differs greatly from the treatment which the Jew or Mohammedan is able to accord to Christianity, or even to his own religion, to which he stands related as a dreamer. The “veil of Moses” is on their faces. The real character of such institutions is apparent only to the awakened and sober research of Christendom. The further elucidation of this question belongs to apologetics. We do not assert that certain branches of Church history are beyond the capacity of persons who have no sympathy with the vital principle of Christianity, or who are even in antagonism with it. But the efforts of such inquirers must be restricted either to the mere collecting of material or to narrow criticisms, while that which really gives movement and life to history remains concealed from their vision. This was emphatically the case with Gibbon.

Life, in its inmost relations, is disclosed only to him who loves,²

¹ Upon this point we coincide with Möhler (*Kleine Schriften*, ii, p. 284), the only difference being that he considers Roman Catholicism as constituting the highest stage, while we assign that character to Protestantism. Which of these latter is better qualified to understand the other, is, of course, a question of time, upon which, however, our own opinion is formed.

² Marcus Aurelius was a good and also an intelligent man, but he was no more able

while it is doubtless true that the eye of a cold observer, or of a foe, will be keener to discover faults and frailties than that of love, which is often blind to such traits. Such blindness, however, is checked by the cultivation of the true Christian spirit, which is a spirit of truth. In this spirit, and in the measure in which it has been received into us, the im-
The Christian spirit both loving and just.
 age of the Church is most accurately reflected, not, indeed, without spot or wrinkle, but exactly as it is, and with all its lights and shadows. The cold spirit of worldly wisdom catches upon the concave mirror of its really hollow head and heart only the caricature of the original picture, while it remains itself unknown.¹

SECTION XII.

METHOD OF CHURCH HISTORY.

It is impossible, in view of the wide extent of Church History, to give equal attention to all the noteworthy factors within its domain. For this reason the relation of the general to the particular will be determined by the degree of theological interest, which attaches to a given matter. Every scholar who desires to work successfully upon details will need to possess a general and systematic acquaintance with the whole field in its
The whole field must be understood.
 synchronous relations, in order to which the study of tables, or, better, the construction of them, will become necessary.

to conceive of the spirit that brought the martyrs to the stake, and strengthened them there, than a person absolutely devoid of speculative ability is able to comprehend Spinoza's ethics.—Kliefoth, *Einl. in d. Dogmengesch.*, p. 174.

¹ Gieseler says: "The ecclesiastical historian must renounce party interest, as well as prejudices arising from the peculiarities of his time. On the other hand, he cannot penetrate into the internal character of the phenomena in Church history without a Christian, religious spirit, because no spiritual manifestation that is foreign to our habits can be apprehended with historical correctness without being reproduced in the imagination of the inquirer. Only such inquiry can discover where the Christian spirit is entirely wanting, where it is only used as a mask, and what other spirit has taken its place. Nor will it fail to recognize its presence, even though finding expression under forms of manifestation that are strange to our eyes."—*Church History*, American edition, vol. i, pp. 23, 24. Comp. also Schleiermacher, § 193, and Fricke, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengesch.*, i, § 7. Thiersch makes it the great task of Church history "to recognize what, in the course of events, was natural development, what was human guilt, and what, in consequence of man's sin, supernatural interference." He continues: "Church history rises to the character of a true and real theological science only when it connects the whole of the past with the present, and traces the progress of events from the beginning of the Church to our day, in order thus to reveal the work of the Church that now is, to lay a foundation for the understanding of our own times, and open a conjectural view into the future of the Church." (*Vorlesungen über Protestantismus und Katholicismus*, vol. i, p. 138 sq. Erlangen, 1846.) Comp. also Ullmann, in the Preface to the 8d ed. of Neander, *Church History*.

But, from this whole, the Protestant theologian will be able to select those particular sections in which the Church was either predominantly engaged in the course of healthful development, or was returning to such state, involving, of course, the leading features of the history of its decline and degeneration during the Middle Ages, and also, as a necessary connecting link, the grand outward form assumed by the Church of that period.

Every scholar should, moreover, be especially acquainted with the history of the Church, and the Reformation, and Protestantism, in his own country; and, since the universal derives animation and clearness only through its details, it follows that the study of special features is to be recommended as being particularly fitted to stimulate and shape the mind.

The field of Church history is infinite in its extent,¹ and there is, consequently, no limit to the labours of the Church historian., The student, however, who is preparing for ordinary service in the Church, the theologian in a general way, can only be required "to be familiar with so much of this infinite material as is necessary to his independent participation in the government of the Church." To this end the general history of the Church, which furnishes him ^{Necessity of} ^{general history.} or with the needed outline, is first of all necessary." Every scholar should be so familiar with this as to leave no gap in the progress of centuries of development which he cannot fill with the names about which its principal reminiscences cluster. The fixing of this synchronistic syllabus in the memory, by the use of tables, is indispensable, the entering upon particulars being nothing more than a planless digging and grubbing unless such a picture of the whole has been impressed on the mind.

Nor is the mere picture all that is necessary. The outline must be filled in, and made to live—a feature that should not be made to depend on accidental circumstances. No general decision can be rendered as to whether the history of the Church is more important in its ancient, its intermediate, or its modern periods. It is easy to see that the intermediate history will sustain a different relation to both the ancient and the modern, according to the Protestant or the Roman Catholic view. But it would be unhistorical, and ultra-Protestant as well, to argue that we might dispense with the history of the Middle Ages and the hierarchy as beyond the limits of the Church. If it be regarded simply as a history of the decline and corruption of the Church, it would be important to understand it for that very reason. But it is more than this. It connects the

¹ Schleiermacher, § 184.

² Schleiermacher, §§ 91, 185, 187.

various threads in many ways, however much it severs and entangles them in other respects; and it is necessary that such points of connexion be recognized, and that the Roman Catholicism of the Middle Ages be apprehended in its principles, a work that is possible only when some acquaintance with the details of the material of history has been secured. It would, nevertheless, lead away from the goal at which the Protestant student of theology aims in the study of Church History, if special attention were directed, for instance, upon the details of the history of the popes and religious orders, or of the Romish ritual—as has been done in Hurter's *Innocenz III.*¹—while only a rapid survey is taken of the Reformation and the history of more recent times, or too great brevity is exercised while treating the ancient Church. The latter and the history of the Reformation, with the events resulting from it, constitute, therefore, the real soil of the Protestant Church, upon which the Protestant theologian should by all means be at home, even though he may not ignore the Middle Ages. The relation might almost be compared with that of the study of the Old Testament to that of the New, in the department of exegesis.

To the above we must add the Church history of the student's native land. Every one ought to possess a more intimate knowledge of the founding and extension of Christianity in his own country, and be more familiarly acquainted with the history of its ecclesiastical institutions, and especially of Protestantism within its bounds, than will be possible to him from general history alone. In this direction private studies will become necessary to supplement the instruction received in the theological seminary.

It is further necessary that just proportions be observed in the extent of treatment accorded to the different departments in the life of the Church. Protestants are inclined to discuss the history

¹ Comp. § 14, and Schleiermacher, §§ 154 and 191. We would direct attention to the fact that, in the study of Church history in general, the leading object is not a mere knowledge of details and the cramming of the memory—not merely *conception*, but *perception*. Comp. Roth (in Gelzer's *Prot. Mon. Blätter*, 1851, Dec., p. 364): "The objective history of the Church may be learned from lectures or books, and is an object of conception; but the subjective history requires perception, as does scarcely another study. If the latter be taken as the object of conception merely, it will afford no nourishment to the mind. Is there anything more discouraging than an examination at which the candidate expresses his opinion respecting Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Abelard, in the precise terms which he copied from the respective lectures?" It appears, then, that to stimulate—be the subject what it may—remains the principal object of the historical lecture.

of teaching with greater thoroughness than the history of constitutions and worship. For a long time they neglected the history of art altogether, though it has now been properly restored by Hase, Piper, Hemans, and Northcote to a place in the organism of Church History. The history of heresies should be treated in such way as to give prominence to the principal tendencies represented by the several heresies, and avoid distracting the gaze by dwelling too greatly upon unimportant details. At the same time, the danger incident to the generalizing process, of becoming superficial, and obliterating what is peculiar in any particular instance, should not be overlooked. It will, accordingly, be useful to pursue, at times, a thoroughly specific and particular question down to its last threads, and this not only for him who devotes himself professionally to the study of Church History, but for every person who desires to arrive at a clear and living apprehension of the facts of ecclesiastical history in general.

This leads us to monography, and, more immediately, to biography. It is not only greatly instructive, but also truly refreshing and edifying, to enlarge one's own limited life by the process of entering thoroughly into the life of an age, or even of an individual and his inmost soul, until, so to speak, we breathe, think, and feel with him, look with his eyes upon the outer world, and travel, preach, and suffer with him. Let it be admitted that a momentary partiality is likely to result from this process. It will yet be most readily removed by a later absorption into a contemporaneous character of different type, by which means a new metempsychosis is passed through, and by a different road. An increased interest will also be obtained by studying, side by side, two antagonizing personalities, which appear to have been raised up in order to complement each other, like the two poles of the physical world; by explaining each by comparison with the other; and by constructing, in a psychological way, the history to which they give movement and life from such personal factors.

For illustration, let Bernard of Clairvaux be placed beside Arnold of Brescia, Anselm beside Abelard, Erasmus beside Hutten, Luther beside Zwingli, Calvin beside Castellio, Knox beside Cranmer, and Bossuet beside Fénelon. Such parallels, if drawn by the hand of some Christian Plutarch, would necessarily be highly suggestive. In connexion with this subject it is important, however, that the law of mutual interaction be not overlooked, by which each age is seen to be the product of the spiritual and personal forces that exert a controlling influence upon it, while

they, in turn, are the product of their age, having been rooted in a long, extended past. It is equally improper to say that men make history, and to regard them as being merely the expression and human image of the prevalent spirit of their time. Every person is the child of his time; but it is not given to every one to become the father of a new generation.

While biography is undoubtedly a most valuable study for the developing theologian,¹ it yet does not exhaust the task of monography. The description of special forms of ecclesiastical life, for example, of Port Royal in the seventeenth century, and the pursuit of special tendencies of mind down to their ultimate details, such as monasticism, mysticism, and other vagaries, is, likewise, highly instructive and invigorating, provided the particular subject be not treated as a dry curiosity, but in its connexion with the entire development of the life of the Church.²

THE HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

* F. C. Baur, *Epochen d. kirchl. Geschichtsschreibung*, Tub., 1852; Ter Haar, *Histiographie der Kerkgeschiedenis*, part i, Eusebius to Laurentius Valla; part ii, Flaccius to Semler, Utrecht, 1870-71. John G. Dowling, *New Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History, Attempted in an Account of the Progress, and a Short Notice of the Services, of the History of the Church*, Lond., 1838. Philip Schaff, *What is Church History?* Phila., 1846.

The origin of the Church itself furnishes the necessary condition for the origin of its history, and every monument of the life and work of the Church is, directly or indirectly, a source for that history. The construction of a historical representation could not be undertaken before some time had elapsed, that is to say, before ground had been gained upon which to rear the structure of Church history. The first work of this kind was furnished by Eusebius, to A. D. 324, who availed himself, however, Eusebius. of the labours of an earlier writer, Hegesippus, about A. D. 150. Editions of Eusebius were published by Valesius, Paris, 1659 sqq., and Reading, Cant., 1720; manual edition by Heinichen, Leips., 1827-39, 4 vols.; and by Burton, including *Vita Constantini*, 1838. Later editions have been by Schweigler, 1852; Lämmer, 1859; and Dindorf, 1867. With regard to his trustworthiness, compare the

¹ Fricke says: "Every person is an individual mirror of his time. But the great spirits of any age are those who are most pure, clear, and prophetic. It should never be forgotten, however, that both for the purposes of conception and representation, they are only important as being the especially prominent expression of the common mind of their respective times, which ought always to be apprehended," p. 6.

² Upon this point compare, especially, Ullmann in the Preface to Trechsel, *History of Early Antitrinitarians*.

works of Moeller, 1813, Danz, 1815, Kestner, 1817, Reuterdahl, 1826, Rienstra, 1833, and Baur, 1834.

Eusebius was succeeded by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and the Arians, and by Philostorgius in the fifth century, and Theodorus and Evagrius in the sixth. Concerning the first three, compare Holzhausen, 1825. The Arians are found in the editions by Reading and Valesius.

The Latin Church was less prominently engaged than the Greek Latin histo-
rians. during the first period in writing Church history. Mention should, however, be made of Rufinus, the translator of Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus at the beginning of the fifth century, Cassiodorus and Epiphanius (*Tripartita History*) in the middle of the sixth, and Gregory of Tours at its close. In the Middle Ages the following chroniclers in the West are prominent, besides the Byzantines (collected by Niebuhr, 1828 sqq., 46 vols.)—Syncellus, Theophanes, and Nicephorus, in the fourteenth century; Jordanes (550), Gregory of Tours (died 595), the Venerable Bede (died 735), Paul Warnefried (died 795), Haymo of Halberstadt (died 853), Anastasius (died 886), Hermannus Contractus (died 1054), Lambert of Herzfeld (died 1077), Sigbert of Gemblours (*Gamblacensis*, died 1112), Adam of Bremen (died about 1076), and still others. Besides these are many martyrologists and legend writers, who are generally uncritical and deficient in the qualities belonging to the historian.

The influence of the Reformation was less immediately effective Reformation of
less effect upon
Church history
than exegesis. upon Church history than upon exegesis. It was not until after the religious Peace of Augsburg, when the storms were in part over, that a number of Lutheran theologians at Magdeburg, headed by Matthias Flacius (*Illyricus*), undertook a diffuse history of the Church, arranged by centuries, and, at the same time, under rubrics. This is the *Magdeburg Centuries*, 1559–74. The work consisted of thirteen folio volumes, each of which covered a century. The German edition is by Count Münnich, Hamburg, 1855. Compare Twesten's *Matthias Flacius*, Berlin, 1844, pp. 16, 17. In opposition to the *Centuries*, Cæsar Baronius published *Ecclesiastical Annals* (12 vols., Rome, 1588–1607) extending to 1198; other editions, with continuations, have also been issued from a Romish point of view.

For a long time afterward Church history was cultivated simply in the interests of denominational parties. Of Lutherans, the more prominent writers were Kortholdt, Ittig, Cyprian, Buddæus, Weissmann, and Pfaff. Among the Reformed we may mention Hospinian, Turretin, J. Hottinger, Jablonsky, and others. Of Roman

Catholics we enumerate Natalis (Noel), Alexander, Fleury, Bos-suet, and Tillemont. To these names might be added Denominational character of Church history. those of members of the order of St. Maur in France, who rendered useful service by publishing editions of the Church Fathers, and by the investigation of special portions of Church history. The mystic Gottfried Arnold endeavoured to give an impartial attitude to Church history by taking the part of the hitherto despised heretics and sectarians, in his *History of the Church and of Heretics*, published in 1699, and frequently since. But his impartiality became partiality in their behalf. The great Mosheim, who died in 1755, was the first to succeed in Mosheim the reformer of Church history. obtaining for Church history the character of an independent science, and from his time Göttingen became the seat of ecclesiastical historiography.¹ Special departments of Church history were industriously cultivated by Chr. Wilhelm Fr. Walch, who died in 1784, and by his father, Joh. Georg Walch, of Jena, who died in 1775.

Semler made use of criticism that was carried to the extent of scepticism, but "without any capacity to appreciate the peculiar conditions of earlier times,"² or a single trace of historical art. At this time the influence of modern views also began to make itself felt, giving rise to the pragmatistical method of writing history. We must regard G. J. Planck, of Göttingen, as the chief representative of this tendency. L. T. Spittler wrote a manual which is thoughtful, though evincing a rather worldly judgment, and devoted to the service of the enlightenment of the age. By its perspicuous arrangement, however, it affords a clear view of the field. Schröckh's work, in forty-five volumes, furnishes a rich wealth of material, and is written from the standpoint of moderate orthodoxy. The rationalistic idea of Church history, by which it becomes predominantly the history of human folly, finds expression in Henke. Schmidt, of Giessen, retraced the way to that purely objective position which requires indifference as the primary and cardinal virtue of history. Danz and Gieseler, in their text-books—the latter furnishing a more judicious and comprehensive selection—led the student back to the sources, by accompanying the text step by step with extended quotations from the original authorities. Gieseler, especially, has added the most thorough elucidations of difficult points.

This pre-eminently learned treatment was followed by the orthodox and emotional method of Neander, who made Neander. it his object to present the history of the Church upon the basis of learned inquiry, "as a speaking demonstration of the

¹ Compare F. Luecke, *De Joanne Laurentio Moshemio*, Gott., 1837.

² Hase.

divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian edification, doctrine, and warning, for all who are willing to hear."¹ While his glance was almost exclusively directed to the internal side of ecclesiastical events, in order to ascertain their religious importance, the rich mind of Hase reflected, in all its features, the image of the times which, by his artistic skill, he outlines in glowing colours for such persons as are already somewhat familiar with the subject. Guericke, occupying the position of a prejudiced denominational polemic, employed the rich material, which had to some extent been borrowed from other writers, for the purpose of a defence of Lutheranism, accompanied with unjust insinuations against the Reformed Church views. A similar, though more independent, disposition characterizes the work of Kurtz, which is distinguished, however, by the richness of its material. Schleiermacher has left a valuable work behind him in his Church History. It, however, lays no claim to completeness, and is rather a magnificent sketch in the spirit of the author than a work of history. Baur has given the results of his critical inquiries and combinations from the standpoint of a definite, philosophical theory, in a series of descriptions of the several periods, which have lately been combined into a whole.

In the Roman Catholic Church various tendencies likewise come into view. Jansenism found its organs, and also the Illuminati of the reign of Joseph II. of Austria (1765-90), both being in opposition to the method of writing history in support of ultramontanism. Stolberg's Church History came to an end with year 530, and was continued by Kerz to the year 1300, and by Brischar to the present time. Among later works, those by Katerkamp, Ritter, Locherer, Doellinger, Annegarn, Reichlin-Meldegg, and Alzog, are of principal importance.

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SECTION XIII.

AUXILIARY SCIENCES.

The auxiliaries to Church History are:

I. Material.

1. A knowledge of the general history of the world, more particularly as connected with the general history of religion; of philosophy and the sciences; and of art, especially Christian art.
2. The Geography of the Church.
3. The Chronology of the Church.

II. Instrumental.

1. Acquaintance with the languages necessary for the study of sources. This is Ecclesiastical Philology.
2. The antiquarian skill needed for judging of the value of sources, monuments, and documents. This we call Church Diplomatics.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The importance of familiarity with the general history of the world will be apparent without discussion. Not only does church history, as an integral part of the history of the world and the human race, assume the latter, but the two often pass over into each other to some extent, as, for instance, in the Middle Ages. Hence, in this special field, non-theological and theological writers find a common ground.¹ Nor may we forget that the history of Christianity, which certainly should not be lost sight of in the history of the Church, covers a larger surface than church history itself. To oppose the history of the world to the latter, as being merely profane history, would be to commit serious error. "This is a mode of judging," says Rothe, "in connexion with which the Christian element in history will inevitably appear to become more and more exhausted as time goes

¹ We cite, in illustration, Raumer's *Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen*, and similar works. An acquaintance with the literature of general history is taken for granted. Comp. Gieseler, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 19, notes.

on, and the history of the Christian world becomes the history of the self-effected dissolution of Christianity, according to a view that has now become popular."¹

Nor may the ecclesiastical historian disregard the history of other religions, among which the history of the Israelites is most nearly related to Christianity, so that Old Testament history becomes at this point an auxiliary to church history. Not only did the arrangements of the early Church grow out of the later organization of the Jewish synagogues, but the whole of the Middle Ages presents to view, in certain aspects, a repetition of Israelitish history, such as the hierarchy, the temple service, the Levitical institution, the unifying of Church and State, intolerance, and the parallel between David and Charlemagne. The history of Mohammedanism is important for a proper conception of the Spanish, and also of the Greek and later Oriental, churches, as well as for the Crusades. But Hellenism and Paganism should also arrest the attention of the church historian. For the peculiarities of Christianity, whose historical development he is to describe, can only be recognized by contrast with non-Christian institutions. The significance of Christianity in universal history cannot be scientifically understood without acquaintance with the ancient world and its religions. Nor does the fact that the delineation of church history in general will connect itself with descriptions of the religious state of the ancient world, constitute the only important feature. For the missionary history of every country will always embrace the two leading elements of a description of what previously existed, and a statement of what subsequently took its place. The material for religious history will, consequently, increase in quantity in proportion as the continued expansion of Christianity provides a constant supply of new material for church history.

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- J. E. Erdmann, *Versuch einer wissenschaftl. Darstellung der Gesch. der neueren Philosophie*. 3 vols. in 6 parts. Lpz., 1834-53.
- C. A. Brandis, *Handb. der Gesch. der griech-rom. Philosophie*. Berl., 1835-66. 3 vols.
- *A. Schwegler, *Gesch. der Philos. im Umriss*. Stuttg., 1848. Eng. transl. by J. H. Seelye. N. Y., 1856.
- K. Fortlage, *genetische Geschichte der Philosophie seit Kant*. Lpz., 1852.
- K. Fischer, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*. Mannh. (Heidelb.), 1854-77. 6 vols. (I, 1 in 3d ed., Münch., 1878; I-IV, in 2d ed., Heidelb., 1865.)
- E. Zeller, *die Philosophie der Griechen*. Tüb., 1844-52. 3 vols. (Vol. I, in 4th ed. Lpz., 1877; II, in 3d ed., 1875-79; III, in 2d ed., 1865.)
- *Gesch. der deutschen Philos. seit Leibnitz*. (1873.) 2d ed., Münch., 1875.
- L. Noack, *Gesch. der Philosophie in gedrängter Uebersicht*. Weim., 1853.
- L. Strümpell, *Gesch. der Philosophie der Griechen*. Lpz., 1854-61. 2 vols.
- *F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philos. von Thales bis auf die Gegenwart*. 3 vols. Berl., 1862-66. Vols. I, II, 5th ed. by M. Heinze, 1876 f.; III, 4th ed. by Roicke, 1875. American ed. by H. B. Smith and President Porter (of Yale).
- J. G. Erdmann, *Grundriss d. Gesch. der Philos.* 2 vols. Berl., 1876. 3d ed., 1878.
- F. Schmidt, *Grundr. d. Gesch. d. Phil. von Thales bis Schopenhauer*. Erl., 1867.
- E. Hermann, *Geschichte der Phil. in pragmatischer Behandlung*. Lpz., 1867.
- *J. H. Scholten, *Gesch. der Religion u. Phil. From the Dutch by Redepenning*. Elberf., 1868.
- Du Bois-Reymond, *über die Grenzen des Naturerkennens*. Lpz., 1872. 4th ed., 1876.
- †Stöckl, *Lehrb. der Gesch. der Philos.* 4th ed. Mainz, 1876.
- F. Harms, *die Philosophie seit Kant*. Berl., 1876.
- R. Eucken, *Gesch. u. Kritik der Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart*. Lpz., 1878.
- *F. A. Lange, *Gesch. des Materialismus*. Iserl., 1866. 3d ed., 1876 f. 2 vols.
- L. Noack, *philosophie-geschichtl. Lexikon*. Lpz., 1878 ff.
- Later treatises on Logic: Drobisch (4th ed., Lpz., 1875), Sigwart (Tüb., 1878-78. 2 vols.), Ueberweg (4th ed., Bonn, 1874), J. Stuart Mill (7th ed., Lond., 1868. 2 parts). On Psychology: J. H. Lichte, (Lpz., 1872 f., 2 parts), Erdmann, (Grundriss, 5th ed., Lpz., 1878; psycholog. Briefe, 5th ed., Lpz., 1875), Hartsen, Berl., 1874), Fr. Brentano (1st vol., Lpz., 1874), Beneke (4th ed., Berl., 1877).

The history of other sciences, with the whole of the history of literature and culture, also belongs within the Church historian's circle of knowledge, and should not be disregarded by him. Church history often derives assistance from the history of jurisprudence, of commerce, of war, and of medicine. A specially important aid, however, is found in the history of Christian art as connected with the history of the progress of culture. Compare Archæology and Liturgies.

GERMAN AND FRENCH.

1. HISTORY OF CULTURE AND LITERATURE.

- G. F. Kolb, *Gesch. der Menschheit und der Cultur*. Pforzh., 1843. 2d ed., 1872.
 G. Klemm, *allgemeine Culturgesch. der Menschheit*. Lpz., 1843-52. 10 vols.
 W. Wachsmuth, *allgem. Culturgeschichte*. Lpz., 1850-52. 3 vols.
 II. Rückert, *Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes in der Zeit des Uebergangs aus dem Heidenthum in das Christenthum*. Lpz., 1853 f. 2 vols.
 G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*. Lpz., 1859. 4 vols.
 *J. Burckhardt, *die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*. Basel, 1860. (Comp. especially the 6th section.) 2d ed. by L. Geiger. Berl., 1877.
 *M. Carrière, *die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturenwickelung und die Ideale der Menschheit*. Lpz., 1863-73. 5 vols. 3d ed. of vols. 1 and 2, 1877.
 J. J. Honneger, *Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Culturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. Lpz., 1868-74. 5 vols. Idem: *Liter. u. Cultur des 19. Jahrh.* 2d ed., Lpz., 1879.
 O. Henne am Rhyn, *Kulturgesch. der neueren Zeit*. Lpz., 1870-72. 3 vols.
 F. v. Hellwald, *Culturgesch. in ihrer natürl. Entw.* Augsb., 1874. 2d ed., 1876.
 H. Rau, *kulturgeschichtl. Vorlesungen*. Wiesb., 1875.
 F. Lenormant, *die Anfänge der Cultur*. (From the French.) Jena, 1875. 2 vols.
 A. v. Cremer, *die Culturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*. 1st vol. Wien, 1875.
 J. Scherr, *deutsche Kultur- und Sittengesch.* Lpz., 1853. 7th ed., 1879.
 — *Germania*. 2 Jahrtausende deutschen Lebens. Stuttg., 1876 ff.
 R. Calinich, *aus d. 16. Jahrh. Culturgeschichtl. Skizzen*. Hamb., 1876.
 C. Grün, *Culturgesch. des 17. Jahrh.* 1st vol. Lpz., 1880.
 A. von Eye, *Atlas der Culturgesch.* Lpz., 1875.
 J. G. T. Grässe, *Lehrb. einer allgem. Literärgesch.* Lpz., 1837-59. 4 vols.
 W. Wackernagel, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur*. Basel, 1848-56. 2d ed., by E. Martin, 1877 ff.
 G. Gervinus, *Gesch. der deutschen Dichtung*. 5th ed. Lpz., 1871 ff. 5 vols.
 H. Gelzer, *die neuere deutsche National-Liter. nach ihren ethischen u. religiösen Gesichtspunkten*. Lpz., 1847-49. 2 vols. 1st vol., 3d ed., 1858.
 A. F. C. Vilmar, *Gesch. der deutschen National-Literatur*. 19th ed. Marb., 1879.
 A. Koberstein, *Grundriss der Gesch. der deutschen National-Literatur*. 5th ed. Lpz., 1872 ff. 5 vols.
 H. Kurz, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur mit Proben aus den Werken der vorzüglichsten Schriftsteller*. Lpz., 1851 ff. 3 vols. 7th ed., 1876 f. 4 vols.
 K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Gesch. der deutschen Dichtung*. Dresd., 1859 ff. 3 vols.
 H. J. T. Hettner, *Literaturgesch. des 18. Jahrh.* Braunsch., 1856-70. 6 vols. (Deutsche Liter. 3d ed., 1879. 4 vols.)
 †G. Brugier, *Gesch. der deutschen Nationallit.* 4th ed. Freib., 1874.
 W. Hahn, *Gesch. der poet. Liter. der Deutschen*. 8th ed. Berl., 1877.
 J. Scherr, *allgem. Gesch. der Liter.* 5th ed. Stuttg., 1875. 2 vols.
 R. Gottschall, *die deutsche Nationallit. des 19. Jahrh.* 4th ed. Lpz., 1875. 4 vols.
 J. Hillebrand, *die Deutsche Nationallit. im 18. u. 19. Jahrh.* 3d ed. Gotha, 1875. 8 vols.
 G. Brandes, *die Hauptströmungen der Liter. des 19. Jahrh.* From the Danish by A. Strodtmann. Berl., 1872-76. 4 vols.
 R. König, *deutsche Literaturgesch.* Bielef., u. Lpz., 1879.¹

¹ Other writings, by Barthel, Büchner, Weber, Wolff, etc.

2. HISTORY OF ART.

- J. C.W. Augusti, Beiträge zur christl. Kunstgeschichte u. Liturgik. Lpz., 1841-46. 2 vols.
 † J. H. K. v. Wessenberg, die christl. Bilder. Constanz, 1827. 2 vols. New ed. St. Gallen, 1845.
 C. J. v. Bunsen, die Basiliken des christl. Roms. München, 1843. (Text for the copper plates by Gutensohn and Knapp.)
 F. Kugler, Handbuch der Gesch. der Malerei von Constant. d. Gr. bis auf die neuere Zeit. Berl., 1837. 3d ed., Lpz., 1867. 3 vols. English ed., by Eastlake, Head, and Waagen. 3 vols. Lond., 1854-60.
 — Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte. Stuttg., 1841 f. 5th ed., by Lübke, 1872. Dazu: Atlas, Denkmäler der Kunst, etc., by E. Guhl and J. Casper. Stuttg., 1845 ff. 2 vols. 3d ed., by Lübke u. v. Lützow, 1874 ff.
 C. Schnaase, Gesch. der bildenden Künste. Düsseldorf, 1843-61. 7 vols. 2d ed., 1866-79. 8 vols.
 G. Kinkel, Gesch. der bildenden Künste bei den christl. Völkern. Bonn, 1845.
 * H. Otte, Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie des deutschen Mittelalters. Nordh., 1842. 4th ed., Lpz., 1863-68.
 F. Piper, Mythologie u. Symbolik der christl. Kunst. Weim., 1847-51. 2 parts.
 W. Lübke, Vorschule zum Studium der kirchl. Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters. Dortm., 1852. 6th ed., Lpz., 1874. The same, Gesch. der Architektur. Lpz., 1855. 4th ed., 1870; Grundr. der Kunstgesch. Stuttg., 1860. 8th ed., 1879. 2 vols. English ed., by Wheatley. Lond., 1870.
 † G. M. Dursch, Aesthetik der christl. bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters in Deutschland. Tüb., 1854.
 * † J. Kreuser, Kölner Dombriefe oder Beiträge zur altchristl. Kirchenbaukunst. Berl., 1844.
 — der christliche Kirchenbau; seine Geschichte, Symbolik, etc. Bonn, 1851. 3 vols. Vol 1 in 2d ed. Regensb., 1860.
 A. H. Springer, die Baukunst des christl. Mittelalters. Bonn, 1854.
 A. Reichensperger, Fingerzeige auf dem Gebiete der kirchlichen Kunst. Lpz., 1854.
 E. Förster, Geschichte der deutschen Kunst. Lpz., 1851-60. 5 vols.
 — Denkmale deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei u. Malerei. Lpz., 1853-69. 12 vols.
 H. G. Hotho, Geschichte der christl. Malerei. Berl., 1867.
 M. Carrière, Aesthetik. 2d ed. Lpz., 1873. 2 vols.
 Bethmann-Hollweg, Christenth. u. bild. Kunst. Bonn, 1875.
 R. Garrucci, storia dell' arte cristiana nei primi 8 secoli della chiesa. Prato, 1875-79. 5 vols.
 C. B. Stark, Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst. Lpz., 1878.
 G. Portig, Relig. u. Kunst in ihrem gegenseit. Verhältniss. Iserl., 1879 f. 2 parts.
 Th. Seemann, Gesch. der bild. Kunst. Jena, 1879. 2 parts.

Periodicals for Christian Art:

- Christliches Kunstblatt, founded by C. Grüneisen and others, now pub. by Merz u. Pfannschmidt. Stuttg., 1858 ff. (Yearly, 12 Nos.) Organ for Christian Art, pub. by J. van Enderst. Köln, 1851 f.

Biographical:

- Quatremère de Quincy, histoire de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes. Par., 1830. 3 vols. * Deutsch, Darmst., 1831. 2 vols.¹
 J. Meyer, allgem. Künstlerlexicon. (2d ed. of Naglers K. lex.) Lpz., 1870 ss.

¹ The special literature is elaborately and accurately given in Otte's work. Compare also Liturgies.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

1. CULTURE AND LITERATURE.

- H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*. 3 vols. New ed., Lond., 1878.
 J. W. Draper, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. Revised ed. 2 vols. N. Y., 1876.
 F. Guizot, *The History of Civilization from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution*. Translated by William Hazlitt. 4 vols. N. Y., 1859.
 W. A. Mackinnon, *History of Civilization*. 2 vols. Lond., 1846.

2. ARCHITECTURE AND ART.

- C. L. Eastlake, *History of the Gothic Revival*. Lond., 1872.
 C. E. Norton, *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages*. Venice, Siena, Florence. N. Y., 1880.
 G. A. Poole, *History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*. Lond., 1848.
 G. G. Scott, *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture Prior to the Separation of England from the Roman Obedience*. Lond., 1881.
 Sir G. Scott, *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture*. Illustrated. 2 vols. Lond., 1879.
 E. Sharpe, *Seven Periods of English Architecture*. Lond., 1871.
 C. E. Clement, *A Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art*. N. Y., 1872.
 ——— *Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and their Works*. 6th ed. N. Y., 1881.
 Mrs. A. Jameson, *The History of our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art; with that of his Types: St. John the Baptist, and other Persons of the Old and New Testaments*. 2 vols. New ed. Lond., 1872.
 ——— *Legends of the Madonna*. New ed. Lond., 1879.
 ——— *Sacred and Legendary Art*. New ed. 2 vols. Lond., 1879.

Ecclesiastical geography differs from political in the fact that countries are divided up according to their ecclesiastical relations. The Christian countries are separated from the non-Christian; and, within the limits of the former, the denominational are distinguished from the unconfessional by boundaries, while the territory embraced within the limits of a single ecclesiastical organization is further subdivided into the politico-ecclesiastical sections covered by patriarchates, dioceses, parishes, and other subdivisions. The places are topographically distinguished—with all of which the remarkable facts in Church history stand connected. In studies we must connect geographical charts with historical tables. It is also proper to adduce ecclesiastical statistics in connexion with the geography. But the former, considered as the science of ecclesiastical conditions, is rather a product of Church history than an auxiliary science.¹ The aggregate resulting from the past is represented in the present. We may name the following as important works:

¹ Older works by Clericus, Spanheim, Bingham, and others; see Gieseler (*Amer. ed.*), vol. i, pp. 16, 17. The works of Stäudlin, Wiggers, and Wiltach; see under *Statistics*.

Atlas antiquus sacer, ecclesiasticus et profanus, collectus ex tabulis geographicis Nic. Samsonis. Tabulas emendavit J. Clericus. Amst., 1705 sq.

A. W. Moeller, *Hierographie*, vide supra under Tables.

J. E. T. Wiltsch, *Atlas sacer s. ecclesiasticus. Gotha, 1843 sq.* English ed., translated by John Leitch. 2 vols. Lond., 1859.

3. Ecclesiastical chronology is identified with chronology in general. The different eras are of special importance. The following are the best works in this department:

J. Ch. Gatterer, *Abriss d. chronologie. Gött., 1777.*

J. Ideler, *Handbuch der chronologie. 2 vols. Berl., 1825, 1826. Lehrbuch do., 1831.*

F. Piper, *Kirchenrechnung. Berl., 1841-44.*

* Brinkmann, *Prakt. Handb. d. histor. Chronologie. Lpz., 1843.*

F. v. Schmöger, *Grundriss d. christl. Zeit- u. Festrechnung. Halle, 1854.*

J. E. Riddle, *Ecclesiastical Chronology. Lond., 1848.*

II. 1. Ecclesiastical philology. This is generally understood to designate the knowledge of ecclesiastical Greek and Latin, and it is upon this soil that the language of the Church has actually secured its chief development in the accumulation of ecclesiastical ideas. But, in reality, the language of every people to whom the Gospel has forced its way—and it is destined to be proclaimed in all the tongues of the earth—is within the range of ecclesiastical philology. This applies to the different Oriental languages, the speech of the Occident during the Middle Ages, and the modern tongues of Europe and other lands. To trace the ecclesiastical language of Germany through its development by the mystics, Luther, the pietists, and the influence of modern philosophy, would prove a serious task. Much remains to be done with reference to the etymology of German ecclesiastical terms. The best authorities are:

J. Cp. Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e Patribus graecis (1682). 2d ed. Amstel., 1728. 2 vols. f.*

C. du Frêne (du Cange), *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis. Lugd., 1688. 2 vols. f.*

— *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis (1678); ed. nova opera et stud. Monachor. ord. S. Benedicti. Par., 1733-36. 6 vols. f. New ed., by G. Henschel. Par., 1840 ff. 7 vols. 4.*

P. Carpentier, *Glossarium novum ad scriptores medii aevi cum latinis tum gallicos. Par., 1766. 4 vols. 4.*

(J. C. Adelung) *Glossarium manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis. Halle, 1772-84. 6 vols.*

* G. Hoffmann, *Gesch. des Kirchenlateins. 1st vol., 1st part. Bresl., 1879.*

Compare also C. L. Bauer, *Glossarium Theodoretum* to Schultz's edition of Theodoret (Halle, 1775); *Index Latinitatis Tertullianae* (by Schütz and Windorff) to Semler's edition of Tertullian (Halle, 1776), and the important Indices to the larger and smaller editions of the same church Father by Ohler (Lpz., 1853 f.).

- H. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache durch Beispiele erläutert.* Marb. (Lpz.), 1869. 2d ed., 1875.
- J. G. Scherz, *Glossarium germanicum medii aevi* ed. Oberlin. Argent., 1781-84. 2 vols. f.
- E. G. Graff, *althochdeutscher Sprachschatz.* Berl., 1894-46. 6 vols.
- J. A. Schmeller, *bayerisches Wörterbuch.* Stuttg., 1827-37. 4 vols. 2d ed., edit. by Frommann. Münch., 1872 ff. 2 vols.
- W. Wackernagel, *altdeutsches Handwörterb.* Basel, 1861.
- *J. and W. Grimm, *deutsches Wörterbuch.* Lpz., 1854 ff. Continued by Heyne, Hildebrand, and Weigand; completed to the letters A-F. H-K.
- *F. C. Diez, *etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen.* Bonn, 1855. 3d ed. 1874.
- A. von Raumer, *die Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache.* Stuttg., 1845.

2. Diplomats is the science of diplomas, i. e., of original documents (bulls, briefs, letters of institution or foundation, patents, etc.), with which numismatics, heraldry, and sphragistics are to be combined. We may cite as the best late work:

- W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Lpz., 1871. 2d ed., 1877). On the general works of Mabillon (2d ed., Par., 1704), Gathrer, Schoenemann, see Gieseler, vol. i, p. 20.

SECTION XIV.

SEPARATE BRANCHES OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

It is possible to separate special divisions of the life of the Church from the whole field included within the range of Church history, and consider them in their separate development. In this regard the history of the system of Christian teaching comes most prominently into notice under the name of the History of Doctrines, and as endowed with a measure of independence. The next place is held by Patristics and Ecclesiastical Symbolics, and upon these follows the history of worship and of the constitution of the Church, under the name of Archæology. The latter constitutes the historical basis of practical theology, the others of dogmatic.

The possibility of according a special treatment to precisely these branches is not the result of accident. Dogma, constitution, and worship are the principal elements in the life of the Church. The territorial expansion of Christianity and its persecutions constitutes the trunk from which these branches rise. It is, of course, possible to consider the trunk itself alone. But it would result in furnishing but a barren picture so long as we look only to territorial extension and limitations. The History of Missions has, likewise, received separate treatment. But this will, whenever it is treated

forcibly, itself expand into Church history in its earliest periods, inasmuch as the object must be to show how Christianity was extended, what doctrines it taught, what customs and manners it introduced, and what fruits it has produced.¹ Or, it may be compressed into a monograph on the life of some distinguished herald of the faith.² It is only to recent Histories of Missions that the name can be applied with propriety, and here, if regard be had chiefly to the impulse of missionary effort, it coincides with the history of Christian life and work, such as the founding of missionary societies, or, where the attention is directed principally to results, it leads immediately into Statistics.

The History of Missions has the same bearing upon the work of the future missionary that is exercised by the study of the history of the home Church upon him who designs to labour within its limits. Its special treatment should be appropriate for his needs. In proportion as the Church itself enlarges its share in missionary effort will every theologian be obliged to pursue this branch of Church history, to the extent necessary for acquaintance with the whole history of the Church, and for imparting animation to the picture in which that whole is described. It is otherwise, however, with respect to the branches mentioned above, which, bending outward from the trunk of the history, became immediately interwoven with the growth of other fields, such as the dogmatic and the practical. In this instance we obtain, on the one hand, the History of Doctrines, and, on the other, Archæology, with this solitary distinction—that the history of doctrines has assumed more of the form of a distinct science than is the case with archæology. This we shall show hereafter.

In addition to dogma, constitution, and worship, Christian ethics might receive attention; and, in point of fact, both the History of Christian Morality itself and that of Christian Ethics, as a science, have received separate treatment. Properly considered, the latter should constitute the parallel to the History of Doctrines, or, rather, should grow out of a living treatment of this branch. The former appears to the best advantage as the blossom of Church history itself, and it is still a serious question whether it be advisable to separate it from the parent stem. The most vital view of Christian morality is obtained from the study of monographs and of archæology, especially when the latter is

¹ This is the case in Blumhardt's *Missionsgeschichte* and Tzschirner's *Fall des Helden*.

² The "Lives" of Columba, Gallus, Boniface, Ansgar, Otto v. Bamberg. Comp. the literature in text-books of Church history.

made to embrace a somewhat extended field. On the relation of Patristics and Symbolics to the History of Doctrines, see below.

Still other branches might be separated, but they would possess value only for the professional historian. This is true, especially, of the careful tracing of such features "as must be included in the historical presentation for the sake of continuity alone, and which are not to be regarded as properly historical elements."¹ A complete history of the popes, for instance, carried through from beginning to end, or a similar history of Church councils—in short, every thing in connexion with which completeness requires that, in addition to matters exerting an influence upon the history, special attention be given to names and figures, and the like, can only claim the attention of such persons as are called to cultivate historical science for its own sake. For "nothing is more unfruitful than the heaping up of historical knowledge which neither serves any practical ends nor imparts itself to others through the representation."²

LITERATURE OF MISSIONS.

GERMAN AND FRENCH WORKS.

- The *Lettres édifiantes*. Par., 1717–76 (in the spirit of Romanism).
 Die Hallischen Sammlungen von 1705–69 (dän. Mission) und 1770–1834 (ostind Mission).
 Die Elberfelder Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des reiches Jesu Christi seit 1815.
 Das Basler Magazin, by Blumhardt (1817–39) und Hoffmann, (new series since 1857 by Ostertag, now Hesse).
 Der evang. Heidenbote (Basel, 1827 ff.).
 Der Missionsfreund (Berl., 1846 ff.).
 Das Elberfelder Missionsblatt by Ball (1836 ff.).
 Das Calwer M. Blatt by Barth, now Gundert; das Hermansburger, by Pastor Harms; das der Brüdergemeinde by Römer; das evang. luther. by Graul, now Harde-land; die Biene auf dem Missionfelde, by Gossner, and others, now by Plath.
 Die Missionsharfe (Gütersloh, 1866). G. Warneck, in der "Allgem. Missionszeit-schrift." Gütersl., 1874 ff.
 H. Zschokke, Darstellung der gegenw. Ausbreitung des Christenth. auf dem Erdball. Aarau, 1819.
 C. Blumhardt, Versuch einer allg. Missionsgesch. Basel, 1828–37. 3 vols.
 J. H. Brauer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heidenbekehrung. Altona, 1835 ff. The same: das Missionswesen der evang. Kirche. Hamb., 1851.
 B. St. Steger, die prot. Missionen. Hof, 1838–50. 3 small vols. New ed., Halle, 1857.
 F. Lücke, Missionsstudien. Gött., 1841.
 *Handbüchl. der Missionsgesch. und Missionsgeographie. 3d ed. Calw, 1863.
 W. Hoffmann, Missionsstunden. 2d ed. Stuttg., 1848. Neue Samml., 1851. Elf Jahre in der Mission. Stuttg., 1853.
 J. Wiggers, Gesch. der evang. Mission. Hamb., 1845 f. 2 vols.
 K. C. G. Schmidt, kurzgef. Lebensbeschreibungen der merkwürdigsten evang. Mis-sionare. Lpz., 1836 ff. 8 vols.

¹ Schleiermacher, § 154.

² Ibid. 191 Anm.

- R. Vormbaum, *evang. Missionsgeschichte in Biographien*. Elberf., 1849-60. 4 vols. (Vol. 1 in 2d ed., 1859-61.)
- Alb. Ostertag, *übersichtliche Gesch. der protest. Missionen von der Reform. bis zur Gegenwart*. Gotha, 1858.
- F. Fabri, *die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission*. Bar-men, 1859.
- Fr. Hoffmann, *Missionsgeschichten*, with Preface by W. Hoffmann. 6 vols. Potsd., 1857-61.
- G. E. Burkhardt, *kleine Missionsbibliothek*. Bielef., 1858-62. 4 vols. and Register.
- Ch. H. Kalkar, *Gesch. der christl. Mission unter d. Heiden*. German by A. Michelsen, 1st part. Gütersl., 1860.
- Henrion, *allg. Geschichte der Missionen*. From the French by Wittmann. Schaffh., 1847 ff. 3 vols. (Compare also the single missionary accounts of Buchanan, Heber, Weitbrecht, Leupolt on India; Gutzlaff on China; Gobat on Abyssinia; Gerlach und Wangemann (Gesch. der Berl. M.-gesellsch. Berl., 1872-77. 4 vols.) on South America; Ellis and Krohn on the South Sea Islands; Wegener on the Friendly Islands, and the biographies of special missionaries.
- Wallmann, *Leiden und Freuden rheinischer Missionare*. 2d ed. Halle, 1862.
- Von Besser, John Williams, *der Apostel der Südsee*. 8d ed. 1868.
- Roman Catholic:
- † Wittmann, *die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen*. Augsb., 1841.
- On the Catholic Missions in China:
- Huc, *le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie, et en Thibet*. Par., 1857. 2 vols.
- On Missions in India:
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SECTION XV.

THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

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The History of Doctrines is a scientific representation of the gradual unfolding, establishing, and settling of the Christian faith

into a definite body of doctrines, the distribution of the same into its particular elements, and the transformations and changes through which it passed under the influence of different and progressive forms of culture. It forms the bridge between Historical and Systematic Theology, and employs Church history in the character of an auxiliary.

Christianity presented itself at the beginning with a doctrine, but not with a system of dogmatics. Its dogmas were compressed in the glad tidings of a salvation which had appeared to men, and its religious conceptions connected themselves with the figurative and popular phraseology of the time. The need of dogmatic development was only gradually felt. The tendency toward such development, which inheres in Christianity, was already apparent in its earliest adherents. The reflection and dialectics of Paul unfolded themselves side by side with the contemplation of John, both being strictly within the bounds of the religious sphere. But the necessity of defending Christianity against other modes of thought, and of guarding against the influence of the foreign principles of Judaism and Ethnicism, led by degrees to those definitions of doctrine which the Church accepted as its common symbol.

History of Doctrines defined.

Individual tendencies.

Individual tendencies come into view, however, beside the inclination toward a common form of doctrine. Different states of mind within the Church affected the mode in which its teaching was understood, and thus began the formation of a body of dogmas, conditioned by the circumstances of the time, and struggling into definite shape by the force of its own inherent nature. It is the task of the history of doctrines to follow out the process by which such formation of doctrine took place,

The task of doctrinal history.

to ascertain its internal laws, to compare what has come into being with the original from which it sprang, and trace it back to the idea, as well as to ascertain the measure of truth it may contain in the midst of the erroneous elements in which it is involved. This is a task that can certainly be fully performed by him only who has apprehended the significance of the doctrine in its profoundest meaning, so that it would seem that the history of doctrines could only be successfully treated where it follows upon dogmatics. It should again be remembered, however, that no branch of any science can be completely developed without involving the others in the process. Moreover, while it is certain that the history of doctrines, in its scientific perfection, presumes acquaintance with dogmatics, it is equally certain that

Relation of one science to others.

he alone is able to apprehend a doctrine in its vital relations who has cast a preliminary glance over its historical progress.

Without this it would be to him only a rigid hieroglyph, a dead statute.¹

The principal thing, in connexion with the problem which the history of doctrines is expected to solve, is to furnish an account of the relation between what has come historically into being and what was originally revealed. This must neither be regarded as, from the standpoint of a false biblical positivism, a mere degeneration, or a running off into ordinances of simply human origin; or, from the standpoint of speculative narrowness, as an unconditional advance from the mere conception to the pure idea. Attention must be equally bestowed upon the divinely intended and natural development of the truth contained in the Scriptural germ, and the divinely permitted, and likewise natural, aberrations from the truth, which are conditioned by the very fact of such development.

The history of doctrines has to do neither with evolution simply nor with corruption alone, but with both; and its work is, substantially, to determine the relation sustained by the one to the other. It deals with the positive acceptance of doctrine by the Church and with the petrifying influence of traditional beliefs, with agreements upon dogmas reached by the scientific process and with the insipid character they assumed in the course of rationalistic manipulations, with the transfiguration received at the hands of a true speculation and the volatilizing effects of idealistic processes, and, finally, with the pregnant interpretations of presaging minds and the obscurities entailed by a pseudo-mysti-

¹ The primary meaning of *δόγμα* is *statute, decree*, in the outward and positive sense. Comp. the "decree that went out from Cæsar Augustus," Luke ii, 1, and also Dan. ii, 13; vi, 8; Esther iii, 9; in the LXX, and 2 Macc. x, 8, in the Apocrypha. The term *δόγματα* is also applied in the New Testament (Eph. ii, 15; Col. ii, 14) to the Jewish ordinances from which Christ has delivered us; for it is to be presumed that the better class of exegetes are agreed that the teachings of Christianity are not so designated in those passages. Christian doctrine is never designated by the term *δόγμα* in the New Testament (*εὐαγγέλιον, κήρυγμα, λόγος* or *ὁδὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* being used instead); in Acts xv, 22 and 26, where it occurs, the reference is to conclusions reached with regard to a practical question. By the Stoics, however, the word is used in the sense of doctrine (or principle), e. g., by Marc. Aurel. in *Libro ad se ipsum*, ii. 13; and similarly the Latins employ the words *decretum, placitum* (Cicero, *Acad. Quæst.* iv, 9; Senec. *Epp.*, 94, 95). This usage was afterward followed by the Church fathers. Comp. the citations in Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. *δόγμα*, and Hagenbach, *Hist. Doct.*, § 1, note 1. But they too employ it in the sense of a firm, established principle (*το θεῖον δόγμα*), and at others to designate a temporary subjective opinion. The History of Doctrines may not, however, be made simply a record of passing opinions, although it must take cognizance of them as elements of temporary importance. Comp. J. P. Lange, *Christl. Dogmatik*, p. 2; Herzog, *Encykl.* iii, 433.

cal mode of treatment. The work of the history of doctrines is properly performed only when all such elements are rightly apprehended and appreciated.¹ This task should not be rendered more difficult by the carrying of unnecessary ballast of any kind. For this reason much that requires notice in the treatment of Church history may here be presumed as falling within that department.²

SECTION XVI.

GENERAL AND SPECIAL HISTORY.

The unfolding and demonstrating of the dogmatic spirit that runs through the whole will be continually apparent in the defining of particular dogmas, which again, in turn, determine the doctrinal spirit of an age. For this reason the general and the special history of doctrines is found to be interwoven in such a way as not to admit of their being totally separated, but to require that, in their treatment, regard be had to the relations they sustain to each other.

Christian doctrine is, in its root, a *unit* (τὸ θεῖον δόγμα), and the various formulations of particular doctrines are merely Christian doctrine a unit. members into which the organism may be divided. A living recognition of this fact leads to the ignoring of the distinction between general and particular; and many late writers have, accordingly, rejected the division into general and special history of doctrines. It is certain that the method which presents the general history in one series, or volume, and the special in another, without establishing any living relations between the two sections, must be set aside.³ For the former thus becomes merely an expanded chapter from ecclesiastical history—a history of the Church teaching, and also, in part, a history of dogmatics—while the latter is reduced to the character of a historical supplement to dogmatics,

¹ It would not be proper, for instance, to formulate in advance a general idea of rationalism, mysticism, etc., and then seek to adapt the different features as observed to such preconceived scheme. Every such tendency must be explained in conformity with its historical aspects and relations; comp. Klieforth, p. 319.

² Hase says: "The distinction between the History of Doctrines as a special science, and as a part of Church history, is merely formal in its character. For if the difference of extent, which is determined by external considerations, be left out of the question, the two deal simply with different poles of the same axis. The former treats the dogma as it develops itself in the form of definite conceptions, while Church history discusses the dogma in its relation to outward events." Church History (Blumenthal and Wing's ed.), p. 12. Similarly Klieforth, p. 324: "The whole of Church history is to be regarded as introductory to the History of Doctrines." Concerning its relation to other historical departments (e. g., the history of heresies), comp. Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrines (Smith's ed.), § 6.

³ This is the chief fault of arrangement in Augusti and Baumgarten-Crusius.

a historia dogmatis. This difficulty can be avoided only by an elastic treatment of the general history, so as to allow it to extend partially into the Special, or by arranging the matter according to periods, and giving the precedence in each period to the general history. Thus the dogmatic principle governs the period, and the special history is made to follow. In this case the general history of doctrines takes on the character of an introduction.¹ We consider the latter to be the more suitable plan in a methodological point of view, though, for purposes of artistic treatment, the former is even still more favourable. The arrangement of the particular doctrines, moreover, should not be unconditionally governed by a firm and previously constructed dogmatical system, but solely by the dogmatic character that predominates in the periods to which they respectively belong.² For every period has a keytone, derived from some doctrine of preponderating influence, which underlies and runs through the whole of its development, and gives to the period its dogmatic character.³ This principle leads to a division into periods of corresponding character.

Elastic treatment of General History necessary.

Arrangement controlled by dogmatic character.

¹ At this point we coincide with Kliefoth, p. 334 *sq.*: "When the entire mass of dogmatic phenomena has been classified by periods, it becomes requisite to describe the internal progress of the periods, and to determine the historical point within the period that each particular dogmatic phenomenon has occupied. Not until this has been done can the historical relations of every such phenomenon be thoroughly understood." It is, of course, evident that external events, e. g., the progress of a controversy, the holding of councils, the publication of decrees, etc., cannot be entirely disregarded, since they afford the necessary points of connexion. But "the writer on the History of Doctrines will need to include only so much as may be necessary to constitute the thread between the different knots in the course of dogmatic development, or as may be otherwise needed for illustrating the history of the dogma upon which he is engaged." Kliefoth, p. 346; also p. 367 *sq.*

² The inadmissible character of the "local" method was already noticed by de Wette (*Rel. u. Theol.*, p. 179). Comp. also Kliefoth, p. 370, and Meier's method of treating the History of Doctrines. Baur correctly observes (*Dogmengesch.*, p. 14): "The general element which must be prefixed to the history of each period as an introductory feature can consist only in the determining of the general point of view under which each period must be regarded, and in the assigning of its rightful place to the period as a definite element in the process of historical development in general."

³ Hase says, "That certain particular doctrines form epochal points in one century, while certain others fix the attention in another, is not the result of accidental causes merely, but is an interest grounded in necessity; and any dogma can attain to epochal importance but once in the course of its history."—Rosenkranz, p. 248. "History embraces only what has truly lived at some time, and has thereby become immortal, as constituting a point at which the rays of the Christian mind were refracted; for it is a history of the living, and not of the dead, even as God is the God of the living only."—Church History, p. xii.

SECTION XVII

DIVISION OF DOCTRINAL HISTORY.

Comp. Hagenbach, article in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1828, No. 4, and Kliefoth, l. c., p. 56.

The division of the history of doctrines into periods is governed by a different principle from that which applies in connexion with Church history in general. The epochs which appear important to the Church, considered as a whole, are here secondary to those which give a different direction to doctrine. It follows, therefore, that the division is to be conformed to the dogmatic spirit which prevails in, and animates, any given time.

Division of doctrinal history into periods.

It has been remarked, that the periods in ecclesiastical do not always coincide with those of secular history, because elements that exert a decisive influence in the one department are not equally important in the other. A similar observation will apply to the relation sustained by the history of doctrines to that of the Church. For, while the history of doctrine is involved in that of the Church and its constitution, it is yet possible that "great changes may come to pass in the field of the one, while all continues unchanged in the other; and that a particular time may be important as the point of an unfolding in the one while it is altogether unimportant in the other."¹ It is, of course, difficult to discover the true turning points at which the circles of doctrine separate, and the knots at which they run into each other. The determining of such points is itself dependent on the fixing of the nature of the dogma. The inquirer who regards the speculative side of the dogma as the regulative feature will mark out a different division from him who, before all else, goes back to the religious disposition of which the dogma is simply the intelligible, but inadequate, expression, and who seeks to ascertain what practical influence was exerted by the dogma upon an ecclesiastical period. In a similar way the material aspect, which is the preponderance of certain doctrines—or the formal element—which is the practical conditions under which the formation of a doctrine was brought to pass—may become the determining influence with different minds.

Difficulty of discovery of beginnings of change.

The division we advocate, for instance, into Apologetical, Polemical, Scholastico-Systematic, Symbolical and Confessional, Philosophically Critical, and Speculative Periods, is predominantly formal, while Kliefoth has proposed a

Material and formal methods.

¹ Schleiermacher, § 166.

division according to material conditions, based, at the same time, in the formal way, on national characteristics, and has ingeniously subdivided the several periods into stages of growth, of settling in symbolic form, and of decline. His first period is the Grecian, in the course of which both the objective doctrines of God and of Christ (Theology and Christology) were developed (Origen, Athanasius, and the Cappadocians). The second is the Roman Catholic (Augustine and the Scholastics), to which the development of Anthropology belongs. The third is the Germanico-Protestant (after the Reformation), which moves within the field of Soteriology (Justification, Repentance, Sanctification). The fourth (the present), finally, has for its task to attain to a correct recognition of the Church, and thereby to a sound eschatology, based on the development of the Church considered as the kingdom of God.

Baur divides the whole of the history of doctrines, in strict accordance with his settled Hegelian philosophy, into three principal periods: "The period of the ancient Church is the period of self-producing dogma and of the Christian religious consciousness—the substantiality of the dogma, which attains to objectivity in the dogma, and knows itself to be identical with it. The period of the Middle Ages and of Scholasticism is that in which that consciousness returns from the objectivity of the dogma to its own subjectivity, and contrasts itself with the dogma under the influence of rational reflection" (as though this influence had not been operative at any former time!). "The period since the Reformation is that of absolute self-consciousness, which is no longer bound to the dogma, (?) and has assumed a place above it" (?). This is not the proper place for exploding this division in its details, nor yet for extensively noticing other attempts.¹ What has been remarked may suffice to indicate the necessity for adopting a principle of division which is drawn from the movements of the life of the science itself.

¹ Münscher, for example, has adopted seven periods, and Lentz eight. Klee regards the division into periods as being wholly superfluous. J. P. Lange agrees, upon the whole, with the arrangement we have adopted (*Christl. Dogmatik*, p. 65). Gieseler and Neander have retained the periods of Church history in the *History of Doctrines* as well.

SECTION XVIII.

MODE OF TREATMENT.

The only proper mode of treating the history of doctrines is that which, emanating from the true nature of the dogma, brings to distinct consciousness both what is changeable in the statements of doctrine and what is permanent in the midst of the changes, and gives rise to such mutability itself. Only such a treatment, moreover, will warrant the expectation of realizing the practical advantage of preserving the history of doctrines from yielding to the authority of a rigid narrowness of the traditional type, and from being dominated by a mania for novelty and condemning what is old. For the historical sense is the necessary base of a theological character.

Best method of doctrinal history.

The remarks, in a preceding section, relating to a true pragmatism in the treatment of Church history, are applicable at this point as well. The form assumed by particular doctrines may, indeed, not unfrequently be explained by a reference to different and external causes, such as political conditions and events, the scientific culture of a period, or even conditions of climate, and other surroundings. But, while seeking such explanations, the dynamical principle, which works from within outwardly upon the material, should not be forgotten, since the triumph of any chief tendency over others, which cannot be altogether accidental, must, in the end, be judged by that principle.¹ This twofold and self-complementary mode of viewing the history will guard against two errors which lie near at hand. On the one hand, the recognition of what is changeable in received conceptions of doctrine, and the connected observation that much which once was held to be indispensable to a correct faith is no longer so regarded by even very orthodox scholars, while other things which are now stubbornly maintained in many quarters were formerly regarded more mildly, or with indifference, will preserve the mind from being bound by the unworthy fetters of any system whose influence tends to confine inquiry from the outset within narrowing limits, and will infuse a noble confidence in truth, which is not alarmed for the safety of the Church with the springing up of every breeze.

The dynamic principle important.

Necessity of recognizing changes.

But, on the other hand, even greater attention will be fixed upon the one thing needful, which, whatever may have been the form of doctrine, has always asserted itself, and has always demonstrated,

¹ Comp. Rosenkranz, p. 248, and Hagenbach in Coburger Theol. Annalen, article Ueber den Sieg der Orthodoxie über die Heterodoxia, 1832, vol. 4, No. 1.

however frequent may have been its temporary obscurations, that it is the permanent element which is destined to abide. It will appear, moreover, especially when the periods have been properly arranged, and with evidential force, that every period was specially determined and guided by some particular truth; that, A central truth for every age. so to speak, it had its own polar star, by which it shaped its course, and which shone for it with a brightness such as, with a change of constellation, it could not possess for any other age. But God continually brings up new stars, with the object that all should guide to the One who is the salvation of the world. It is, therefore, a sign of crudeness, and of a want of genuine enlightenment, when the mind finds it impossible to so far enter into former modes of thought as to discover that the productions of the human mind, when engaged upon the very noblest work that could command its attention, are more than mere abortions of unreason and superstition.¹ The "absurdities of Scholasticism," which have so often been made matter for sport, are certainly as nothing when compared with the absurdity with which the schoolmen have been judged by the people, "whom they could not have used as copyists" (Semler).²

HISTORY.

Comp. Baur, *Dogmengeschichte*, § 6.

The history of doctrines, in its clearly defined outlines, is a new science. Materials for it have, however, been furnished from the beginning. A rich mine for discoveries exists already in ecclesiastico-historical and polemico-dogmatical works of the Church fathers, especially Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. Down to our own time, also, works on Church history contain material for the history of doctrines. While connected in this way with Church history on the one hand, the history of doctrines stands similarly related to dogmatics on the other. We have only to bear in mind the great dogmatical works of Chemnitz, Hutter, Quenstedt, J. Gerhard, and others. Works preliminary to the history of doc-

¹ Rosenkranz, *ubi supra*: "While it cannot be denied that arbitrariness and accident form an element in the History of Doctrines, as in every thing that is human, it is also true that the play of subjectivity, its dabbling in opinions, forms a feature that destroys and subordinates itself, as being unimportant, to the real movement. The estimate of the History of Doctrines which finds in it merely a lumber-room of human follies and silly opinions, is itself a silly opinion, which has no perception of the yearning of the mind to know its own inner nature, and no conception of the secret alliance which binds all the actions of the mind into a general whole." Comp. Kliefoth, p. 208 *sq.*; Baur, *Dogmengesch.* § 3, and (with reference to the unhistorical disposition of Rationalism) pp. 42, 43.

² Comp. Möhler, *Kleine Schriften* i, p. 131 *sqq.*

trines proper were furnished by the Roman Catholic theologians: Petavius (1644–50, 1700), Thomassin (1684–89), Dumesnil (1730), and by the Protestant Forbesius a Corse (1645 *sqq.*). It is only since the days of Semler and Ernesti that a separate treatment was thought of (Ernesti, *ubi supra*, and Semler's Introduction to Baumgarten's System of Doctrine, Halle, 1759 *sq.*). At first, the attention was merely directed to the accumulation of material, and this was followed with the critical treatment of doctrines, for the expressed purpose of "enlarging the range of vision for incipient theologians or theological students in general" (Semler). The positive method of treatment was soon added, and the history of doctrines was made to serve in defence of dogma in the interests of Apologetics (Augusti). The higher view, which has regard equally to the critical and the dogmatical elements, and which dialectically mediates the contrasts between the positive and the speculative, is a fruitage of the recent science.

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- K. Vorländer, tabellarisch-übersichtliche Darstellung der Dogmengesch. nach Neanders dogmengeschichtl. Vorlesungen. 1. (oder apologetische) und 2. (oder polemische) Periode. Hamb., 1835-37. 3. (Uebergangs-) u. 4. (scholastische) Periode. 1855. Fol.
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3. MONOGRAPHS ON HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

a. *On the Apostolic Fathers and the Clementines.*¹

- A. Hilgenfeld, die apostolischen Väter. Untersuchungen über Inhalt u. Ursprung der unter ihren Namen erhaltenen Schriften. Halle, 1853.²
- J. H. B. Lückert, die Theologie der apostol. Väter in übersichtl. Darstellung, in (Hilgen-) Niedners Zeitschrift für die histor. Theologie. Jahrg., 1854. Heft 4.
- A. Schliemann, die Clementin. Recognitionen, eine Uebersetzung der Clementinen. Kiel, 1843.
- die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften u. der Ebionitismus. Hamb., 1844.
- A. Hilgenfeld, die clementin. Recognitionen und Homilien nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt. Jena, 1848.
- G. Uhlhorn, die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus nach ihrem Ursprung u. Inhalt dargestellt. Gött., 1854.
- J. Lehmann, die Clementinischen Schriften mit besonderer Rücksicht auf ihr literarisches Verhältniss. Gotha, 1869.
- (Here belong also: D. v. Cölln, Art. "Clementinen" in Ersch und Grubers Encycl. 1st sec., vol. 18, p. 36 ff. and D. Schenkel, de Clementinis, in dess. de eccl. Corinthia primaeva. Basel, 1838.)

¹ Here belongs also the literature of Church histories by Baur, Matter, Möhler, Neander, Schwegler, where we find much doctrinal history interwoven.

² Comp. the Rec. von Lipsius in Gersdorf Report. 1854. Vol. III, p. 65 ff.

b. *On Special History of Doctrines.*¹

- F. Delitzsch, die Gotteslehre des Thom. v. Aquino, krit. dargest. Lpz., 1870.
 F. C. Baur, die christl. Lehre von der Versöhnung. Tüb., 1838.
 — die christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Tüb., 1841–42. 3 vols.
 G. A. Meier, die Lehre von der Trinität in ihrer histor. Entwicklung. Hamb., 1844. 2 vols.
 K. A. Kahnis, die Lehre vom heil. Geist. Part 1. Halle, 1847.
 E. W. Möller, Geschichte der Kosmologie in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Origenes. Halle, 1860.
 *J. A. Dorner, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die neueste. Stuttg., 1839. 2d ed., Berl., 1846–56. Eng. ed., translated by Alexander and Simon. Edinb., 1862–64.
 K. Bähr, die Lehre der Kirche von dem Tode Jesu. Sulzb., 1832.
 A. Ritschl, die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung. 1st vol., Geschichte der Lehre. Bonn, 1870. Eng. ed., translated by J. S. Black. Edinb., 1872.
 Chr. E. Luthardt, die Lehre vom freien Willen und seinem Verhältniss zur Gnade, in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung dargestellt. Lpz., 1863.
 A. F. O. Münchmeyer, Das Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche. Gött., 1854.
 J. W. F. Höfling, das Sacrament der Taufe, etc., dogmatisch, historisch, liturgisch dargestellt. Erl., 1846–48. 2 vols. 2d ed., 1859.
 A. Ebrard, das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl und seine Geschichte. Frankf., 1845 f. 2 vols.
 K. A. Kahnis, die Lehre vom Abendmahl. Lpz., 1851.
 J. W. F. Höfling, die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen. Erl., 1851.
 A. W. Dieckhoff, die evang. Abendmahlslehre im Reformationszeitalter 1st vol. Gött., 1854.
 L. J. Rückert, das Abendmahl, sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche. Lpz., 1856.
 H. Schmid, der Kampf der luther. Kirche um Luthers Lehre vom Abendmahl im Reformationszeitalter. Lpz., 1867.
 (Corodi) kritische Gesch. des Chiliasmus. Lpz., 1781 ff. 2d ed., Zür., 1794. 4 vols.
 F. H. Hesse, der terministische Streit. Giess., 1877.
 H. J. Holtzmann, Kanon und Tradition, ein Beitrag zur neuern Dogmengeschichte und Symbolik. Ludwigsb., 1859.
 G. Teichmüller, Gesch. des Begriffs der Parusie. Halle, 1873.

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- W. R. Alger, Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life. New ed. New York, 1878.
 C. F. Cornwallis, Christian Doctrine in the Twelfth Century. Lond., 1850.
 J. Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine. 3 vols. Lond., 1864–66.
 W. G. T. Shedd, A History of Christian Doctrines. 2 vols. N. Y., 1869.

¹ See below the monographs on Patristics and Dogmatics.

SECTION XIX.

PATRISTICS AND SYMBOLICS.

An exact acquaintance with the lives and works of individuals who rose to eminence above their contemporaries as teachers of the Church (Patristics), and whose efforts prompted the development of dogma, is included, though not wholly absorbed, in the circle of studies belonging to the history of doctrines. But inasmuch as the dogma is not the concern of individuals merely, having become the possession of the Church, nor an ecclesiastical branch, because it is the expression of the common faith, the teachings of ecclesiastical confessions (Symbolics) likewise form an integral part of the history of doctrines.

SECTION XX.

PATRISTICS.

1. Herzog, Real-Encyklopædie. 2. M'Climock and Strong, Cyclopaedia.

The material usually comprehended under the name of patristics (patrology) is difficult to unite into an independent science with scientific limitations, because,

1. The term Church father itself designates a vacillating idea, whose only stability rests on empirical foundations.

2. The material of patristics is partly resolved in that of literary history and partly in that of ecclesiastico-historical monographs, while only the remainder is reserved for the use of the history of doctrines.

*Patres ecclesiae*¹ is the name given to men who by their intellectual energy promoted the life of the Church, especially in the earlier stages of its development. The additional name Church fathers. of *patres apostolici* is applied to such of them as stood nearest the apostles, the fathers of the first century, such as Barnabas, Hermas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias. The usage is, however, very variable. The Roman Catholic Church distinguishes between Church fathers, Church teachers, and Church writers. The latter class includes those who are not honoured as fathers, or whose orthodoxy is suspected—e. g., Origen—while Church teachers are those whose orthodoxy is acknowledged, and who have, in addition, exercised a determining and shaping influence upon the dogma. These are Athanasius, Basil the Great,

¹ Corresponding to the Heb. דָּבָר. The pupils of the rabbins were termed their sons. Comp. Schoettgen, Horae Hebr. et Talm., i, p. 745, on Gal. iv, 19; Clem. Alex. Strom., i, 317; αὐτίκα πατέρας τοὺς κατηχήσαντας φημέν; Basil the Great in Constitut. Monast., c. 20; Chrysost. Hom., 11 and 48, vol. v; Suiceri, Thesaur., E, p. 637 b.

Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom in the East; and Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great in the West. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura are also included with them. The boundaries of patristics are indefinite also as respects time. Limits of Patristics in time. Protestants close the series of Church fathers with the 6th century (Gregory the Great), Roman Catholics with the 13th. The scholastic divines, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, however, are preferably termed *doctores ecclesiae*, their activity being, in point of fact, chiefly limited to teaching; while, in the case of the fathers of the early centuries, the government of the Church, and also the characteristics of their personality, claim attention as well. This may be seen in the life of Cyprian, and in the much later illustration in Bernard of Clairvaux.

The Church fathers are not only ecclesiastical lights, *luminaria*, but also, in many instances, ecclesiastical princes, pri- Other terms for Church fathers. mates, and saints, *sancti patres*. This constitutes the reason why patristics is interwoven with different branches of the history of the Church. If it be chiefly regarded with reference to its biographical element—the lives of the fathers, to which some apply the distinctive name of Patrology¹—it will coincide with ecclesiastico-historical monography. If attention be directed only toward the writings left by the fathers, it will become a branch of the history of literature.² Thus patristics will constitute an element in the history of doctrines only in so far as the object is to comprehend the teachings of an ecclesiastical personage in connexion with the modes of thought which prevailed in his time, and to assign to it a suitable place in the dogmatical development as a whole. The difference prevails, however, that in the former case the person himself becomes, monographically, the central object of the inquiry, while the history of doctrines is more especially concerned with the opinion of the individual as related to the development of doctrine at large. The history of doctrines is, for instance, less concerned to know how Augustine attained to his convictions than how the Church came to adopt his views as its own.³

¹ Danz, p. 322.

² This may likewise be treated as a distinct branch which, however, will be simply a collateral branch of the history of Christian culture in general. We assigned to it a separate place in our first edition (and also in the History of Missions), and Pelt also accords it separate treatment "only because of its special importance for theologians, and because it is the customary method," and without assigning to it a place in the organism of theological sciences (§ 57). It is probably better for the purposes of encyclopædia to narrow down the framework, for which reason we give it no separate paragraph.

³ Comp. Hagenbach, History of Doctrines (Smith's ed.), § 5.

In all such cases it is difficult to understand why patristics should be erected into an independent study. In a scientific aspect it is immaterial whether the life of Augustine or that of Spener be under discussion—both of them are comprehended under the idea of monography. Bibliographical investigations, in relation to the various editions of Lactantius, have the same scientific character as though they were concerned with the letters of Luther or Calixtus. It follows, that the contribution to the history of doctrines ren-

dered by patristics is not different in substance from that furnished by every monograph in which doctrinal history is involved. For, while we must be concerned to know the doctrinal system of an Athanasius or Augustine, it is equally important that Anselm, Luther, Quenstedt, Bengel, Schleiermacher, and Rothe be made to contribute toward the common work. The only qualification to which weight attaches is, that the possibility of pre-eminent service decreases with the progress of time.¹ Real productiveness is greater in proportion as the development is near the point of origin. But it would, nevertheless, be arbitrary, and an evidence of mechanical views, if the attempt were made to confine such productiveness "altogether to the age of the so-called Church fathers."

Remarks of a somewhat similar character will apply to the appellation "classic." In neither case is it possible to draw a clearly defined line, although certain eminences will be presented to every eye as decidedly and energetically prominent; and, as in that instance, the attention of students is to be turned toward the classical, so patristical studies are to be recommended here, in order that familiarity with ecclesiastical modes of thought and language may be acquired at an early stage. To attempt the reading of all the Church fathers would be far too great a task for the student, to offset which the treatment of Church history should include an outline of patristics. Certain of the fathers may, in addition, be described in monographs, and the more important of their works be read, in part or as a whole, as patristic selections, under the direction of the teacher. For this purpose we may particularly recommend, in addition to the Apostolical Fathers, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Apologists (Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Minucius Felix, and some portion of Tertullian), the Alexandrians (Clement and Origen, at least in extracts or summaries), Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa (in a similar way), some of Chrysostom's Homilies and the work *De Sacerdotio*, and

¹ Schleiermacher, § 251.

Augustine's *Confessions*, *De Doctrina Christiana*, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, and *De civitate Dei*.¹

THE HISTORY OF PATRISTICS.

The necessity of collecting the material of patristics could not arise before an ecclesiastical literature had been formed. Jerome (died 420) composed *Illustrious Men*, or *Ecclesiastical Writers*, and was followed by Gennadius (490), Isidore of Seville (in the 7th century), Ildefonsus of Toledo (in the 8th), and by Honorius Augustodunensis, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Henr. Gaudavensis, Joh. Trithemius, and Aubertus Miræus (between the 12th and 16th centuries). All are found in J. A. Fabricii, *Bibliotheca eccles.*, Hamb., 1718. The Benedictine monks, more accurately the Congregatio St. Mauri, have distinguished themselves by their editions of the Church fathers; and a number of theologians in the Anglican Church have likewise performed meritorious work in this direction. In later times patristical studies were promoted in the Roman Catholic Church by Robert Bellarmine (in the 17th century), Caspar Oudin, Ellies du Pin, le Nourry, Tillemont, Ceillier, Lumper, Sprenger, Möhler, and others; and, in the Protestant, by Scultetus, Nolten, Oelrichs, Cave, Schoenemann, and J. G. Walch. The earlier works were more particularly confined to the bibliographical department, while in modern times the method of monographical discussion has been elevated into an art.

¹ R. Rothe, writing while yet a student, says, "I am convinced that no person can become a thorough and skilful theologian who has not made a serious and life-long task of the study of the Church fathers, and who has not derived adequate and spiritual strength from their sanctified spirit and their genuinely religious application of a solid learning. But for this the longest life will ever be too brief, so that there can be no thought of completing the work while at the university" (*C. Nippold* i, p. 98). Certain mediæval writers—Scholastics and Mystics—have equal claim to be made the object of careful study, especially Anselm, *Our Deus homo*, and pre-eminently the Reformers. The history of the Reformation, for instance, may be most attractively followed along the thread of the letters of Luther (published by de Wette), Zwingle (by Schuler and Schulthess), and Calvin (*Strasburg ed.*, by Strauss, Baum, and Cunitz). Every student should have also read, in addition to the more important of Luther's writings (the *Address to Christian Nobles of the German Nation*, and that on the *Babylonian Captivity*), the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon and Calvin's *Institutes*. In a word, the entire history of Christian literature should be made to pass in living forms before the eye of the theologian. This, however, is nothing more than the practical realization of the idea of thorough study of the field of Church history in general.

PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

GERMAN AND FRENCH.

1. *Best Editions of Collected Works of the Fathers.*

- Magna bibliotheca vett. patrum et antiqu. scriptorum ecclesiast.**, ed. Margarin de la Bigne. Par., 1575. Most complete, Par., 1654. 17 vols. fol.
- Maxima bibliotheca vett. patrum**, etc. Lugd., 1677. 27 vols. fol. (The Greek fathers only in Latin translations. Especially important because of introduction of medieval theologians.)
- A. Gallandii, **bibliotheca vett. patrum antiquorumque scriptt. ecclesiast.** Venet., 1765-88. 14 vols. fol. (Gives the smaller writings of the Church fathers in the most complete collection. However, it remains unfinished.)
- † M. Permaneder, **Biblioth. patristica.** Landsh., 1841-44. 2 vols. New ed., 1850. (Vol. I, entitled: *Patrologia generalis s. encyclopaedia patristica.*)
- † A. B. Cailleau et M. N. S. Guillon, **collectio selecta ss. eccl. patrum.** Par., 1829 ss. 148 vols.
- † J. P. Migne, **patrologiae cursus completus s. bibl. universalis ss. patr. scriptorumque eccl.** Par., 1844 ss. (Latin fathers to 13th century; Greek, to 9th, and still continued.)¹
- **theologiae cursus completus.** Vol. I, Par., 1879. (Expected to be in 28 vols.)
- † A. Reifferscheid, **Biblioth. patrum latin. italica.** (Catalogue of MSS. of Latin Church fathers in the Italian libraries.) Vienna, 1865 ff.
- † **Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum** ed. consilio et impensis Academiae litterarum Caesariae Vindobonensis. 1866 sqq. (Vol. I, Salpic. Severus. II, Minucius Felix. III, Cyprian. IV, [1876] Arnobius.)
- Horoy, **medii aevi biblioth. patristica.** Vol. I. (Honor. III.) Par., 1879. (Expected to be in 100 vols.)

2. *Extracts and Chrestomathies.*

- C. F. Rösler, **Bibliothek der Kirchenväter in Ueberss. und Auszügen aus ihren fürnehmsten, besonders dogm. Schriften, sammt dem Original der Hauptstellen und nöthigen Anmerkungen.** Lpz., 1776-86. 10 vols.
- J. Ch. W. Augusti, **chrestomathia patristica.** Lips., 1812. 2 vols.
- H. J. Royaards, **chrestomathia patristica.** Part I. Traj. 1831.²
- * L. de Sinner, **novus ss. patrum graec. sec. iv. delectus.** Par., 1842.
- Homiliarium patristicum**, edd. L. Pelt, H. Rheinwald, C. Vogt. Berol., 1829-32. Vol. I, fasc. 1-4.³
- J. C. Orelli, **selecta patrum eccl. capita ad exegesis sacr. pertinentia.** Tur., 1820-24. 4 specc.
- Fragmenta selecta ex scriptis patrum eccl. latinae**, edd. J. Hagen et A. Listov. Hafn., 1850.

¹ The collections of Oberthür (1780 ff.), Geradorf (for Latin fathers, 1836 ff.), and Richter (for Greek fathers, 1836 ff.), remain unfinished.

² The collection of Olshausen, see *Literature of Church History.*

³ At the same time also German; *Homiliensammlung aus den ersten 6 Jahrh.* Berl., 1839 ff. Comp. the *Predigten auf alle Sonn- und Festtage aus den Schriften der K. Väter* (Lpz., 1838 f. 2 vols.), published in German translation by J. C. W. Augusti, and also his *Auswahl von Camalreden der berühmtesten Homilisten der griech. und lat. Kirche aus dem 4. und 5. Jahrh.* Lpz., 1840.

- Bibliotheca patrum graecorum dogmatica*, cur. J. C. Thilo. Lips., 1853 f. 2 vols. Vol. I, S. Athanasii; Vol. II, (cur. J. D. H. Goldhorn,) Basilii et Gregorii Nazianzeni opp. dogmatica selecta. Acc. appendix Eunomii apologeticum et confessionem et Amphilogii epist. synodalem continens.
- F. Oehler, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, eine Auswahl aus deren Werken. Urschrift mit deutscher Uebersetzung.* Lpz., 1858 ff.
- † H. Hurter, *patrum ss. opuscula selecta.* Innsbr., 1868 ff. (thus far 39 vols.).
- V. Thalhofer, *Biblioth. der Kirchenväter. Auswahl der vorzügl. patr. Werke in deutscher Uebers.* Kempten, 1869 ff. (thus far 322 vols.).¹

3. *Editions of Patristic Writings for the Use of Students.*²

- Patrum apostolicorum opera recogn.* * † C. J. Hefele (Tüb., 1839; 5th ed., by F. X. Funk, 1878); other editions, by Reithmayr (Münch., 1844), on Barn. and Clemens, by E. von Muralt (Zür., 1847), on Clemens, Ign., and Polyk., by Jacobson (Oxford, 4th ed., 1863).³
- Patrum apostolicorum opera*, ed. A. R. Dressel; accedit *Hermæ Pastor ex fragm. graecis Lipsiensibus auctore C. Tischendorf.* Lips., 1857. * Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn undertook a new ed. of Dressel's ed. Lpz., 1875-77. 3 fasc. (Briefe des Clemens in 2d ed., 1876, Br. des Barnabas, 1878; minor edition of the whole work. Lpz., 1877).
- Bibliotheca patrum ecclesiasticorum selectissima*, cur. B. Lindner. Fasc. I-IV. Lips., 1857-61.
- Novum testam. extra canonem receptum* ed. A. Hilgenfeld. Lips., 1866.
- Clementis Romani epistolae* ed., Lightfoot (Lond., 1869), Laurent (Lips., 1870), Tischendorf (Lips., 1873), Hilgenfeld (Lips., 1876). The complete MS. of the Clementine Epistles found by Bryennius in Constantinople, in 1873, was published by the discoverer (Constantinople, 1875). The hitherto wanting portions of it were published by Lightfoot (Lond., 1877) as appendix to his edition of 1869, and by Gebhardt and Harnack (Lpz., 1876).
- J. G. Müller, *Erklär. des Barnabasbriefes.* Lpz., 1869.
- Barnabæ epistula* ed. A. Hilgenfeld. 2d ed., Lips., 1877.
- Clementis Rom. quae feruntur homiliae*, pub. by A. Schwegler. Stuttg., 1847. More complete by A. R. Dressel, Gött., 1853; P. de Lagarde, Lpz., 1865.⁴
- Constitutiones apostolicae*, pub. by W. Ueltzen. Schwerin, 1858; P. de Lagarde. Lpz., 1862.⁵
- Ignatius*, by W. Cureton: *Corpus Ignatianum.* Lond. (Berl.), 1849.
- Ignatii, quae feruntur epistolae*, ed. H. Petermann. Lips., 1849.⁶

¹ Also the rich collections of early Christian hymns by Ald. Manutius, G. Fabricius, Björn. Gebeer, and others. For more minute details see Winer, I, p. 679 f.

² Of the larger, and, for the most part, magnificent editions, we may mention chiefly those of Cotelierius, of the Apostolic fathers, Maran's ed. of Justin, Massuet's ed. of Irenæus, Rigoetius' ed. of Tertullian and Cyprian, Potter's ed. of Clemens Alexandrinus, de la Rue's ed. of Origen, Montfaucon's ed. of Athanasius and Chrysostom, Petavius' ed. of Epiphany, Vallarsi's ed. of Hieronymus, and the Benedictine ed. of Augustine.

³ After the large edition of J. B. Cotelierius (Par. 1672) and J. Clericus (Amst., 1698. 2d ed., 1794, 2 vols. fol.). Also editions by Ittig (Lpz., 1699), Frey (Bas., 1742), Busel (Lond., 1746), Hornemann (Hafn., 1898). On the Apostolic fathers see literature on History of Doctrines. See also: F. A. Karfer, *die Schriften der apostolischen Väter.* Breslau, 1847.

⁴ See also C. E. Francke, *die Lehren des Clemens von Rom.* in Guericke's und Rudelb. Zeitschrift 1841. III.

⁵ Likewise O. Krabbe, *über Ursprung u. Inhalt der apostol. Constitutionen.* Hamb., 1880.

⁶ J. S. v. Drey, *neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutt. u. Kanones der Apostel.* Tüb., 1832.

⁷ Also the works of Arndt, Düsterdieck, Bunsen, Baur, Denzinger, Hefele, Uhlhorn, Lipadus, Merx, Hilgenfeld, and others.

- Justini Martyris Opp. ed. J. C. Th. Otto. Jena, 1842 ff. 3 vols. 3d ed., 1875 ff. (Vols. 1-5 des Corpus apologetarum christian. saec. secundi; vol. 6 contains Tati-
ani oratio ad Graecos; vol. 7, Athenagorae opera; vol. 8, Theophili ad Autoly-
cum II. III.; vol. 9, [1872], Hermias, Melito.)
- Justini apologiae ed. † J. G. Braunius. 2d ed., Bonn, 1860.
- Epistola ad Diognetum, by J. C. Th. Otto. 2d ed., 1852.¹
- Irenaeus, by A. Stieren. Lpz., 1848-53. 2 vols. in 4 parts; by Harvey. Camb.,
1857. 2 vols.
- Minucius Felix, by Lübker. Lpz., 1836; by E. de Muralt. Zür., 1836; by H. Holden.
Camb., 1853.
- Arnobius, by Orelli (Lpz., 1816 f.), Hildebrand (1844), Oehler 1846 (in Gersdorf's
bibl. patr. latin. Vol. 12), Reifferschied (1875).
- Eusebius, hist. eccles., by Heinichen (Lips., 1827 f. 3 vols. 2d ed., 1868 f.), Schweg-
ler, (Tüb., 1852), Dindorf (Lpz., 1871).
- Cyprian, by Goldhorn in Gersdorf's Bibliothek, vols. ii, iii (Lpz., 1838 f.), by Krabinger
(Tüb., 1853), and G. Hartel (Vindob., 1869 f. 2 vols.).
- Tertullian, collected works by F. Oehler, in larger (Lips., 1853 f. 3 vols.) and smaller
editions (Lips., 1854).
- Lactantius, by Bünnemann (Lips., 1739; O. F. Fritzsche (Lips., 1842 ff. Vols. 9, 10
of Gersdorf's biblioth. patr.)
- Clemens Alexandrinus, by R. Klotz (Lpz., 1831 ff. 4 vols.), W. Dindorf (Oxford,
1868 f. 4 vols.).
- Origenes *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, by E. R. Redepenning (Lpz., 1836); works by Lommatsch
(Berl., 1831-48. 25 vols.), from the edition of de la Rue.
- Augustinus, Confessiones (with Preface by Neander, Berl., 1823; by Bruder, Lpz.,
1837), by Pusey (Oxon., 1838; from this edition also pub. and elucidated by K. v.
Raumer. Stuttg., 1856. 2d ed., Gütersl., 1876); de civitate Dei: Lpz., 1825, and
by J. Strange, Köln, 1850. 2 vols.; de doctrina christ. u. enchiridion, by Bruder
(Lpz., 1838).
- Chrysostomus de sacerdotio, by Bengel (Stuttg., 1725, and Lpz., 1825), by Leo (Lpz.,
1834); single Homilies by Bauermeister (Gött., 1816), Becher (Lpz., 1839), and
others.
- Basil the Great, Address to Christian Young Men on the Right Use of Heathen Au-
thors. Greek Text with German Annotations, by G. Lothholtz. Jena, 1857.

4. Introductory Writings.

- J. C. Walch, bibliotheca patristica literariis adnotatt. instr. Jen., 1770. New ed.
emendatior et mult. auctior adorn. a J. T. L. Danz, 1834.
- C. T. G. Schoenemann, bibliotheca histor.-liter. patr. latinorum a Tertulliano usque ad
Gregor. M., et Isidor. Hispal. Lips., 1792-94. 2 vols.
- H. J. Pestalozzi, Grundlinien der Geschichte der kirchl. Literatur der ersten 6. Jahrh.
Gött., 1811.
- † V. A. Winter, krit. Gesch. der ältesten Zeugen od. Patrologie. Münch., 1814.
- J. G. V. Engelhardt, Literar. Leitfaden zu Vorles. ü. d. Patristik. Erl., 1823.
- † F. W. Goldwitzer, Bibliographie der Kirchenväter u. Kirchenlehrer vom 1. bis zum
13. Jahrh. Landsh., 1828. The same, Patrologie verbunden mit Patristik. Nürnberg,
1834. 2 parts.
- J. T. L. Danz, initia doctrinae patristicae. Jena, 1839.

¹ Comp. the work of Otto, Jena, 1845, and W. A. Hollenberg, Berl., 1853; also the review of
Otto in Gersdorf's Repert. for 1854. 1st vol., p. 263 ff. J. F. Overbeck, über den pseudojus-
tinischen Brief an Diognet. Basel, 1873, 4., and the replies of Hilgenfeld and Kelm.

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SECTION XXI.

SYMBOLICS.

Symbolics, in a broad sense, designates the science of the origin, Definition of nature, and contents of all the public confessions in symbolics. which the Church has laid down a summary of its teaching, and which it has erected at certain times and under certain forms as the standard of its faith. In a more limited sense, the term is used to denote a knowledge of the distinctive teachings which, especially since the Reformation, separate the different divisions of the Church from each other in doctrinal matters, the contrast between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and the minor differences therewith connected. Symbolics forms an integral part of the history of doctrines, or coincides with comparative dogmatics, or polemics, in proportion as the purely historical or the dogmatico-polemical interest predominates in the stating and discussing of such opposing standards. It is probably best to regard it as a historical science connected with the history of doctrines, but as also, under this form, a necessary aid and point of transition to dogmatics.

Σύμβολον (a token, mark¹) denotes, in ecclesiastical usage, a formula preserved by tradition or in writing, by which all who belong to the same ecclesiastical party may recognize each other. The symbol is the common shibboleth, the ecclesiastical standard, about which the community is gathered. The use of such symbols, of which the so-called Apostles' Creed was the earliest, is derived from the ritual of baptism. Its first office, therefore, First and later office of symbol. was to distinguish the Christian, as belonging to a different religious society, from the Jew and the heathen; and it was afterward employed to distinguish orthodox Catholic

¹ Comp. Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.*, s. v., and Creuzer, *Symbolik* Mone's ed., § 16, p. 18). *Σύμβολον* signifies what is formed by the joining together of two parts; e. g., the term *σύμβολα* was applied to the two halves of the tablets which served as pledges of a contracted hospitality (*tessera hospitalitatis*). It was afterward employed to designate all unions; and, subsequently, everything that in the progress of time came to take the place of the coarse tokens of earlier times, a pledge in general. Thus we find it applied to the ring, which was given instead of ordinary contributions toward a common feast, and later to the pledge for subsequent redemption, which was in use in matters of exchange; also to the *tessera militaris*, the parole; in brief, to any token, any sign, by which those belonging together, the initiated, might recognize each other. Its derivation from *συμβάλλειν*, for the purpose of proving that each of the apostles contributed one article to the Apostles' Creed, is absurd. Nor is art symbolism to be taken into account in this connexion. This has its place, but in a different theological department (Liturgy), although but little has been done as yet toward its thorough scientific development. Comp. the section on Archaeology.

Christians from heretics. The *ὁμοούσιος* of the Nicene symbol served in this way to discriminate the adherents of the Athanasian (orthodox) faith from the Arians.

The Nicene, the so-called Athanasian—the Symb. Quicumque of later date—and the so-called Apostolic Creed, form the three principal symbols of the Church. But when the adherents of the purified doctrines separated from the Roman Catholic Church, in the time of the Reformation, they laid down the doctrines held by them in common, first apologetically, and then polemically, in separate symbolical writings, the Lutherans and the Reformed party each constructing their own, because of deviations from the truth that had taken place—each, however, holding fast to the three leading symbols of the early Church. The differences existing within the above-mentioned parties, together with the controversies that agitated the Protestant Church as a whole, gave rise to still further symbolical divergencies. It was also desired to erect barriers against all intermixture with non-Catholic bodies (Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturarians, etc.), with whom the Reformers wished to have nothing in common.

The following are the Lutheran symbols, brought together in 1580 in the Book of Concord: The Conf. Augustana, ^{Lutheran symbols.} 1530, the Apology, 1531, the Articles of Smalcald, 1537, and the Formula Concordiæ, 1579, to which must be added the two Catechisms of Luther, 1528 and 1529. The Reformed Confessions are less sharply distinguished from other theological productions, and less generally received. The more prominent are the Swiss (Conf. Bas. i; Helv. i or Bas. ii, and Helv. ii), Gallic, Belgic, Anglican (xxxix Articles), Scottish, and American, and the Anhalt, Brandenburgian, and Heidelberg Catechisms. To these must be added the Arminian Confession, by the Remonstrants of Holland. It consisted of 26 chapters, and appeared first in 1622.¹

The Roman Catholics, on their part, now saw themselves compelled to present more clearly what was distinctive in their teaching. This was done in the *Professio fidei Tridentina* and the *Catechismus Romanus*. The smaller sects and ecclesiastical parties likewise reduced to writing the points at which they diverged from the general belief; e. g., the Anabaptists (Mennonites), Socinians, Quakers, and others, although such writings have, in some instances, simply the authority of private productions. The Socinian *Catechismus Racoviensis* might deserve to be considered a symbolical book more than any of the others. The idea of confessional writings cannot be entertained in connexion with the Quakers, who make their

¹ Comp. Winer (Pope's ed.), *Creeds of Christendom*, p. 28.

religious life altogether independent of the letter, even that of the Bible.¹

The task of Historical Theology embraces even the origin and fortunes of these books. To whatever extent symbolics is primarily engaged upon this external history, it will coincide with the history of ecclesiastical literature. Or, it might, if not in too detailed a form, be incorporated with Church history, which is necessarily obliged to take notice of the origin of movements of great importance. But the task of symbolics is more extensive. What has been thus far noted partakes more of the nature of introduction, analogous to the introduction to the books of the Bible. To this must be added exegetical investigation, inasmuch as the meaning of these confessional writings is to be ascertained, construed, and explained. But as exegesis leads immediately into Biblical dogmatics as its resultant, so symbolics does not rest satisfied with having explained each particular confession, but passes on to construct, in harmony with the definitions of the several symbolical writings, a system of Roman Catholicism, of Protestantism, of Anabaptism, Socinianism, Quakerism, and the rest. Finally, it proceeds to compare these ecclesiastical systems with the general principles upon which they are based, or with each other, by an examination of particular doctrines which they receive. In the latter function it becomes Comparative dogmatics.² When it goes to the length of taking part directly in favour of some mode of belief, and of defending it, in opposition to other beliefs—a *g.*, the views of Protestantism against those of Roman Catholicism—it becomes Polemics.

Symbolics thus provides the weapons for polemics, and is its historical base. It is related to the history of doctrines as is the knot to the trunk of the tree, or the eddy to the stream. The history of doctrines is obliged to pass through the field of symbolics, and even becomes symbolics to some extent. In the history of doctrines we have made a distinction between the general and the special. Symbolics may similarly be treated in a general way by discussing principles, noting opposite ideas at large; for example, those of Roman Catholicism and

¹ The term symbolics is not, therefore, thoroughly appropriate, and can only denote, in instances where no symbols exist, that "the statements are conformed to the most classical and generally acknowledged mode of presenting any particular faith."—Schleiermacher, § 249, note.

² Schleiermacher, § 98, distinguishes between Comparative Dogmatics and Symbolics, but is not wholly decided to recognize either as a science which could well exist independently.

of Protestantism, or it may trace the particular differences in separate doctrines. The two methods must be combined. It has been justly observed, however, with reference to the conflict of principles, that the task of symbolics has not been fully accomplished when it has brought into view the existing dogmatic contrasts, since the differences between the several confessions extend also into the domains of ethics, politics, and social life.

The symbolics of to-day will, accordingly, need to be expanded into a science that shall not only embrace the dogmatic vital tendencies of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and, further, those of Lutheranism and Calvinism, of Episcopacy and Puritanism, of the Orthodox and the Schismatic in Protestantism, but also the moral, political, artistic, and scientific factors, bringing the whole together for purposes of comparison, and pointing out how every such confessional feature stands connected with the fundamental dogmatic principle upon which the confession rests.¹ The material for such a science, which would be highly interesting as bearing upon the history of culture as well, but for which the term "symbolics" would no longer be an adequate designation, must be sought in the history of the Reformation, and of later times, down to the present.

HISTORY.

Symbolics, in the broad sense, was already cultivated, in part, in the antiquity of the Church, inasmuch as certain teachers in the Church—like Augustine, On Faith and Symbol, A.D. 393—explained the ecclesiastical symbols. But a "definite recognition of ecclesiastical contrasts was begotten by the Reformation" (Pelt, p. 444). Symbols, strictly speaking, first originated in the Lutheran Church, though the term *confessio*, which was preferred by the Reformed, was also in use (*Confessio Augustana*). Upon the basis of this symbolism polemics unfolded itself, Chemnitz, *Examen concilii Trid*, being on the one side, and Belarmino, *De controversiis fidei*, on the other; and, likewise, between Lutherans and the Reformed party, Hospinian, *Concordia discors*, 1607, and Hutter, *Concordia concors*, 1614. The need of Historical Introductions to the symbolical books was not felt, however, prior to the middle of the 17th century.

This method of discussing simply the history of the books was supplemented in the 18th century by the pragmatic method, the foundation for which was laid by Planck,

¹ Pelt applies to this the name "Science of Confessional Principles, or Science of the Principles of the Separate Churches," pp. 375 and 444.

and which was developed by Marheineke and Winer, the former giving more attention to the general discussion, the latter to the treatment of particular questions (*locis*). Koellner followed in the footsteps of both these writers with his large work, while Guericke again departed from the position of impartial investigation, and pressed symbolism into the service of his Lutheran proclivities. A presentation of symbolics, from the Roman Catholic point of view, by Möhler (1832), naturally aroused a lively interest for this subject, and called forth a number of works in opposition (by Nitzsch and others), particularly the Symbolics by Baur (1834), and a continued interchange of further writings. This science, which had for a time occupied the position of quiet objectivity, was thus transferred again to the ground of polemics, and called for a renewed treatment in harmony with its principles.

The opposition between the Lutheran and the Reformed views, which had at one time sunk into indifference, and had subsequently been compromised by the establishment of the "Union," or, at least, had been reduced to its merely relative importance, has also come into the foreground of late, and been carried to excess. Science has gained thereby, inasmuch as the differences connected with the principles of the Reformers, which had formerly been overlooked, were now more sharply apprehended and more definitely stated. It is to be regretted, however, that the passions and the narrow spirit of the disputants have often perverted the actual points of view, and caused a confusion from which we can hope to be delivered, through God's mercy, only by a cautious theology enlisted in the service of truth and not of a party.

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SECTION XXII

ARCHÆOLOGY.

While the history of doctrines, in connexion with patristics and symbolics, presents the history of the development of doctrine apart from Church history in general, making of it an object for special consideration, ecclesiastical archæology deals pre-eminently with the history of worship. But the boundaries of this science are as indefinite and changeable as its name is inappropriate.

Gieseler says: "In strictness of language everything that once existed in the Church, and has now become antiquated, would belong to ecclesiastical archæology. But if this principle be admitted, it will not be easy to justify the separate treatment of archæology, as if it were an independent historical science. What scientific reason could be assigned for attempting the historical representation of everything that is ancient in the Church down to the boundary where it touches upon what now exists, but really excluding the latter from such representation? For it is held to be a leading principle in historical science, that it should show how the now existing has been developed out of what once was."¹

¹ Uebersicht d. kirchenhistor. Literatur, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1831, No. 3, p. 627 sq.

The case resembles that of patristics. Arbitrary boundaries have been assumed, some extending archæology down to Gregory the Great only, while others continue it to the time of the Reformation. But as patristics must be brought down to the latest times in the form of a history of the literature and a history of theology, so must archæology be carried onward as a history of worship. For the ancient is not entitled to separate treatment simply because it is old, though it will not be denied that, as in patristics, the first six centuries are of special importance as the constructive period, and especially so in liturgical features.¹ By taking archæology out of its connexion with the living development of the Church, and making it an incense-breathing reliquary, we degrade it as a science into a mere hunt for bric-a-brac, and give it an un-Protestant varnish of idle curiosity and favouritism. It becomes instructive and quickening only through its relations to the present, which is obliged, in the interests of both dogmatics and liturgics, to continually draw from the ancient sources, and renew its life at the original beginnings of the Church itself. Archæology, as the history of worship, enters into a relation with the history of Christian art as close as that sustained by the history of doctrines to historical philosophy; and, as the latter prepares the way for dogmatics, so does the former for liturgics.

Certain writers, especially older ones, and Boehmer among them, include the history of constitution in archæology. But it is questionable whether a separate treatment of that branch is needed, or be allowed to quietly retain its place upon the tree of Church history, with which it is intimately united.² It would, at all events, be impracticable to regard the two as forming a single science. The history of worship also sustains an intimate relation with Christian morals, or Christian life itself, in the more independent forms of its manifestation. Each is largely involved with the other; for example, the history of asceticism, of fasting, and of feasts, the Church feasts being likewise popular festivals. It is difficult to indicate the boundaries at this point, and the historian will be obliged to depend

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 168-70; Danz, § 70; Rosenkranz, p. 221, and Guericke in Herzog, Encykl. s. v.

² Rheinwald's definition, according to which Christian archæology is "the representation of the entire life of the Church, in the course of its development and according to its results," is evidently too broad, since it would include the history of doctrines also in archæology. Compare, for a contrary view, Boehmer, who, however, holds to the boundary of the first six centuries.

upon a certain tact to preserve him from wandering away into foreign matters.¹

HISTORY.

The history of archæology depends upon the history of worship itself. In the same measure as the latter rose from its original simplicity to an artistic representation under various forms, has it offered material for antiquarian research. The simple collecting of the material from the appropriate sources, as ancient liturgies, Acts of Councils, and Papal decretals, was all that was undertaken at first; for example, in the Roman Catholic Church, by J. Bapt. Casalius (*Christianorum ritus veteres*, 1645), who was joined by Cardinal Bona (died 1694), Claude Fleury (1682), Martène (died 1739), Th. Maria Mamachi (1749–55), and Selvaggio (1787–90). In the Protestant Church the initiative was taken, certainly not as the result of accident, by the Anglicans, and first of all by Joseph Bingham (died 1723), in the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, 1708–26), whose work was translated into Latin by J. H. Grischow, Halle ed., 1724–38, and again in 1751–61 (10 vols. 4to). The best English edition is by Pitman, London, 1840, 9 vols. 8vo. He was followed, among Germans, by J. A. Quenstedt (*Antiqu. Bibl. et Eccles., Vit.*, 1699) and Hildebrand at Helmstedt (died 1691), who published a series of dissertations. G. A. Spangenberg's *Comp. Ant. Eccles.* was published by G. Walch, Lips., 1733, and upon this followed S. J. Baumgarten, Simonis, and others.

SECTION XXIII.

STATISTICS.

Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 95, 223 sq.; Hagenbach's article on *Statistics*, in Herzog's *Encyclopædia*; Schem, *American Ecclesiastical Year-Book*, New York, 1860. Dorchester, *Problem of Religious Progress*, New York, 1861.

All history, on arriving at the present time, expands into statistics, which has to do with conditions instead of events. Ecclesiastical statistics, accordingly, deals only with ecclesiastical conditions. It is possible, however, to secure resting-places in the past, also, from which to conduct a statistical review. On the other hand, the germs of a further historical development lie in the conditions of the present. The contrast between history and statistics must, for this reason, be considered a flexible distinction,

¹ The History of Morals must be distinguished from the History of Ethics, in the same way as the History of Dogmatics is distinguished from the History of Doctrines, the History of Liturgics from the History of Worship, and that of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence from that of Constitution. All of these are simply departments of the History of the Theological Sciences.

"Statistics," says Schlözer, "is history at a standstill;" but this is not a real pause, and what has been at this moment treated as statistics will in a few years belong to history. The historical presentation itself is obliged to furnish statistical information respecting the age of which it treats, thus interrupting the progress of the narrative, and changing the past into the present. It is not possible, however, to furnish such reviews with equal facility at all times, the periods of general confusion being especially unfavourable to such inquiry, while the times immediately before and afterward are eminently suitable. This may be seen, for example, in the state of the world immediately before the introduction of Christianity, or the condition of the Church before the Reformation, or in the time of Charlemagne, Gregory VII., or Innocent III. The most favourable point for a statistical review is always where an old period ends and a new one begins. The statistics of the present, or statistics in the proper sense, includes, like the history, the whole of the kingdom of God in its earthly manifestation—the outward state of Christianity in its spread; its geographical extension, or the statistics of missions; and the constitution, worship, customs, and teaching of the Church.

Statistics of doctrine may either content itself with simply stating the prevalent confessions and tendencies of belief, as is usual with works of this character—numerical strength of the Roman Catholic population of a country, of the Lutheran, and others—or it may draft a somewhat detailed description of the existing state of doctrine. For it really is what Schleiermacher calls it, though it is but outwardly so, "a description of the teaching accepted in modern times." Statistics generally deals most largely with ecclesiastical constitutions—because this element is more easily grasped and understood than others—and also with the worship. The most difficult feature to include in a description is the life itself, with all its shadings and gradations; and for this work, as for the narrating of historical events, the skill of the artist will be required. The groupings may be arranged to correspond with different points of view; for example, by countries, confessions, forms of doctrine, constitution, worship, and their factors. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages,¹ and it will be advisable to combine different systems in the execution of this work. The best source for statistics is, beyond question, personal study and observation, which here

History must furnish statistics.

Statistical and ecclesiastical constitutions.

Best source for Statistics.

¹ See Pelt, p. 363 sq., and the combination proposed in that place: "Much remains to be accomplished by special effort in this department, with reference to both the material and the form.—Schleiermacher, § 245.

possibly may assure us to some extent, but is absolutely denied to us in history. Exact observation, however, is possible only when based on the facts of history down to the present time; and the testimonies of contemporaneous authorities are largely needed with regard to existing facts. Suitable helps, in addition to works of a properly statistical character, may be found in official reports, descriptions of travels, especially when written by persons who travel in the interests of ecclesiastical affairs, and ecclesiastical periodicals and newspapers.

The student of theology will, of course, need to become acquainted with such matters. He is required to comprehend the time in which he lives, and to enter with all his abilities and sympathies into its progress. But the *nequid nimis* has its application to his case. In the absence of a thorough historical preparation, and of the historic sense, the only attainment likely to be reached will be a limited knowledge instead of thoroughness. For nothing is more dissipating and destructive of thoroughness than an exclusive reading of newspapers and journals; and the temptation to employ the shallow books reading of travels simply as a pastime is likewise an imminent danger. A shallow literature, of the tourist and journalistic type, has, unfortunately, deluged all lands, and it affords nothing but superficial reasonings. Beware of it! Fortunate is the youth who has a paternal friend at hand, to impart counsel and aid in interpreting the signs of the times!

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CHAPTER III.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

Comp. Schleiermacher, § 199; von der Goltz, *Der Weg zum Systeme der dogmatischen Theologie*, in *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie* iv, p. 679 sqq.

Henry B. Smith, *Analysis and Proof Texts of Julius Müller's System of Theology* (translation of) in *Amer. Presb. and Theol. Review*. New York, 1865. *The same author's* *Introduction to Christian Theology*, (edited by W. S. Karr), New York, 1863.

Systematic Theology is the scientific and connected presentation of Christian doctrine in its relation to both faith and morals. Formerly it was regarded and treated as a single science of Christian teaching. But latterly, since the time of Danæus and Calixtus, it has been divided into two distinct branches. These, however, should be regarded as simply different sides of that same life which manifests itself in faith and morals, and whose various qualities are in constant relation with each other.

We have observed, in a former connexion, that Christianity was not, at the outset, an organized and self-inclusive body of doctrines. But this does not necessitate the conclusion that Christianity was not destined to unfold into a system of doctrine at some future time. The pre-requisites for such a consummation existed from the first, and a sound development of its teaching could only lead to the analysis of its contents, and to their comprehension under a single idea. A relative distinction may be established between the several doctrinal conceptions of John, Paul, and other apostles. But the respective systems are simply members of the great organism of the developed Christian teaching as a whole. There is no cessation in the development of doctrine. Where an apparent pause is observed, there is danger of stagnation and petrification. But there are single stages in the history, at which the dogmatic consciousness of the Church appears in a more assured light, and where the unfolding arrives at a relative conclusion. These are the times of symbols and of the greatest dogmatical writings, in which the belief of an entire age, or at least of an ecclesiastical party, or a school, is reflected.

It thus becomes proper to speak of Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic dogmatics, whose results may be brought into the light of objective history. Such objective description has also been denominated Ecclesiastical Dogmatics, in distinction from Biblical Dogmatics. But neither the latter nor the former is dogmatics in the strictest sense.¹ Both are merely introductory in their character; and ecclesiastical dogmatics results from symbolism, and is a further historical basis for dogmatics proper, just as biblical dogmatics results from biblical exegesis, and is the basis for the history of doctrines. The object of dogmatics proper is not simply to record historical matter, but also to express the conviction entertained by the writer who presents the system to our notice in word and print.²

It is, therefore, for adequate reasons that systematic theology is taken from the soil of history, into which it has struck its roots, and is made a separate branch of study,³ the very centre of the theological sanctuary and the heart of theological life. It takes the exegetical and historical material, and out of it constructs for the

¹ Dogmatics should always be ecclesiastical; that is, be linked to the Church to which it owes its birth. But we understand by *ecclesiastical* what has been ecclesiastically fixed and authorized, the symbolically statutory, or, as it has been termed, the socially established. See J. P. Lange, *Christl. Dogm.*, i. The attempt has been made, of late, to limit the term dogmatics to this statutory, symbolical, and traditional branch, while the German phrase "Glaubenslehre"—System of the Faith—has been applied, as alone appropriate, to what we would characterize as dogmatics proper. This is done, for example, by Alex. Schweizer, who, in his *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, follows in the track of Rothe. But it is impossible to understand, in view of the elastic meaning of the word *δόγμα*, why the term dogmas may not be used with reference to the theology of the present day. This usage is further recommended by the ease with which the adjective "dogmatic," and the verb "to dogmatize," may be formed from the noun. Comp. Krauss on 1 Cor. xv, pp. v and vi. Von der Goltz (*ubi supra*, p. 688) likewise declares that he is unable to attach the importance to the difference between dogmatics and the term advanced by Schweizer which that writer urges, and continues: "The mere stating of the doctrines held by the fathers is no dogmatics, but a cross section taken from the history of doctrines."

² Qualified, of course, by the feature that such personal conviction claims to have discovered the true expression of ideas that now live in the Church, and have earned the right to make themselves heard. Only upon this ground does the work deserve the name of dogmatics. The mere statement of subjective views, sometimes having no reference to the Church, and even designed to antagonize the Church, and break down its teaching, reducing it to a mere zero, deserves to pass by any other name rather than that of dogmatics, or a system of the faith.

³ Lücke, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1834, No. 4, p. 775: "I am of the opinion that the scientific interest which gives birth to systematic theology is predominantly unlike the historical, even though it include the critical element. It is simply the systematic, and not merely the subordinate, interest, in an orderly arrangement of a given historical material, but at the same time a desire to state scientifically the doctrines of Christian

present time that doctrine which, in its turn, yields the governing principles for practical theology. In this work it may also appropriate to itself the name of theology, *κατ' ἐξόχην*.

Christian doctrine is not, however, simply a doctrine of the faith, in the sense that the faith is merely turned in the direction of religious perception and apprehension. But it is, to an equal extent, ethical doctrine, or, more precisely, a doctrine of the life. Disposition and the life are embraced as one under Christianity. It preaches both faith and repentance, —a change of disposition—and its thoroughly practical character even causes the regeneration of the soul to be of primary importance, while thought upon it, or reflection, has but a derived value. Christianity is, first of all, a religion, and not a theology. While it has been observed that religion, in its essence, is neither a form of knowledge nor of action, though it necessarily leads to both, it follows that the doctrinal system of a religion will need to develop in the two directions of knowing and doing. This is generally conceded with reference to the practical department. It would not be desired that either the doctrinal or the moral element should be wanting in a catechism of Christian teaching. The same is true of those sermons in which the two factors of doctrine and ethics are presented in combination. These, as in the case of Wesley and Dwight, are justly regarded as superior to homiletical literature in general.

The question is, however, whether the same rule shall apply in the scientific field as well. At the first, while the science itself was being developed out of the practical elements at hand, the two features were interwoven with each other. We see an illustration of this in Augustine's Christian Doctrine. The dogmatic interest, however, has, upon the whole, always overbalanced the ethical in religious controversies. The Reformation seemed to spring primarily from moral, not directly doctrinal, causes. But a change of relations soon took place, which resulted in the attaching of greater weight to the definition of doctrinal points. It might be said that attention was, with entire propriety, directed chiefly to the settling of the truths belonging to the faith, since works spring from faith. But the faulty

faith and action with absolute truthfulness, in such a way that all doubt and opposition, and all want of congruity in Christian thought, may be removed. This is wholly unlike the historical object." Lange, p. 49: "The importance of dogmatics is materially obscured when it is treated, as it was by Schleiermacher, simply as a branch of historical theology. The immediate object of historical theology is to make dogmatics possible, but not to absorb it."

principle consisted in this fact, that the faith was too little apprehended from the dynamical, and too greatly from the merely theoretical, side, the apprehending of the faith being confounded with tendencies of belief, and the understanding of the faith with its power. In this way, Christian ethics long failed to receive just treatment. It was a mere tenant on the premises of dogmatics, sparingly introduced in connexion with the teaching of the divine law; and a practical application (*usus practicus*) was appended to the several dogmas as occasion might require. It is not strange, therefore, that Calixtus should fall upon the idea of emancipating ethics from dogmatics, and assigning to it a separate field.¹

But the idea of emancipation should never have been entertained. Christian ethics must ever be grounded, and at home, in Christian dogmatics, if it is not to renounce the Christian character, and degenerate into a general or philosophical morality. The latter event actually came to pass; and there was even a time when morality spread itself over the practical field so broadly that dogmatics was shrivelled into a narrow extract. The separation of the two became an error as soon as it extended to principles, and assumed an internal independence of ethics from dogmatics. In this regard the recalling to mind of their original unity and connexion has been of advantage. It is a different question, however, whether their fusion into a single science must be the result. Science must often separate elements which are combined in life, and theology may distinguish between dogmatics and ethics with the same propriety as philosophy discriminates between the philosophy of religion and ethics. The one has to do with things to be believed, the other with things to be done. The one moves upon the ground of conception and recognition, the other upon that of modes of disposition and conduct based upon such recognition. In other words, "Dogmatics represents life in its transcendent relations to God, the eternal basis of its being; ethics according to its immanent relation to the world of man. Dogmatics regards it in its specifically ecclesiastical character, ethics in its general human character. Dogmatics describes the organ, ethics indicates the tasks that await its energy. Dogmatics teaches how man derives his Christian life from God, ethics how he is to give proof of it in the world of men, by human methods and in that exercise of incarnated power which we call virtue."² The

¹ The Reformed theologian Danæus attempted this even earlier than Calixtus. Comp. Nitzsch, *ubi supra*.

² Lange, *ubi supra*, pp. 46, 47.

reference of the one to the other should, therefore, never be forgotten, and a really Christian dogmatics will always guide into morality, while Christian ethics will point back to dogmatics.

It may be noted, moreover, that Schleiermacher already deemed it "desirable that the undivided treatment should be employed from time to time,"¹ and this desire has been responded to in recent times by two theologians, Nitzsch and Beck, although in diverse ways.² The method has also been tried, finally, by Rothe, of including the substance of the doctrines of belief in ethics as being, in effect, the determining influence of the latter, and of regarding only the historical residuum as dogmatics.³ But it is not to be supposed that the usage has been thereby settled for all time.

¹ Schleiermacher, § 231. J. C. v. Hofmann allows no other excuse for the separation of dogmatics from ethics than that of convenience. "Both branches have been at times considered historical, and at other times systematic, or dogmatics has been assigned to historical theology, while a special treatment has been demanded for ethics. The writer who distinguishes between the science of the kingdom of God in itself and the science of its actualization in man, or who designates dogmatics a history of the dealings of the redeeming God in their development, and ethics a history of development in the men redeemed by him, will be compelled to treat the same material twice, wholly or in part, and this without any appreciable profit, but simply from different points of view. For it is impossible to describe God's dealings with man without discussing at the same time man's action toward God, or to describe the attitude of the Christian without preceding the description with a direct or implied reference to the attitude of God, to which the former corresponds. If the relation sustained by God be presumed, it is admitted that ethics is simply the part of a greater whole. If it be stated, ethics is thereby made such a part, nothing remains but the admission that Christian ethics, as the science relating to Christian conduct—not that of men in general—toward God, is indeed a separable, but not for that reason an independent, part of the one body of teachings which has its origin in the publication of that relation existing between God and man which has been established through the mediation of Christ."—Schriftbeweis i, pp. 14, 15.

² Nitzsch, *System der Lehre für akadem. Vorlesungen*. Bonn, 1829, 6th ed., 1851. Tob. Beck, *Einl. in d. System der christl. Lehre, oder propädeutische Entwicklung der christl. Lehrwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1838. *Die christl. Lehrwissenschaft nach den bibl. Urkunden*, Stuttgart, 1840.

³ Theol. Ethik i, p. 38. In opposition see Lange, *supra*, p. 49, and Julius Müller in Herzog's *Encykl.* iii, p. 439, and also Dörner in *ibid.* iv, p. 187: "Dogmatics and ethics are as certainly separate departments as God and man are really different from each other. . . . Dogmatics is engaged upon the being, thoughts, and actions of God, which . . . have for their object an ethical world; Christian ethics has to do with the good that comes into actual being in the form of man's free-will, and under the actualized purpose of the love of God." Comp. also Schenkel's *Dogmatik* i, p. 13.

SECTION II

DOGMATICS.

Baumgarten-Crusius, *Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik*, Lps., 1820; F. Fischer, *zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche*, Tüb., 1898; Mynster, *über den Begriff der christlichen Dogmatik* (theol. Stud. u. Krit., Jahrg., 1831, No. 8); Rust, *Rede über christliche Dogmatik*, Frankf., 1830; Kling, *über die Gestalt der evangel. Dogmatik* (Tüb., theol. Zeitschrift, 1834, 4); F. H. Th. Alhn, *Einl. in das Studium der Dogmatik nach den Ergebnissen der neuesten wissenschaftl. Forschungen*, Lps., 1837; Beck a. a. O. J. P. Lange, *christl. Dogmatik*, 1st part, Heidelb., 1849; Th. A. Liebner, *introductio in dogmaticam christianam*, Lips., 1854; J. Müller, in Herzog's Realencykl. III, p. 438 f.; Rothe, *Begriff der evangelischen Dogmatik* (Zur Dogmatik I.); Wiedermann, *christl. Dogmatik*. *Einl.*, pt 1-20; Von der Goltz, *ubi supra*, and his *Dogmatik*, mentioned below.

The best English and American treatment of Introductory Systematic Theology is found at the beginnings of the works, and not in separate volumes. For the older works, see Lowndes, *The British Librarian*, pp. 682-814. Hodge and Van Oosterzee, of later writers, furnish the best introductory discussion.

Christian Dogmatics forms the central point of all theology. The reason is, that the results obtained by exegetical and historical inquiry, in so far as they touch upon the Christian faith, are wrought over, and impressed upon, the consciousness of the present time, and are combined into that scientific whole from which the principles underlying ethics and practical theology are to be deduced. Dogmatics is neither a mere philosophy of religion nor a mere history of doctrines, but a science including both historical and philosophical elements. It is the science which *Dogmatics defined.*

presents to our notice the material obtained by exegesis and history in an organized and systematic form, representing the sum of the truths of the Christian faith in organic connexion with the facts of the religious consciousness. It, therefore, demands preparatory training in exegesis and history, as well as in philosophy.

What has been said of systematic theology in general applies more especially to dogmatics, as constituting the centre of gravity in this matter. For ethics, which is connected with it, depends upon it in the last analysis. Hence Augusti is justified in the remark, that the old and generally adopted usage, which conceives dogmatics and theology as being synonymes, is evidence of the high importance which has always been attached to this first of all the departments of theology.¹ It is, to use Lange's expression, "in a specific sense the theology of the Church." But there is, nevertheless, no universal agreement respecting the extent and importance of this science, some regarding it as being simply historical in its nature, and others making it merely philosophical or speculative. Again, they who admit that it combines within itself both historical and philosophical elements, yet differ greatly with regard to the relations sustained by the one to the other.

¹ *System der christl. Dogmatik*, § 1.

The reducing of dogmatics to a mere historical science may grow out of various fundamental views. Those make a great mistake who regard the system of doctrines as completed once for all, for they confine dogmatics within the boundaries of the past. This is precisely the view of the sceptic, who seeks to degrade it into a mere old history, whose highest usefulness consists in its walking behind, and bearing the train, very easily dispensed with, of the wisdom of our own time. There was no lack of opinions of the latter sort during the last century, and a number of dogmatical works dating from the present century, such as those of Bretschneider and Wegscheider, are filled with unmodified historical matter. Tzschirner took the ground of simple statement, without entering upon any direct discussion.

There is, however, still another historical view of dogmatics, which at least grows out of a living apprehension of history, and therefore demands intellectual mediation between the past and the present. This view is represented by Herder,¹ and especially by Schleiermacher, who, in point of fact, steps out from the past altogether, and makes of dogmatics, as he would of statistics, a science of the present as historically conditioned, since he conceives it to be "the science of the combination of doctrine which prevails in a Christian ecclesiastical community at a given time."²

¹ Von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräuchen, § 37: "Dogmatics, even on the conception which underlies its name, is simply a history of doctrines. How beneficial is it to carry forward every dogma to its limits, philologically, historically, philosophically!" Though Röhr, in his Briefe üb. Rationalismus, announced the expectation that the time will come when our dogmatics shall appear only in the character of a history of doctrines, and appealed for justification to the progress made by the spirit of inquiry among theologians since Socinus and Herbert of Cherbury, there seemed to be but little hope that the prophecy would be fulfilled. A certificate of death has, however, been issued in behalf of dogmatics from a different quarter, and in a different connexion, it being characterized as the "science of Church doctrines," in distinction from doctrines of the faith. (Page 39.) Schweizer says: "The dogmatics of former times has been superseded by the doctrinal system of the evangelical Protestant faith, which, having been contained in the former in a very subordinate and restricted character, has thrown off its dogmatic fetters, and become the system of faith in each separate state of development in the Evangelical Church." But this language is connected with the *usus linguae* referred to above. The wild cry, "No more dogmatics!" which has been uttered in certain writings of a partisan character, can only impose upon persons who have no sympathy with anything that has been historically developed. We are able, on the other hand, to agree with Biedermann, who asserts (p. 17) that "the science of mere ecclesiastical doctrines must be overcome by a true science of the Protestant faith." Upon this point he remarks, however, that this cannot be accomplished by simply declaring that dogmatics is such a science of traditional doctrine

² Darstellung, §§ 97, 196 sqq.; Der christliche Glaube, vol. I, p. 1.

With reference to this definition, the question has been properly asked, what is to be understood by "prevalent"? Schleiermacher responds, "That form of doctrine is prevalent which is employed in public transactions as representing the common piety,"¹ or that "which is officially asserted and made known, without calling forth official contradiction."² Upon this point he is obliged to concede, however, that "the boundaries must be extended or narrowed as time and circumstances may require." Since this definition requires that not what was formerly accepted should be pre-
Objections to Schleiermacher's definition.
 sented, but what now prevails, it removes dogmatics to some extent from the strictly historical field. But Schleiermacher proceeds further still. He demands that dogmatics should not state the views of others simply, but also the personal views of the writer, and even ascribes to it a kind of sagacity that will detect the truth, since he defines its task to be the "purifying and perfecting of the doctrine."³ Further, he insists upon the application of critical processes, which, of course, applies also to history. He thereby elevates dogmatics into a science which is directed toward the future, and which teaches, to an equal degree, what must be accepted in the future, and what is authoritative now, or has been so in the past. By this method dogmatics is evidently lifted out from the framework of historical theology, and it is for this very reason that adherents of the school of Schleiermacher, and some other writers as well, have raised objections that are not wholly unfounded against its incorporation with that branch.⁴

¹ *Der christl. Glaube*, vol. i, p. 1.

² *Darstellung*, § 16, note.

³ *Christl. Glaube*, vol. i, p. 130. Schleiermacher speaks with especial clearness in opposition to a mere empirically historical view respecting dogmatics and ethics, p. 9: "We may, at all events, insist that every representation of Christian doctrine is historical, but it may not on that account cease to be systematic; and, on the other hand, while every one is systematic, it must be not only systematic, but in every instance also historical and systematic."

⁴ Comp. the extract from Lücke, p. 721 of MS. Von der Goltz says, in a similar spirit: "If the designation of dogmatics as a historical department is designed to specify simply that it is not merely a speculative construction of Christianity, but that it is the positive truth of the Christian faith as the common possession of the Church, with its internal combinations wrought into intelligible form, there can be no objection to the idea. But the designation 'historical' is nevertheless misleading. Its originator, Schleiermacher, adds to it the feature that systematic theology is only to present the historically given matter, without laying claim to the right of presenting authoritative truth. This is an error. Dogmatics has always striven to report not only what the Church teaches, or has taught, but what it should teach. Dogmatics aims to furnish authoritatively what constitutes the normal statement of the truth in

It does not follow that the historical character of dogmatics is thereby denied. This is in any case to be retained, unless dogmatics is to become equivalent to the philosophy of religion. The material of dogmatics is certainly historical, but it is required to pass through the philosophical process of reflection. Dogmatics has to do not simply with the abstract religious consciousness, but with the consciousness of the Church, and with revelations addressed by God to man which have been historically transmitted. It is only necessary that the divine, in so far as it may be apprehended by the human mind, be cognized with human certainty, and be received into the scientific consciousness of the present. In this way scientific knowledge and systematic philosophical thought will interpenetrate each other in the treatment of the system of belief. "A reference of religion in itself to religion, as it appears in Christianity and in the manifestation of the latter through the evangelical Church, is established," as Hase correctly shows.¹ In his later editions he presents the idea with greater definiteness, "of the relation of the Christian religion in itself to the religious spirit."² Schenkel likewise holds that,

Dogmatics to pass through reflection.

the domain of Christian belief. This is in harmony with the proper meaning of the word dogma; for dogma is an established term, attested by the Church, to designate a truth belonging to the Christian faith."

¹ *Evangel. Dogmatik*, I, § 2. The definition of De Wette (*Dogm.*, I, § 60) may be made to agree with that of Hase: "The representing of Christianity as related to the culture of an age is dogmatics." Other definitions are very obscure, e. g., those of Reinhard, Wegscheider, and Tzschirner, that of the latter being: "Dogmatics is the science of the Christian belief, or the scientific presentation of the doctrine of God and divine things contained in Christianity." Biedermann teaches, that dogmatics is both a positive and a speculative science (but observe not a "mixture of both"!); while Rothe terms speculative dogmatics a "wooden iron." It is evident that much confusion respecting the scientific nomenclature still prevails upon this point.

² The 5th ed., for instance, says, "Dogmatics is the systematic presentation of the Christian religion in so far as it has taken definite shape in the form of dogmas, and as it stands related to the religious spirit." *Comp.* § 11 (in the older editions): "As philosophical dogmatics, when not connected with historical references, is a mere abstraction, so the historical presentation of biblical, ecclesiastical, and comparative-symbolical dogmatics can only become actual science by its union with philosophical dogmatics—a science which embraces the consciousness of Christianity in its primitive form, the self-consciousness of the Church, and a comprehension of the different forms in which the Christian spirit, affected by human errors, has found expression. While each of these is, in its own way, important, it is yet but an isolated view of Christianity, for whose complete recognition dogmatics is required, which apprehends the Christian faith in the whole of its development, and teaches how to become acquainted with the nature of the religious spirit." The recent Protestantism of France, contrasting with the former abstract view of dogmatics, likewise recognizes the co-operation of various factors in it—the religious, the historical, and the scientific. *Comp.* the pamphlet, M. Scherer, *ses disciples et ses adversaires*, Par., 1854, p. 3.

"Christian dogmatics is the scientifically connected presentation of the saving truths of Christianity, as founded upon personal convictions, and as historically conditioned in the form of the common consciousness of Christians."¹ It follows that a genuine dogmatist must receive into himself all the stages of theological culture, and not only control the entire field of theological knowledge intellectually, but also demonstrate with his personal character that he represents the Church in his teaching, and that the consciousness of Christians generally finds a living and concrete illustration in his own—the highest duty assigned to the theologian! He must be firmly grounded on the basis of the word of God in the Scriptures, but have at the same time taken into himself the entire progress of the history of doctrines, have wrought out all contrasts, have reduced every thing to clearness and certainty in his own consciousness, and be able to render to himself an account of the internal and external character of every doctrine. The human spirit, with its capacities for religion, and its needs and strivings, must, as well as the Scriptures, with their profound teachings, be open to his eyes. He must be acquainted with the present and with the past, and he must make use of both to carry forward the development for future times and the preparation for new developments;² "following the age, but not subservient to it."³

Necessity of a pure and well endowed personal character.

SECTION III.

APOLOGETICS AND ITS RELATION TO DOGMATICS.

Schleiermacher, § 39-42. Comp. the article by Heubner, in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyklop.*, vol. 4; Schmid, über christl. Apologetik, in the antagonistic serial on Theol. und Philos., 1829; *Lechler, über den Begriff der Apologetik, ein histor. Beitrag zur Bestimmung der Ausgabe, Methode und Stellung dieser Wissenschaft, in the Stud. u. Krit., 1839; Hänel, die Apologetik als die Wissenschaft von dem der Kirche und der Theologie gemeinsamen Grunde, in the Stud. u. Krit., 1843; J. Hirzel, über die christl. Apologetik, (Vortrag an die Züricher Synode.) Zürich, 1843; Kienlen, die Stellung der Apologetik und der Polemik in der theologischen Encyklop. (Stud. u. Krit., 1846.) See Hagenbach's article in Herzog's *Realencykl.*, I.

Hetherington, *Apologetics of the Christian Faith*, N. Y., 1837.

The presentation of the Christian faith presumes the truth of that faith as a whole, or regards the fact of Christianity as a divine fact. It is the office of science, however, to justify that presumption to the religious sense. Hence, apologetical investigation must

¹ *Christliche Dogmatik*, p. 1.

² Hase distinguishes five functions of the dogmatist: first, the philosophical unfolding of the religious belief; second, historico-critical apprehension; third, systematic arrangement; fourth, ascertaining and estimating its religious value; fifth, organic further development of the Christian system.

³ Kling, *ubi supra*, p. 11.

precede the purely dogmatical. In its formal aspect, apologetics, like dogmatics, is a philosophical and historical science, for its proofs are drawn both from within and without—from reason and conscience, and from history. With regard to its contents, the relation it sustains toward dogmatics is that of elemental and constitutive to the systematically developed, or of the keynote to its scale. It is, accordingly, possible to separate the two branches from each other, yet not absolutely, but only relatively.

Schleiermacher, who assigns dogmatics to the department of historical theology, has, nevertheless, erected a separate department of philosophical theology, and given it the first place. It is subdivided into apologetics and polemics. Hence these branches thus come to occupy the position of outposts, though in a somewhat lost and isolated state, being far removed from the main body of theological forces, and separated by the interposition of other departments, such as exegesis and Church history; we, therefore, consider it advisable to call in these outposts and incorporate them with the main body. They are certainly included in dogmatics, and constitute the organs through whose exercise it makes itself understood by outside observers. The life of dogmatics beats in them; they constitute the two poles at which the electric flash that passes through dogmatics is discharged both positively and negatively. At every step taken by the system of Christian belief it is obliged to defend its just claim to be so regarded against the attacks of unbelief, and it is also obliged to assert its determinate character as a particular form of belief, as the Protestant, in distinction from other similar beliefs, such as the Roman Catholic.¹ Dogmatics itself thus adopts the apologetical mode of procedure at one time, and the polemical at another, in its teaching, provided the latter has a living aim. It becomes apologetic when it purposes to bring into prominence, in connexion with the statement of every doctrine, the underlying

¹ The apologetic or the polemical interest will predominate at different times. The latter was uppermost in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; while dogmatics, without a persistently apologetic character, is inconceivable at the present day, though the newly awakened strife of confessions has considerably repressed quiet and unprejudiced apologetic expositions. Ullmann, in his Preface to the 6th German edition of his *Sinlessness of Jesus*, p. v, justly complains that "many contemporaries, even of the younger class, are so involved in the formulas of ready finished doctrines, whether framed in the interests of belief or unbelief, as to reject every attempt to establish the faith at the outset; in the one case because they will not think of an authentication that must be constantly renewed, in the other because they refuse to know the faith itself."

principle of Christianity as radically different from every other religion, and thus to fasten the conviction that Christianity, as a whole, is true and divine by opening up to view each separate element. It is polemical in so far as it rejects all that is improper or that obscures, defaces, or works injury to the dogma, and as it protects the view held by the Church against the non-ecclesiastical and pseudo-churchly ideas which may exist.

This does not forbid the separate treatment of apologetics and polemics.¹ The former, especially, has established its right to such treatment. But it must not be allowed to remove to a distance from dogmatics. On the contrary, "while defending the ground" of the latter,² it must go before it and prepare the way, as the Baptist before Christ, either by way of introduction to dogmatics, or independently. It will in either case act in the service of dogmatics, and with reference to its needs.

Apologetics an
introduction to
dogmatics.

The leading place at the head of dogmatics must, accordingly, be given to apologetics, though not the first place in the entire course of theological study, as Schleiermacher decides. It may be said, indeed, that exegesis and ecclesiastical history also cannot be regarded as sciences belonging to Christian theology in their inmost nature, unless a previous understanding of the nature of Christianity in general be secured. But such an understanding is attainable only upon the ground of history—unless it is to be based on the air—so that we again are forced to the conclusion that no department has an absolute beginning. Certain

Remote begin-
ning of all de-
partments in
theology.

apologetical assumptions must be necessarily taken for granted in the study of exegesis and Church history, though with the understanding that they are to receive thorough investigation in the proper place. This procedure approves itself as correct on the grounds of methodology also. An apologetical course at the very beginning of theological study would, assuredly, be of little service to the student whose interest for apologetics needs to be awakened, and who for that end requires exegetical and historical studies, particularly the life of Jesus and the history of the king-

¹ Sack, in his *Polemik*, has conceived the distinction on this wise: "Dogmatics is Christian doctrine as adapted to Christian thinkers, implying friendliness on their part; apologetics is Christian doctrine in a form adapted to heathen thinkers, and presumes hostility on their part; and polemics adapts the doctrine to the state of heretical Christian thinkers, proceeding on the supposition of dissatisfaction on their part." These different functions frequently run into each other, however. What dogmatics, for instance, does not afford evidence of such dissatisfaction in this age, which is dissatisfied in so many regards?

² Zyro, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1887, 2.

dom of God. But after the theologian has arrived at dogmatics he can no longer dispense with apologetics as a science which deals with the principles of the former.

No absolute reply can be given to the question whether a separate chair should be devoted to its service, or whether apologetics in the schools. it should be taught in connexion with dogmatics. Departments should not be multiplied unnecessarily, and experience has probably demonstrated that, while, in the field of authorship, special apologetical works are much to be desired, since they call forth a thorough discussion of the vital question upon whose solution the whole of dogmatics depends, the *Apologetica* in schools come to occupy a somewhat isolated position when not connected with some other department.¹ In former days apologetics was connected with introduction to the books of the Bible, because the demonstration of the genuineness of such writings, and the discussion of revelation and inspiration, were held to constitute the substance of its task. But it has been correctly shown, in more recent times, that it is not the particular features, but rather the Christian religion, in the whole of its manifestations, that must constitute the object upon which the line of apologetical proof is directed.² The latter will proceed upon a twofold basis and become a "demonstration of the Spirit and of power" (1 Cor. ii, 4). This was formerly restricted to the ground of merely prophecy and miracles. But we would prefer to say that the demonstration of the Spirit lies in the inward justifying of Christianity to the Spirit, in that it demonstrates itself as religion, while the demonstration of the power consists in its being apprehended as a definite historical fact, as an effective actualization of religion, as that religion which is endorsed by the world's historical experience.

The task of apologetics may, accordingly, be, with Lechler,³ considered as a twofold one, viz.: (1) To show that Christianity is a religion, and (2) That it is the true religion, or unmodified religion.⁴ It thus connects itself on the one hand

¹ Noesselt already decided against the separate treatment of apologetics, and also Tholuck, Verm. Schriften, part i, p. 376, and Literar. Anzeiger, 1831. But compare Nitzsch Protest. Beantwortung von Strauss' Philo. Dogmatik, in Stud. u. Krit., 1842, No. 3. Are not lectures on apologetics generally delivered as an introduction to dogmatics at the present time?

² Lechler, *ubi supra*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

⁴ "The Christian religion forms the subject, and absolute religion the predicate; while apologetics itself forms the copula; for it is simply the scientific process through which Christianity is shown to be the absolute religion."—*Ibid.*, p. 608.

with the philosophy of religion, and on the other with the results obtained by exegesis and Church history. It forms this connexion with the former because its office is to determine the nature of religion in general, while apologetics applies this general notion of religion to Christianity, and shows its concrete realization in this form; with the latter, because the entire development of the divine wisdom in revelation, and, first of all, the manifestation of Christ and the existence of the Church, form the basis upon which their evidences rest. In other words, the demonstration of the absolute purpose of Christianity to become the religion for all peoples and times, the religion for the individual and the race, is in scientific form precisely what the popular definition seeks to express when it declares it to be the task of apologetics to prove the truth and divine character of Christianity.

This has too often been understood to mean that the divine element is merely another predicate superadded to the truth, and its existence has, from the standpoint of the older supernaturalism, been looked for exclusively in the extraordinary features of revelation, its inspiration, prophecies, and miracles;¹ whereas the divinity is already involved in the truth, and the truth in the divinity. This is not intended to signify that the divine element in Christianity consists simply in its generally acknowledged moral truths and its abstract correspondence with the laws of reason, though even this is something, and affords a field of apologetic effort even to the rationalist; but that the truth of Christianity is of a peculiar kind, having been born with Christianity, and therefore revealed; for what "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man . . . God hath prepared for them that love him, and hath revealed it unto us by his Spirit" (1. Cor. ii, 9, 10). But this specifically peculiar divine truth is certainly required to establish and approve itself to the inner consciousness as involving the human element also, that is, as a truth for man.² For this reason it must first render the negative proof that it contains nothing which conflicts with the

¹ The erection of such entrenchments, without any direct connexion with the contents of the Gospel, caused that "hateful ditch" concerning which Lessing declared that he could not pass over it. Comp. Hirzel, p. 22 *sqq.* The divine nature of Christianity does not appear in the absence of natural factors in the development of human affairs. If this were so Christ and Christianity would, of course, be fables, and not the subject of history. It manifests itself through the renewing might of the Spirit in the living consciousness of believers."—Bunsen, Hippolytus i (Pref.).

² "Were the eye unlike the sun
How could it bear His light?"—Goethe.

nature and the mission of man, and hence that contradicts the absolute reason, but that its definiteness constitutes at the same time a reasonable character.¹

SECTION IV.

THE HISTORY OF APOLOGETICS.

The necessity of defending Christianity in general—the faith and morals of Christendom—against attack, was apparent at an early day. The earliest form of apologetics was the juridical, in the character of a defence against unjust charges before the tribunals of heathen authority. This form of necessary resistance was soon joined with theological apologetics in the stricter sense, so that the defensive element soon became the offensive, and apologetics took on a polemical character. The earliest Christian apolo-
The field of
earliest apolo-
getics. gists represented heathenism in its emptiness, Judaism in its insufficiency, and Christianity in its greatness and unique character. The first apologies, by Aristides and Quadratus, and also those by Melito of Sardis, Miltiades, and Claudius Apollinaris, are either lost or exist only in the fragments we find in Eusebius. The oldest in our possession are the two apologies by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, and those of Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermas. The Alexandrian divines, Clement and Origen, defended Christianity—the former against the Greeks generally in his Admonitory Treatise, and the latter against the attacks of Celsus, in which undertaking they, like their predecessors, made ample use of Grecian philosophy. In the African Church, Tertullian became the attorney of Christianity through the publication of his writings—The Apologist, Against the Gentiles, and Against the Jews. He

¹ The term "apologetical" may, however, "be applied in instances where it is being demonstrated that the decisive feature cannot be properly introduced into the demonstration at this point. It follows that an apologetical significance is to be ascribed to the little work by Lavater entitled "Nathanael, or the Certain but Unprovable Divinity of Christianity." Hirzel says: "Apologetics can only remove hinderances from the way of the thinking reason, in part, and in part bring an already existent belief into harmony or into a clearly apprehended relation with the entire sum of knowledge and of life." "No syllogistic method of proving the truth of Christianity is incontrovertible. But no human ingenuity has as yet succeeded in putting to shame the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."—Schenkel, *Der ethische Charakter des Christenthums*, in *Prot. Monatsbl.*, 1857, p. 115. Melancthon, too, remarks concerning the truths of Christianity: "Geometrica pingi et oculis subijci possunt; haec vero, de quibus hic dicimus, non ita pingi et oculis subijci possunt, sed attenta consideratione paulatim magis intelligentur."—*Loci Communes* (in Bretschneider, *Corpus Reform.* xxi, p. 646).

was subsequently joined by Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius (about A. D. 303), and Lactantius (died about 325).

The fathers of the second period, though directing their efforts more especially upon internal affairs, likewise continued the work of apologetics; for example, Athanasius, in his *Treatise against the Greeks*, Cyril of Alexandria (died 444), who wrote the books against Julian, and still other writers.

After ancient heathenism had been overcome it was necessary to defend Christianity against the continued attacks of the Jews, and, after the appearance of Mohammed, against the followers of Islam. A number of apologetical works of this character originated during the Middle Ages. We may mention those by Agobard, of Lyons, in his *Insolence of the Jews*, 822; by Abelard, in his *Dialogue between the Philosopher, the Jew, and the Christian*; and by Thomas Aquinas, in his *Truth of the Catholic Faith against the Gentiles*.

A kind of uncertainty respecting the foundations of Christianity began, moreover, to manifest itself within the pale of the Church itself. Philosophy and Christianity came into conflict, and in this way the apologetic writers came to regard internal conditions, especially after the restoration of the sciences in the fifteenth century. The truths of Christianity were protected against philosophical scepticism by Marsilius Ficinus in his *Christian Religion and Piety of Faith* (Opp. Par., 1641, tom. i, pp. 1-73), and against the intellectual scepticism by Savonarola in his *Triumph of the Cross*.

The period of the Reformation was more particularly engaged in prosecuting the conflicts that arose within the Church; but the claims of apologetics soon afterward came again into notice. In 1627 Grotius composed the work, *Truth of the Christian Religion*,¹ primarily for mariners who came into contact with non-Christian peoples, in order to furnish them with a cable that should save them from Mohammedanism and heathenism. But the work was suited to the learned class rather than the unlearned, and has long maintained its reputation among them. The Arminian Limborch subsequently walked in the path of Grotius, in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*. He had for his object the defeat of the Spanish Jew, Orobio, and the Portuguese deistical Jew, Acosta. The rise of freethinkers of England furnished the impulse for apologetical authorship in that country, where it was even promoted by the institution of prizes. Mention must be made of Locke (1695-1733), Samuel Clarke (1704), Lardner, in his *Credibility of the Gospel History* (1764-67, iv), Addison, in his *Evidences of the Christian*

¹ Frequently edited. A good edition is Le Clerc and Madan's, Lond., 1814.

Religion, Stackhouse, in his *Worth of the Christian Religion*, and Butler, in his *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*.

In the Roman Catholic Church of France, Pascal, in his *Thoughts* (1668), and Astie (1857), and Havet, have defended Christianity against the objections raised by sceptical thinkers. The same work was performed in the Reformed Church by Abbadie (died in Ireland, 1727), Jacquelot (died 1725), and G. A. Turretin (died 1687), in his *Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion*.

The German apologists of the last century largely followed the German apolo- English at the first; but the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, gies. since 1777, were chiefly influential in calling forth apologetical works. A measure of uncertainty was soon apparent, however, in the fact that people were not agreed with reference to the condition of the defence itself. What should have been maintained was often given up, and other matters were insisted on which might have been conceded, or which, at least, in the form in which they had been held, were untenable.¹ The apologists were divided into two camps—that of the strictly orthodox, and that of the latitudinarians. The prominent names at this point are Lilienthal, *The Good Cause of Revelation* (Königsb., 1750–78, in 16 vols.), Euler,² Haller, A. F. W. Sack, Jerusalem, Noesselt, Less, Spalding, and Klenker. Chateaubriand defended the genius of Christianity and proved its greatness by the history of its martyrs (*The Genius of Christianity*; or, *the Beauty of the Christian Religion*, Par., 1802), from the position occupied by modern culture in France, and from that of æsthetical Roman Catholicism as well. The progress of development in theology in Germany gave rise to the conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, by which means apologetics was transformed into polemics. The question concerning principles generally was at stake. Most of the works mentioned above were called into being by practical and temporary conditions rather than by scientific considerations. This is true in recent times also of Stirin; but the attempt to establish apologetics upon a strictly scientific basis was now made by Karl Sack, at Bonn, who was inspired thereto by Schleiermacher. The same effort was made

¹ Lessing says, with reference to the apologetical literature of his day, "It often appeared to me as if the gentlemen had exchanged their weapons, like those which are presented in the fable of Death and Love. The more forcibly one attempted to prove Christianity to me the more did I become inclined to doubt. The more recklessly and triumphantly another sought to tread it under foot the more assuredly was I conscious of maintaining it, at least in my heart." See C. Schwarz, *Lessing als Theolog*, Halle, 1854, p. 35.

² Comp. Hagenbach, Leonhard Euler, als Apologet des Christenthums, Basle, 1851, 4.

in the Roman Catholic Church by Drey (comp. Pelt, p. 398 *sq.*). Apologetics thus came to be clearly distinguished from apology; but it has not yet succeeded in attaining to an assured position as a separate science. Nothing has been gained by assigning to it a place under Practical Theology, as has been done in recent times, for it can only be practically applied after its foundations have been theoretically established.

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SECTION V.

POLEMICS AND IRENICS.

Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 59-62; Felt in Herzog's *Encyklopædia*, vii, p. 60, and xi, p. 791. M'Climock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, articles Irenics and Polemical Theology, vols. iv and viii.

While dogmatics is governed by apologetical motives on the one hand, its entire substance is pervaded by polemical considerations on the other. That is to say, it has continually to recognise confessional contrasts, as historically revealed by symbolics, and to bring into view what is peculiar in the confession which it professes to support. It thus receives the confessional stamp, without which it would cease to be the dogmatics of a particular Church. It has, moreover, to reprove what is erroneous and morbid in the Church itself, and to present the unimpaired rule of doctrine in opposition to dogmatical perversions. This polemical feature does not, how-

ever, exclude the irenical, whose aim it is to discover the measure of truth in the keeping of opposing parties, and to point out the conditions upon which a gradual understanding, and ultimately a true and lasting reconciliation, of existing contrasts, may be brought about. Neither polemics or irenics is therefore to be regarded as a separate branch of theological study, but simply as a special side of the department of dogmatics.

The older divines already distinguished between the acroamatic and elenchical theology. But symbolics had not yet received its present scientific form. If we assume that the distinctive doctrines have already been discussed in symbolics in so far as they are available as historical material, there will be nothing more for the dogmatic theologian to do than simply to move about on this historical ground with freedom and security, and to know how to strike chivalrous blows for his Church. But if it is not possible that he should be allowed to escape such service, it is not easy to understand why polemics should become a distinct branch.¹ Each depends for its life upon the other; polemics becoming empty disputation when it has no dogmatic basis, and simple dogmatics without polemical salt being an insipid hash. Dogmatics derives its confessional character, as Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and other types, from the polemical tendency it manifests, just as it is shown to be Christian dogmatics by the apologetic exposition with which it is introduced. A dogmatics that is Christian without any qualifying feature, to be satisfactory to both Roman Catholics and Protestants in a scientific point of view, is, in the present condition of affairs, wholly inconceivable.² If the attention were even confined altogether to biblical dogmatics, the latter would assume a very different form under Roman Catholic from that under Protestant treatment. But, as has been shown in a former section, dogmatics is not simply a statement of Bible doctrine, but it assumes both that and ecclesiastical doctrines.

The features added by the dogmatic theologian can only amount to a closer specification of the relation sustained by himself, or rather by his age—in so far as he has apprehended the latter and received

¹ "Peaceable minds are also, against their will, swept into the stream of polemics, and faithful adherence to denominational belief excites the feeling of resistance to the uninterrupted assaults upon his views in proportion to its strength."—Schenkel, *Gespräche*, etc., I, Vonede iv.

² Comp. Schleiermacher, § 197, note. The task of dogmatics is, nevertheless, not cut short thereby, as Biedermann asserts (*Dogmatik*, p. 9)—the task, namely, passing beyond the acknowledged existence of diverse views, "of following the confessional branchwork down to its root, the real principle of Christianity, and of basing its judgments of confessional differences upon that foundation."

it into himself—to the Bible and the Church, and thus open the way in which the doctrine is to move in the progress of its further development. But how can this be accomplished in the absence of confessional determinateness? Since, however, the ultimate goal of our efforts cannot be division, but unification, the dogmatic theologian will not be authorized to cling to the letter of the doctrines of his Church, as hitherto received, with a tenacity that makes all approximation toward other confessional views impossible. To defend to the death what is untenable and merely peculiar to the stage of development attained by any particular age, influenced simply by obstinacy and party interest, is bad polemics.

Every judicious dogmatist must be intent upon eventually compromising and harmonizing such contrasts as may exist.¹

But such harmonizing is not to be accomplished by an overhasty obliteration of differences, or by forcibly

The judicious dogmatist a harmonizer.

breaking off their points and grinding their edges, so as to reduce every thing to indefiniteness and imbecility. This is false irenics. It is necessary, on the contrary, that the contrasts be sharply apprehended and followed down to their last details. This honest mode of procedure is less liable than any other to the danger of misrepresenting the views of opponents. For the more earnest the effort to understand the peculiarities of even an antagonistic doctrine, the more will such doctrine display characteristics which afford a ground upon which reconciliation is possible. The understanding of a disease is the only guide to a right selection of remedies for its cure, while palliatives can only harm. This has been shown by the history of the latest times in the case of two of the leading confessions of Protestantism—the Evangelical Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions of Prussia, introduced by King Frederick William III., in 1817. An external union has certainly been established, but it could not be made effective in all quarters, because the internal differences had not

Evangelical Union of Prussia.

yet been wholly overcome; the result being that they were only made more prominent. The conflict, however, if it only be conducted in the interests of truth, and without the intervention of blind passion, may, and will, result in demonstrating that the several evangelical modes under which Protestantism comes into

¹ It is most of all necessary that a false consequential spirit be avoided, as it constitutes a mortal principle to the sciences. A French writer has some capital remarks upon this point: Man is not a system which is divisible like a thread. He is not a mechanical force which prolongs itself infinitely. Fanaticism in all things is the reduction of intelligence by passion under the yoke of an exclusive idea.—Remusat, *De la Reform et du Protestantism*, p. 52 f.

notice are equally justified in the forum of science and before the pious consciousness, and that each serves to complement the other, though neither may be absorbed into the other.¹

The reconciliation of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism appears in a more difficult light up to this time, and the work of the dogmatic theologian will, for the present, be obliged to retain a polemical character in this field rather than assume an irenical nature. The agreement has been carried so far, however, as to admit of the recognition that the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, which have, upon the whole, remained unchanged, are to be very differently defined by science from what was the case at the beginning of the struggle. The relation between Scripture and tradition, for instance, is presented by the later theology of Protestantism in a form materially modified from that of former days. The same is true of justification and sanctification. The doctrine of the Church, also, is now, for the first time, approaching its thorough development and elaboration. In the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, the contrast between the Romish and the more independent principle is steadily becoming more prominent. In proportion as the purely evangelical element shall attain to clearness, and be distinguished from vague liberalism through the efforts of the nobler spirits in that Church, will agreement, if not unification, upon the common ground of Christianity become possible.²

The idea of polemics is not exhausted, however, when justice has been done to confessional interest. For, while every thing that savours of conflict is termed polemics, it is also true that every science has its polemical side. Apologetics is polemical in one point of view,³ and polemics, in the strict sense, involves an apologetical element. We see illustrations of this in Melancthon's Apology and similar writings.⁴ Schleiermacher distinguishes between apologetics and polemics, so as to conceive the former as facing outwardly and the latter as turning its attention within, and then

¹ "Many Lutherans have long since become Calvinists, and many Calvinists Lutherans; it only remains necessary that the right methods of promoting and expressing this already existing unity be discovered."—Henry at the "Kirchentag" at Berlin (Verhandlungen, p. 84).

² An attempt of this kind, as is well known, was recently made by Doellinger, the best representative of Old Catholicism.

³ "It is self-evident that no defence that should be simply defensive and not also offensive, and that should not especially lay positive foundations, is possible on scientific grounds."—Lechler, *ubi supra*, p. 597. Comp. Hirzel, *ubi supra*, p. 13.

⁴ Schleiermacher, § 52. Each one of the parties is obliged to defend itself against the charge of anarchy or corruption.

proceeds to regard polemics more generally as having to do with the repressing of morbid appearances in the Church at large, as we call indifferentism and separation.¹ But it is hardly necessary to establish a separate department for either this work or the restraining or partial and perverted tendencies in the science generally. Such morbid tendencies² are either to be dealt with theoretically, by dogmatics and ethics, or combated in a practical way, in the field of clerical work and that of general Church activities. But, in the latter case, the canon by which the contest must be regulated, the *ἀλληθεύειν ἐν δόγματι* (Eph. iv, 15), is likewise ethical. Both polemics and irenics have, for this reason, a place under practical theology. In connexion with dogmatics it is better to regard them in the light of "applied dogmatics."³

Schleiermacher's definition of relations of apologetics and polemics.

SECTION VI.

THE HISTORY OF POLEMICS AND IRENICS.

Christianity was born for conflict. Christ said that he came not to bring peace, but a sword. Christian polemics, accordingly, began with the beginning. Paul and John opposed false teachers. The fathers trod in their footsteps—Irenæus, with his work against a false Gnosis, and Tertullian, with his work on Prescription against Heretics, being especially prominent as fighters of heresy. The entire body of Church doctrine passed through the Patristic polemics. Irenics sometimes went hand in hand with polemics; but such ill-timed attempts to promote unity served only to increase the intensity and confusion of the struggle.

The separation of the Western Church from that of the East, professedly on account of the filioque controversy, introduced a long polemical contest between the two bodies, and also, since the beginning of the eleventh century, many attempts to bring about a reunion. Strict polemics begins with the division between the

¹ Sack has carried these categories still further; Indifferentism (divided into Naturalism and Mythologism); Literalism (into Ergism and Orthodoxy); Spiritualism (into Rationalism and Gnosticism); Separatism (into Mysticism and Pietism); and Theocratism (into Hierarchism and Cesaro-Papism). H. Steffensen (in *Theol. Mittheilungen*, Kiel, 1841, pp. 3-32) leads back these morbid forms to two fundamental states, according as they obscure "the piety of the Church (the substantial life of the Church) or pious ecclesiasticism (the formal life of the Church)".

² The attention is, of course, not to be fixed simply upon the appearances, but, as Sack says, they are to be "traced back to the inward dispositions from which doctrinal differences are developed, as from their root."

³ This is done by J. P. Lange in connexion with *Dogmatic Statistics and General Therapeutics*.

Churches in the Reformation, and the number of the controversial works called forth by circumstances during that period is legion.

But similar works continued to issue from both camps in the Church in later times. In the Romish Church the Spanish Franciscan Alphonso de Castro (died 1558 at Brussels) wrote, in the reign of Philip II., *Against all Heresies* (libri xiv, Paris, 1534); the Jesuit Francis Coster issued a *Controversial Manual* (1585); and Gregory de Valentia wrote on *Controversial Matters of Faith* in this Time (1591). Special prominence attaches to Bellarmine (died 1621) and his work, *Disputations on the Controversies of Christian Faith* and also to Martin Becanus (died 1624, having been the confessor of the Emperor Ferdinand II.), the author of a *Manual of Controversies* of this Period. This Church found a skilful and somewhat peaceably disposed defender in Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux, who wrote an *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church on Controverted Matters* (Paris, 1671). Among Lutherans the following deserve mention: Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent* (1565); Nic. Hunnius (died 1643), *Examination of the Fundamental Dissent of Lutheran and Calvinistic Doctrine* (Vit., 1616); Conrad Schlüsselburg, superintendent at Stralsund, *Catalogue of Heretics* (1597-99); and Abr. Calov, *Synopsis of Controversies*. Other dogmatical writers also mingled a large measure of polemics with the dogmatical material in their works.

Among Reformed theologians we may mention Hospinian, *Concordia Discordant* (Zürich, 1607), replied to by Hutter in his *Concord Concordant* (Vit., 1614); Daniel Chamier (at Montauban), *The Whole Catholic Army* (1626); Joh. Hoornbeek, *Sum of Controversies* (1653); Fr. Turretin, *Institutes of Theological Summary* (1681-85); and Fr. Spanheim, the elder (died 1649), and the younger (died 1701), in a number of works.

The irenical tendency occasionally progressed side by side with the polemical, or took its place when polemical zeal had spent its force. Thus, Nicolas de Cusa wrote, in the fifteenth century, his *Dialogue on the Peace or Concord of Faith* (ed. by Semler, 1787). The irenical tendency was represented in the Protestant Church by G. Calixtus, whose efforts led to the Syncretistic controversies. An *Introduction to Polemical Divinity* was written, in 1752, by J. G. Walch, of Jena.

The zeal for polemics diminished after the middle of the eighteenth century, and particularly toward its close, and writings and maunderings were composed about unity, generally emanating from the position of indifferentism. The newly awakened confessional zeal of Protestantism in the nineteenth century, however, called

forth a large number of controversial writings in the conflict against Ultramontaniam and Jesuitism; but the purely scientific interest was often subordinated by the fervour of the combatants to the practical questions of the hour. The scientific treatment of polemics was even relegated to the more peaceable field of symbolics; and it is quite recently that Hase has restored polemics to honour as a science in the strict sense, and has again incorporated it with the circle of theological studies.¹ The scientific status of irenics, on the other hand, is altogether of recent date, ^{scientific status} and its system is not yet developed to any considerable ^{of irenics.} extent. It secured a foothold as a factor in the domain of practical life, but often served only to provide new material for polemics. Thus the union which was consummated in Prussia and elsewhere in the course of the second decade of the century, called forth a multitude of works and counter-works. We may mention J. Schuderoff, on the General Union of the Christian Confessions (Neust., 1829); H. Steffens, What Lutheranism is to Me (Breslau, 1831); Rudelbach, Reformation, Lutheranism, and the Union (Leipz., 1839); K. F. Gaupp, Union of the German Church (Breslau, 1843); J. A. G. Woltersdorff, The Ecclesiastical Union (Stendal, 1851); and *Jul. Mueller, The Evangelical Union (Berlin, 1854). Of historical work are the following: Nitzsch, Archives of the Evangelical Union (Berlin, 1853); R. Stier, Unlutheran Theses (Brunsw., 1854); and Carl Schulz, The Union: An Inquiry into its History and Doctrine (Gotha, 1868).

LITERATURE OF POLEMICS AND IRENICS.

- J. G. Planck, Ueber die Trennung und Wiedervereinigung der getrennten christl. Hauptparteien. Tüb., 1803.
 — Worte des Friedens an die katholische Kirche gegen ihre Vereinigung mit der protestantischen. Gött., 1809.
 Ph. Marheineke, Ueber das wahre Verhältniss des Katholicismus und Protestantismus und die projectirte Kirchenvereinigung. Heidelb., 1810.
 K. H. Sack, Christl. Polemik. Hamb., 1838.
 J. P. Lange, Die gesetzlich-kathol. Kirche als Sinnbild der freien evangelisch-katholischen Kirche. Heidelb., 1850.
 D. Schenkel, Unionsberuf des evangelischen Protestantismus. Heidelb., 1855.
 Fr. Jul. Stahl, Die Lutherische Kirche und die Union, eine wissenschaftliche Erörterung, etc. Berl., 1859. 2d ed., 1860.

For wider circles of readers:

- D. Schenkel, Gespräche über Protestantismus und Katholicismus. Heidelb., 1852, 1853. 2 vols.

¹ It is true, indeed, that Schleiermacher already assigned to it an honorary place among such studies, and that Sack wrote, in A. D. 1838, a textbook of this science; but the example produced no lasting consequences.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

- William E. Gladstone, *Rome and the Newest Fashions in Literature: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies.* 8vo. N. Y., 1875.
- W. Archer Butler, *Letters on Romanism.* Lond., 1858.
- Samuel Edgar, *The Variations of Popery.* Revised. N. Y., 1849.
- Charles Elliott, *Delineation of Romanism.* 2 vols., 8vo. N. Y., 1851.
- Julius Charles Hare, *The Contest with Rome.* Cambridge, 1856.
- W. Howitt, *History of Priestcraft.* New ed. Lond., 1846.
- F. D. Maurice, *The Religion of Rome, and its Influence on Modern Civilization.* Lond. 1855.
- J. Michelet, *Priests, Women, and Families.* Lond., 1846.
- N. Murray (Kirwan), *Letters to Bishop Hughes.* Revised and Enlarged ed. N. Y., 1855.
- Napoleon Roussell, *Catholic and Protestant Nations Compared in their Threefold Relations to Wealth, Knowledge, and Morality.* Boston, 1855.
- R. W. Thompson, *The Papacy and the Civil Power.* N. Y., 1876.
- Richard Whately, *Errors of Romanism Traced to their Origin in Human Nature.* New ed. Lond., 1856.
- J. Blanco White, *Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism.* Lond., 1835.

SECTION VII.

THE METHOD OF DOGMATICS.

The method of arranging and dividing the material of dogmatics is, beyond all question, dependent on the underlying dogmatical view, since it is no small question which doctrine shall control the others, or what relations the various articles of the creed are to sustain to each other, or what is their bearing upon the entire body of Christian truth. The traditional method, by Theological Heads, or Theological Topics, or Heads, has, on that account, not only been variously modified, but has also been superseded to some extent by other modes of division, and in part combined with them.

The question concerning the particular doctrine which is to be placed at the base, so to speak, the *πρῶτον κινούν* of dogmatics, reaches back into apologetics. What is the essential feature of Christianity? what is the principal subject of its teaching? what are fundamental articles? Upon these questions will depend the entire structure of the dogmatics. If it be held that the doctrine about Christ is less important than what he taught, and that the essential thing in connexion with Christianity is that it has thrown light upon the doctrines relating to God and his attributes, and also those which concern human destiny, the entire system will assume a character different from what it would be if it be assumed that the central point of Christianity

¹ Excellent hints for the cultivation of *freies Denken* are furnished in the work by Lücke: *Ueber das Alter, den Verfasser, die ursprüngliche Form und den wahren Sinn des kirchl. Friedensspruches: In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas.* Gött., 1850.

lies in the personality of the God-man, or in the fact of redemption, or in the justification of the sinner before God by faith, or, finally, in the mystery of the Trinity. Each of these views will necessitate a plan on which to dispose of the separate doctrines within the general structure.

The traditional method began with God and his attributes, progressed through the creation until it arrived at man and his sin, passed through these to the Redeemer and his work, and then discussed the Church and the sacraments, until it closed with an outlook into the future, or the last things. This has been The Local or Topical Method. denominated the Local or Topical method, from *locus* or τόπος, which corresponds to the terms *caput* or *pars fidei*, or articles of faith (*ἀρθρον τῆς πίστεως*).¹ It is already found with John of Damascus and the scholastics, and it has been the usual method with Lutherans since Melancthon, though the latter himself had followed a different method in the first edition of his *Loci Communes*, which begins with man and his need of salvation. Different principles of arrangement were attempted from time to time in the Reformed Church. Thus we may mention the Federal method (*methodus foederalis*) of Cocceius and Witsius in the 17th century,² which was adopted among moderns by Augusti;³ and the division according to the Persons of the Trinity, by Melchior Leydecker, in the same century,⁴ which is followed by Marheinecke in his *Dogmatik*, Schirmer in his *Biblical Dogmatics*, and Rosenkranz in his *Encyclopædia*.

Schleiermacher's method is peculiarly founded on the contrast between sin and grace as constituting the turning point Schleiermacher's method. in the Christian conception of the world. His Dogmatics falls into two principal parts: 1. "The pious feeling of dependence, without reference to the contrast between personal inability and imparted ability;" 2. With a substantial recognition of such contrast. Hase divides dogmatics into ontology and Christology. Anthropology and theology are classed under the former head, and eschatology is discussed under anthropology, while the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Church, and the sacraments con-

¹ See Bretschneider, *Entwicklung der dogmatischen Begriffe*, p. 191. The proof texts in Scripture were also termed *loci classici*, *loci probantia*, *dicta classica*, *sedes doctrinae*, and the science which treated proof passages was termed *topica*.

² *Foedus naturae et operum* and *foedus gratiae* with *economies ante legem, sub lege, and post legem*. Comp. Al. Schweizer, *Ref. Dogm.*, p. 108 *sqq.*

³ 1. Of the state of sin; 2. Of the state of grace; 3. The facts of Christianity (which hobble along at quite a distance).

⁴ Comp. Schweizer, *ubi supra*, p. 115 *sqq.*

stitute a part of his Christology.¹ Like Schleiermacher, he places the Trinity, "as the sum and consummation of Christology," at the end. Kling argues that Christology is entitled to the first place.² He agrees with Hahn in considering the doctrine of Christ as the Son of God and of man, the Saviour of the world, the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, but, diverging from that scholar, prefers to begin with the doctrine of the person of Christ.³

It is more correct, however, to regard the person of Christ as forming the centre of Christian dogmatics, to which all our knowledge respecting God and man refers in a prophetic way, and from which it again proceeds, as having been satisfied by Christ. While the character of Christianity is the "divinely human,"⁴ it yet appears to be a more natural method to consider, first, God in his relations to man apart from the mediation of Christ, as the Creator, Lawgiver, and Judge; next, man in his relations to God while unredeemed; (a) as the creature and image of God, (b) as a sinner, and (c) Christ as the God-man and Redeemer, the latter constituting the centre from which mankind as redeemed by him, as glorified in him, but also as progressing toward its consummation in him, is discussed. In this way the separate doctrines of salvation, or soteriology, and of the Church, the sacraments, and eschatology will form the completion of anthropology, on the one hand, while, on the other, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which finds its proper place at this point, in connexion with the exaltation of Christ and his kingly office, brings the doctrine of God in the Trinity to a full completion.

There is no propriety in discussing Christ before attention has been directed toward God and man, but it is not, on the other hand, possible to finish either the doctrine of God or of man without including Christ. The whole of the doctrine of the Trinity is left in the condition of an uncomprehended speculative problem, if it be not prefaced by Christology, and eschatology comes under notice too far in advance when treated, as it is by Hase, before the doctrine of Christ. The topical method, as a whole, may, therefore, be retained, but so that each topic shall find its completion

¹ *Evangel. Dogmatik*, 2d ed., p. 46 *seqq.*

² *Gestalt der evang. Dogmatik in Tüb. Zeitschrift* for 1884, No. 4.

³ Hahn's division is as follows: 1. Theology, consummated in the Son of God; 2. Anthropology, in the Son of man; 3. Soteriology, in the Redeemer; 4. The doctrine of the Church, as founded, governed, and consummated by Christ, the promised and glorified King of truth.

⁴ Comp. Ebrard's Inaugural Address, *Die Gottmenschlichkeit des Christenthums*, Zür., 1845.

in the others, and that, for that reason, it shall not be brought to a conclusion without bringing the others into account. Retention of topical method. This is the meaning which underlies the federative method, and, also, the arrangement of Schleiermacher. Both these methods seek to destroy the invariable and mechanical arrangement by which the articles succeed each other under regular rubrics, and to establish living relations among the various doctrines. We would not, therefore, argue in favour of the traditional method without modifications, as does Pelt,¹ though we see no reason for rejecting the customary terminology, such as theology, anthropology, and the rest.

The outlines of a system of dogmatics, such as we Outline of dog-matical system. should prefer, would be as follows:

1. God, and his relation to the world and to man as his creature. Natural, legal, and prophetic theology.

2. Man, as related to God and the world, so long as they have not been brought together through the mediation of Christ. The doctrine of man's primeval state; the destination of man, and sin.

3. The doctrine of the personality of the God-man and his work for the redemption of mankind. Christology and objective soteriology—the heart of Christian dogmatics.

4. Man as related to Christ, and through Christ to God. The doctrine of salvation, subjective soteriology, the *ordo salutis*. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

5. Man as related to Christ, and through Christ to the world. Communion of believers, the Church, and sacraments. Hence, also, man's changed relation to nature—death, the resurrection, and the whole of eschatology.

6. God, manifested in Christ, in his relation toward himself. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity in its immanent meaning.

7. God in his relation to the world, viewed in connexion with the fact of redemption.

The kernel of the whole, Christology, is thus inclosed within theology, and the interior connecting links will constitute the anthropology.

The attributes of God need not, in this arrangement, be separated from each other, as Schleiermacher's method requires. They may be placed under the first head, but would, of course, attain their full significance only at the end.

A method that corresponds, in the main, to the above, and that commends itself to favour by its clearness, is that of AL. Schwei-

¹ Encyklopaedie, p. 502.

zer.¹ It possesses the additional advantage of having taken the so-called prolegomena, generally constituting a separate part, ^{schweizer's method.} in which the fundamental elements are laid down, from its isolation, and bringing it into organic connexion with the remainder of the system of belief. In this way he obtains the following division into three parts: 1. The laying of foundations, or the consciously realized faith of Christianity in the Evangelical Church as a whole; the apologetic, or better, the grounding part. 2. The elements contained in the pious Christian consciousness which do not involve the specifically peculiar character of Christianity—the elemental part. 3. The specifically Christian side or part. It is evident, of course, that the two former divisions will be more abbreviated than the latter.

SECTION VIII.

THEOLOGY.

Comp. Nitzsch, in Herzog, *Encyklopædie*, s. v. Gott.

Article Theology, in M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. x.

Theology is, in Christian dogmatics, used to designate the doctrine relating to God, and more especially God as he has appeared to man. Such theology has nothing in common with ^{Meaning of} ~~theology.~~ scepticism, which everywhere professes to know nothing about God, nor with that false dogmatism which claims to know more about God than he has permitted man to know. In treating his nature and attributes it, accordingly, has respect not to metaphysically ontological questions as it does to religious considerations, and is conscious of the figurative character of the language and modes of reference it must employ, as well as of the real and substantial basis upon which such language and modes rest.

We may appropriate to ourselves the assertion of Feuerbach, that theology is, at bottom, merely anthropology, without accepting it in the sense of Feuerbach. In fact, his definition may even be employed against him. We concede that, in a certain sense, theology is anthropology, and that it must be anthropological through and through, if it be acknowledged, on the other hand, that anthropology is also modified by theology, or that the two are simply diverging members of a single body, which body is religion. The Bible everywhere teaches a *human* God, that is, a God ^{God, human} ~~and superhu-~~ for man. This is the true anthropopathy. He is a God ^{man.} who is likewise superhuman, but whatever of the superhuman is revealed always has reference to the human element.

¹ Christliche Glaubenslehre nach Protestant. Grundsätzen, p. 86. Comp. the entire section, Methode der Glaubenslehre, p. 70 *sqq.*

The entire Old Testament speaks of God as dwelling in the midst of his people; the entire New Testament describes him as manifested in Christ, and through Christ become the father of humanity. Even the creation of heaven and earth is narrated in a human method, that is, from a human point of view, and is adapted to the needs of man, whose home is in the earth.

This constitutes religion, which dogmatics is to apprehend, in all wisdom and humility, as the religion that emanates from God, and is willed and ordered by him. It does not seek to comprehend God as he exists from eternity to eternity; it is satisfied to know that he is. But it desires to know every thing respecting his nature that he has revealed to man, and also the relation into which he has entered with man, who is modelled after the image of God. Hence, all sound dogmatic theologians have, from the beginning, asserted the incomprehensibility of God as strongly as they have ^{Incomprehensibility of God.} taught that, with reference to our salvation, he is comprehensible by us,¹ and they have demonstrated, in the works of creation and redemption, the glories of his character which have been made known to us. Their position is at once that occupied by reason and the Scriptures.

Dogmatics is not obliged to prove the existence of God. But it, nevertheless, takes that slender thread which runs through the history of the human race which inquires after God, and points out how the consciousness that he exists is manifested in connexion with the different forms of argument—the physico-theological, cosmological, ontological, historical, moral, and the rest—and that the very fact that search for such proof is made, is, in this case, of itself a sufficient proof.² It treats the attributes of God, not as coming upon him from without, and attaching themselves to him in an external way, but as being the unfolding of his nature in behalf of our natural and moral consciousness.

Here, then, is the place in which to discuss the relation of God to the world and the human spirit, but in an ethical and religious light,

¹ Comp. the citations from the Fathers in Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, § 27 (Smith's ed.).

² "More than one hundred demonstrations in geometry have been made of the Pythagorean theorem, all of which accomplish the same object. Innumerable proofs of the existence of God have likewise been constructed, but they failed to accomplish what they promised to achieve. . . . God is not a right-angled triangle, and it is not possible to invent either numerous or striking evidences respecting him. There is but one proof for God, and this he wields himself."—Rosenkranz, *Encyklopaedie*, p. 6. Hamann, already, remarks that "if he is a fool who denies God, he is a much greater fool who attempts to prove his existence." Comp., however, G. A. Fricke, *Argumenta pro Dei existentia exponuntur et judicantur*. Lips., 1846.

rather than in that of pure speculation: The idea of the divine personality is here to be investigated in its religious bearings, and anthropomorphism and anthropopathy here find their psychological basis and theological corrective, the language of the Bible and the needs of the human heart being duly recognized.¹

The doctrines of the creation and preservation of the world, of Providence and the government of the world, as well as of sin (theodicy), all depend on theology. Here, again, dogmatics is required to fix a clear boundary between matters which belong to the religious conception of the world and those which are properly cosmical in their character. The older dogmatic theologians, even John of Damascus, included physics, natural history, and astronomy. But the more recent science has properly thrown over all such ballast. Still, there is constant temptation to wander off into foreign fields, such as geological researches with reference to the narrative of the creation. Theology must content itself with the idea of creation as such.

The doctrines of angels and of demons are usually connected with that of creation, though the second one stands more particularly related to the doctrine of the fall, and hence with that of sin. It is to be remembered, however, that the idea of angels was in existence when Christianity appeared, and that the latter adopted the existing views without formulating them into a distinct doctrine, or founding on them any material feature of revealed religion. Here, again, we meet the temptation of straying off into false metaphysics, of identifying, without qualification, the poetic with the didactic, and popular figurative notions with definite scientific statements, all of which are not easy to keep asunder in the given case. Or, we are exposed to the danger of a gross realism, by which the one element is mistaken for the other. It is, therefore, necessary to commend at this point that judicious dogmatical procedure which aims, first of all, to bring the religious element of a doctrine into prominence, and thereby naturally preserve the true medium between coarse literalism and superficial negation.²

¹ Comp. § 29. "Human forms of speech, anthropomorphisms, are most frequently applied to God when piety is vital and communion with him is habitual; and the Bible leads in this direction; so that, in this very matter, and even in expressions that are at first offensive to reason and exposed to ridicule, there is reason for admiring the high degree of pedagogical wisdom in religious things, however great the *naïveté*, and for observing that even the pious *naïveté* alone has the best of the argument."—Hirzel, in the *Kirchenfreund*, 1878, No. 10, p. 154, article *Zum Streit und Freiden*.

² Comp. the article *Engel*, in *Herzog's Encyklopædie*, iv, by Boehmer. It is not

SECTION IX.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

Theological differs from physiological anthropology in that, although it proceeds upon the basis of man's natural condition, it does not regard him in his relation to nature, but as he stands related to God. It is divided into the two leading sections of a doctrine of man's original state prior to the fall, and a doctrine of the fall and of sin, which was thereby introduced into human nature, and has since perpetuated itself and been actualized in the experience of every individual.

Theological anthropology of a scientific character is, of course, impossible apart from physiological anthropology; that is, apart from all acquaintance with man as naturally constituted. But the latter serves merely as a natural foundation. The most perfect familiarity with human nature in its anatomical and physiological, and even in its psychological, aspects, in so far as psychology restricts itself to psychological limits, will not be competent to disclose to our view the religious nature of man.¹ It is

allowable, of course, to find mere accommodation in the discourses of our Lord which relate to the world of angels and demons, which are not only based on a religious idea, but also on an earnest reality. The doctrine concerning Satan, for instance, rests on the fact of the power of evil, which reaches down into the deepest abysses of darkness (Daub's Ischarioth). It has been wittily said by Rougemont, with reference to this point: Men have pretended that all the demonology of Jesus was only an accommodation to the prejudices of his people and his age. This is as much as to say that the battles of Alma and Inkerman are only an accommodation of Napoleon III. to the prejudices of the French against the Russians. What struggle has ever been more real, more terrible, more gigantic, than that of the Son of God and of Satan in the wilderness?—Christ et ses Temoins, vol. i, p. 152. But this yields no stronger proof for the personality of Satan than for that of death, sin, or hell, which, likewise, are powers that were overcome by Christ in a real sense, and not figuratively only. The figurative designation of the thing is here interchanged with the thing itself, whose reality continues unchanged. Schenkel, following in the footsteps of Schleiermacher, has subjected the doctrine of the devil to the light of a rigorous criticism (Dogmatik, i, p. 247 *sqq.*). On the other hand, persons are not wanting who hold that effects are still produced, and persons possessed, by demons at the present time.

¹ The remark of Rosenkranz (Encykl., p. 38), that "theological anthropology has nothing to do with the physical and intellectual nature of man," is too strong. But it is true that "it must turn over the consideration of that nature to philosophical anthropology, and fix its attention on the relation in which man stands to God." Comp. Harless, in preface to his Ethik (4th ed.): "I believe that our divines would do well by not restraining their interest in the field of physical research too far; for it is only in the light of unjustifiable abstraction that the latter can seem to have nothing in common with the mind." Darwin's theory of the descent of man, tracing him back

true that this religious nature of man may be apprehended to some extent by psychological inquiry, but, by this method, man appears only as an isolated specimen of his race; and a penetrating observation of his nature is afforded only by the history of mankind in connexion with the revelations made by God. We, therefore, urge that, as in dogmatics, theology is required to be anthropological, so, in like manner, must anthropology be theological.¹ The questions which relate to body and soul, or body, soul, and spirit, and to the origin of the latter (pre-existence, traducianism, creationism), are in place here only in so far as one theory or another becomes necessary for the understanding of man's religious nature.

The proper course of dogmatical procedure will be to apprehend in their real spirit the few grand indications of the Scriptures upon such matters as the image of God, and to so present them to our spirit through the medium of exegesis, history, and philosophy, as The high idea of humanity. to enable us to grasp the more exalted idea of humanity. ity beneath the figurative language by which it is expressed. Upon the correct apprehension of that idea depends the correct view of sin, whether it is to be considered a mere negation, or natural deficiency, or a privation, depravation, and perversion of human nature. These are the terms that distinguish between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic views.

The history of man's fall into sin is likewise involved in great difficulties when regarded as simple history. But the genesis of sin, as repeated daily, may, nevertheless, be demonstrated from the masterly and matchless narrative. It is impossible to deny that the consciousness of a common guilt, of which every individual partakes, is profoundly religious in its nature, and attested by both Scripture and experience. Nowhere do psychological inquiry and The doctrine of sin. the study of God's word, considered as the judge of human thoughts, more fully complement, or rather explain, each other than in the doctrine of sin. Does not Paul speak on this point (Rom. vii) with reference to his own experience, and from out of the depths of human nature as a whole? The same holds true of Augustine and Luther. Abstract reason will, of course, always incline toward Pelagianism upon such doctrines, since it affords a necessary corrective in many particular respects.

to an ape, which has been so much discussed of late, will not at all disturb the scholar who knows how to distinguish between the domain of religion and that kind of natural science which must often take a backward step; but it will afford food for reflection and for profounder thought with respect to the limitations of our knowledge.

¹ Comp. Bunsen, Hippolytus i, p. 289 *seqq.*

But the mind derives no satisfaction from that course, inasmuch as it is continually reminded of a rupture that is more profound than reflection is able to perceive.¹

SECTION X.

CHRISTOLOGY.

Comp. Kling, in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, s. v. *II*, and article *Christology*, in McClinton and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, vol. *II*.

Inasmuch as the religious relation subsisting between God and man finds its historical exemplification only, and in a peculiar manner, in the person of Jesus Christ, the God-man, Christology must constitute, not merely an essential part, but the very centre of a system of dogmatics. Its task will be to conceive Jesus as sinless man, as free from error, in so far as this stands connected with sin, and, for that reason, as being the only-begotten Son of God, and God manifest in the flesh. It will be required to harmonize the qualities which Jesus possesses in common with the race, or human nature, with those which stamp him as unique, and exalt him above the race, and, therefore, of the divine nature, without, on that account, being authorized to set aside his real and complete humanity, or to obscure the greatness of his specific deity.

The life of Jesus forms the historic basis of Christology. But the latter has to cultivate thoroughly a ground which the former, in its character as a purely historical science, could not include within its territory.² There has been no lack, however, of theologians who assert that Christology is superfluous, and who thereby stab Christian dogmatics, considered as specifically Christian, to the heart.³ Their dogmatics is

¹ Comp. Hundeshagen, *Der Weg zu Christo*, i, p. 136.

² Rothe, among others, points out the necessity of apprehending the divine nature of Christ from the study of the picture of his human life: "To speak of recognizing and acknowledging the divine element in Christ without having observed it shine forth from what is human in him, or having caught its reflection in the mirror of his humanity, is merely to bandy idle words. . . . Apart from the underlying oasis of humanity, the whole of the sacred life and work of Jesus by which redemption was effected becomes a magnificent phantasmagoria, an empty pageant, upon which no one may depend for comfort and for hope either in life or death. The unavoidable consequence, in short, is unmitigated Docetism."—In Schenkel's *Zeitschrift*, pp. 380, 383.

³ Thus by Henke, in the preface to his *Linamenta*, p. 12: "Ut omnis haec in Christum religio ad religionem Christi magis revocetur, omni opera contendendum est." Comp. Röhr, *Briefe über Rationalismus*, p. 36: "What supernaturalists term Christology in their dogmatics does not appear in my system as an integral part at all; for, while it constitutes a religion which Jesus taught, it is not one whose object he

confined altogether to theology and anthropology, and in the progress of their works Christ appears simply as one theologian and anthropologist among others, to whom an occasional appeal is made, but not as the *θεάνθρωπος*, who is himself the central feature of dogmatics.

But objection against this very *θεάνθρωπος* idea has been raised from many quarters. The term, it is true, is not biblical, and cannot be found in the Bible Dictionary. But can all the terms with which the attributes of God are designated, and others with which dogmatics has been enriched, be found in the Bible? The term "God-man" may, no doubt, be so understood as to involve a contradiction. If the idea proceeds on the assumption of an un-human God and an un-divine man, who are to be joined together in an outward form, the one will necessarily exclude the other; in other words, the ancient "finite is not capable of the infinite." But it has been correctly shown that the divinely human character of Christianity and the divine humanity of the Saviour condition each other.¹ It is only necessary to remember, in this matter, that language of this character is developed on the soil of religion, and not on that of abstract speculation. The entire doctrine of the person of Christ may be apprehended in a very irrational way, either as describing the mechanical contact of two dissimilar things, the two members of the Form of Concord, or as a mixture of divine and human elements, as we see in Apollinarism.² In this way the one is disturbed and obscured by the other rather than modified and complemented by it.

The doctrine of the Church itself has not always been free from abstruse and confusing definitions, though it has, with correct judgment, continued to insist on the *ἀσυγχύτως*, *ἀτρέπτως*, *ἀδιαρέτως*, and *ἀχωρίστως*. The truth upon this subject cannot be intuitively understood, but may be apprehended in its character as a truth to be accepted by faith; and while the truly wise may arrive at an understanding with regard to it, a satisfactory agreement and a logical settlement upon its merits are utterly impossible to persons who are merely puffed up with their knowledge.

The history of doctrines affords the most striking evidences of might be himself." The most recent rationalizing theology seems inclined to return to this Ebionitic view. Vide the "Schlussbetrachtung" in Strauss' *Life of Jesus* for the German People.

¹ Ebrard, *ubi supra*.

² Comp. the History of Doctrines. Guizot, however, still speaks of a "continual mixture of the divine and the human."

this fact. Whenever the attempt is made to bring Christology to a logical conclusion, and formulate it, the difficulty of avoiding Ebionitism or Docetism, Nestorianism or Monophysitism, which stand on either side like Scylla and Charybdis, will present itself, and the history of doctrines will require to defend itself against the attacks of various forms of heresy in the manner best suited to repel the antagonizing error. The reason for this fact does not, however, lie in the doctrine itself, with its infinite significance, but in the human limitations which affect the dogmatics of each particular age.¹

SECTION XL

SOTERIOLOGY.

Most intimately connected with the doctrine of the Redeemer's person is the doctrine of the salvation which depends on him, and of the appropriation of this salvation on our part by faith. This is soteriology. Its objective side is found in the work of Christ, in the redemption and atonement wrought by him. Its subjective side is found in the work of the Holy Spirit upon the human heart,

¹ The merely complementary relation sustained by the two leading confessions of Protestantism to each other is pointed out by Schneckenburger, *Vom doppelten Stande Christi*, Pforzheim, 1848. Jul. Müller beautifully observes that "at this point evangelical theology needs a new development out of the Holy Scriptures as the original source of doctrinal life, and accompanied with a rejection of the entire ballast of formulas, which, in the dogmatics of former times, was connected with the idea of the *communis naturarum*. In such development the leading object must be held to the preservation in doctrinal form of the evangelical picture of the life of Jesus Christ in its human truthfulness and comprehensibility, undeterred by monophysite, docetic, or Nestorian opinions, but accompanied by the declaration that this man Jesus Christ is the logos, in the flesh, God of God, born in eternity of the Father. . . . The thought that he who, as the eternal logos, is with the Father, is at the same time a true Son of man, contains such an inexhaustible fulness of knowledge respecting the common salvation, that every division based on the effort to definitely formulate the relation between the divine and human natures in Christ becomes a sin committed against the God-man himself, to whom all profess a common allegiance.—*Die evangel. Union, ihr Wesen und ihr Göttliches Recht*, 1st ed., Berl., 1854, p. 816 *sqq.* Comp. also Rothe, *ubi supra*, p. 384: "When this shall have become clear, that moral unity with God is to be conceived as not ideal only, but as real, as the result of a more thorough acquaintance with the interior nature of moral being, then shall we also, for the first time, have grasped the key to Christology, and behold a living Christ, in sharp and vivid outlines, before the eye of the mind—a Christ who is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and at the same time the only begotten of the Father, in whose presence we are constrained to bow and exclaim with Thomas, 'My Lord and my God!' Then will the breathings of our faith be deep and joyous, when it has seen the dawning of this bright light in the midst of darkness—it is faith in Christ, instead of unbelief, which has penetrated through the dogma."

the different gradations of which are denominated the order of salvation. The principal points to settle are, the relation of justification to sanctification, of divine grace to human freedom, and of faith to works. The confessional opposition between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism is more sharply defined in this field than in any other.

The doctrine of Christ's person would, indeed, belong to the realm of idle speculation if its only purpose were to conceive of Jesus as an isolated marvel upon the page of history, or as a God-man who appears and vanishes away like some meteor. But this is not its object. Christ, as being the Son of God and Son of man, becomes the Mediator between God and man. He atones and redeems. His death is made to appear as the crowning point of his redeeming work, and Christ himself is the basis of reconciliation, the *ἱλασμός*. In him the old dies, and the new attains to life. Death and resurrection are the pivots upon which his character turns for the history of his world. The dogma concerning the death of Jesus belongs, in one respect, to Christology, as having proceeded out from the person of Christ. But, in its results, that death forms the condition of salvation, and the doctrine, therefore, belongs to soteriology. To apprehend this death in its religious significance, not from the idea of mere abstract right, as a satisfaction, nor yet from the idea of mere moral influence, as an example, but rather as a free thought of love, executed under a divine necessity in harmony with God's eternal decree, and as therefore fraught with infinite consequences for the entire human race, constitutes one of the highest problems of Christian dogmatics. In the solution of it the religious spirit is required to participate, as well as the reason, with its combining and analytical processes.¹

But it is as improper to isolate the work of Christ as to isolate his person. The death of Jesus is most intimately and organically connected with his life previous to his death, and with the development of the kingdom of God subsequent to his resurrection, and also with the regeneration of each individual. This is subjective soteriology, the order of salvation. The process which was regarded as dynamical by the Christianity of apostolic times, that is to say, the change wrought in man by the Spirit of God—repentance, regeneration, renewing of the spirit, and sanctification—was, in later days, classified under the heads of illumination, conversion, sanctification, and perseverance, and the whole made to tend toward the goal of a most intimate communion with God, a

¹ Comp. Hagenbach's articles on this subject in the *Kirchenbl. für die Ref. Schweiz*, 1854, Nos. 7 and 9.

unio mystica cum Deo. The two ideas which are chiefly important here, however, and which the Protestant doctrine, as distinct from the Roman Catholic, clearly distinguishes from each other, are justification and sanctification. The former term is made ^{Justification and} to denote the acquittal of the sinner on the part of ^{sanctification.} God, considered simply as a declaratory act, while the latter designates the gracious process by which the personal life of an individual is developed into the divine. Although it is difficult to separate one from the other, their separation in the idea is required by the principle of evangelical Protestantism, that man is justified solely by the grace of God to the exclusion even of every consideration arising out of the good which God has wrought in man. This latter is simply a consequence resulting from the new relationship.

But the determining of the exact relation of the grace which makes man free to the will of man which thus attains to freedom—which must always enter into the account as a will, and, therefore, as relatively free—is among the most difficult of doctrinal problems, which so easily admit of a turning aside to either the right or left. Both the Scriptures and experience assert that, on the one hand, man is unable to perform any thing without the aid of God, and that, on the other, he possesses the power of choosing to obey the call of grace or to refuse its authority. The whole history of doctrines shows that, in some periods of the Church, the greater emphasis was laid on the freedom of the will, while in others its fettered state was made more prominent. This is the point at which it becomes necessary to develop the idea of freedom into clearness, and here, especially, the philosophy of religion and that of dogmatics flow into each other.¹ A profound study of the problem will always result in the inclination to set aside the contrast, and to distinguish between freedom and license, between necessity and compulsion, and between what is done by God in man and man in God, and what is done by man without God and by God without man.² The letter of the symbolical definitions in the doctrine of the Protestant Church is often too harsh and unmanageable, and cannot be fully maintained

¹ In our arrangement the doctrine of freedom will come under notice twice in the system: first in connexion with the doctrine of sin, and next in connexion with that of grace. Anthropology, in general, will also fall into these two halves.

² "The solution of the great problem is found by turning the attention away from an abstract consideration of man and his separation from God, and fixing it upon the constant divine influence by which man becomes a higher personality; thus the possibility of a free self-determination even toward the good is always preserved. The idea of a separation between divine causality and the free activity of man must be given up; both are with and in each other," etc.—Kling, *ubi supra*, p. 32.

in every feature of such definition. But the evangelical principle, which finds expression in that form, will eventually be recognized as the true and the only principle that can abide every test.

SECTION XII.

THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS.

The salvation which proceeds from Christ reaches the individual through the medium of the religious community. The individual, however, enters into a living relation with that community only through faith in Christ. Thus the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine of the Church condition each other. Dogmatics has to deal with the idea of the Church only on its interior or religious side, the external relation of the Church to the State and its political organization falling within the province of ecclesiastical law. Dogmatics, however, is obliged to furnish the governing ideas for the guidance of the latter. Its office with relation to the means of grace to be administered by the Church—the word of God and the sacraments—is, in like manner, to apprehend them in their religious significance, while the careful determination of the most appropriate mode of conducting the administration belongs to liturgics.

"The importance of the doctrine of the Church," says Köstlin, "for the science of Christian teaching, while it has been remarkably misapprehended during an extended period, has more recently been recognized the more clearly and emphatically."¹ But many an error has been committed in the process, and what is outward has been made prominent to a degree that suggests danger, and in a manner that can hardly be reconciled with the spirit of the reformers, or even with that of Luther, the authority of whose example is invoked.² Whether, as Schleiermacher states the contrast, the Ro-

¹ Luther's *Lehre von der Kirche* (Stuttg., 1853), p. 1. There is much conflict of opinion upon this doctrine at the present time; "but so much is settled that Protestantism is divided among itself not so much with reference to the idea of the Church as concerning the relation of the phenomenon to the idea."—Schenkel, *ubi supra*, p. 589. The point at issue is whether the Church should be regarded in the light of a remedial institution in which persons are to be trained for citizenship in the kingdom of God, or in the light of an organized community, in which the kingdom of God is, however imperfectly, already apparent and actually present.

² "It is undeniable that, despite its blessings, a disagreeable element of darkness has, in most periods, attached to the Church through which the most exclusive churchmen have, as a class, obtained the greatest prominence, namely, a passionate insisting on the correctness of received views, a mania for fastening the charge of heresy upon opponents, an exaggerated love for the form they represented. If this old ecclesiastical Adam should ever be restored, a certain distinguished theologian (R. Rothe, in

man Catholic view, that the individual must come to Christ through the Church, be maintained, or the Protestant, that he can come to the Church only through faith in Christ—the former is empirically true, the latter ideally so—it is yet undeniable, from any point of view, that the religious character of the doctrine of the Church can only be understood through the doctrine of Christ. The doctrine of the Church is, in the next place, connected with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, in conformity with the expression of Irenæus, “Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Sanctus; et ubi Spiritus Sanctus, ibi et ecclesia.” Schleiermacher, therefore, brought the doctrines of the Holy Spirit and of the Church into the closest connexion, as the Apostles’ Creed had also done at a much earlier period.

Doctrine of Christ necessary to understand doctrine of Church.

The Protestant distinction between the visible and the invisible Church would assign the latter only to the province of dogmatics, as essential to the faith, while the former would belong to the domain of politics; and questions relating to the constitution of the Church do, in point of fact, seem to be sadly out of place in a doctrinal work, particularly a Protestant one. But inasmuch as the invisible cannot be absolutely separated from the visible, and inasmuch as it does not manifest itself by the side of the visible, and as exterior to it, but rather in the visible, it will always be necessary for dogmatics to recognize the vessel in which the spirit of the religious community manifests itself. The task of settling the fundamental forms of ecclesiastical life, by which alone that life can maintain its ecclesiastical character, is thus devolved upon dogmatics. While pointing out the spiritual nature of the Church, dogmatics is required to guard the Church, as being holy, against degenerating into worldliness; against divisions and dismemberment by insisting upon her unity; and against separatistic schisms by asserting her universal character. The purely external administration of the Church, as variously modified by conditions of time and place, is turned over to another department, that of ecclesiastical politics and ecclesiastical law.

The same reasoning which applies to the constitution of the Church applies also to Church worship. The ordering of the latter devolves upon liturgics. But liturgics is based on dogmatics, and derives from it the instructions upon which it is to proceed. The fundamental, unchangeable, and

Liturgics based on dogmatics.

his Theol. Ethik.) would be obliged to gain new adherents to the opinion that Christianity can attain to itself and its real nature only by the process of completely stripping off its ecclesiastical envelopments.”—A. Schweitzer, *Die Prot. Central Dogmen*, vol. i, p. 19.

divinely ordered types of Christian worship, the word and the sacraments, are most intimately connected with the life of believers, and thus constitute an essential part of dogmatics. Considered as means of grace, an *adminicula gratiæ*, they will stand connected with the doctrines of salvation and grace in general, while in their character as institutions of the Church they will need to be placed under the doctrine of the Church.

The idea of a sacrament is not of scriptural origin,¹ but was gradually developed in the consciousness of the Church. The institution of the so-called sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, however, is of biblical origin.² The signification of these ordinances is still the ground of much controversy between denominations and schools. Much depends upon a profound penetration into the nature of a religious symbol, so as to prevent it from degenerating into a merely arbitrary ceremony, and from becoming involved in the magical notion of a purely objective efficiency, an *opus operatum*.³ The connecting medium is faith. But in the proportion in which misapprehension prevails on the part of the principal confessions of Protestantism themselves, should dogmatics be intent upon discovering a term which will be satisfying to the religious feeling, without doing offence to a simple apprehension of the pure word of Scripture and its sound interpretation.

SECTION XIII.

ESCHATOLOGY.

Inasmuch as the kingdom of God, which manifests itself on earth under the form of a church community, is progressing toward an ultimate consummation, dogmatics groups the aggregate of the hopes dependent on Christianity into the prophetic doctrines

¹ Calixtus saw and insisted upon this; Epit., p. 128 (Henke, Calixt. i, p. 299). Even Melancthon objected to the term "sacramentum" at first, as being un-biblical (Loci Comm. of 1521, in Bretschneider, Corp., p. 210). Comp. Hagenbach, Hist. Doctr., § 258, note 2 (Smith's ed.).

² The institution of baptism has, of course, been questioned by the sort of criticism which remands everything to the realm of vision which the Gospels record concerning the risen Jesus. Such house-cleaning labours by the radical method will not cause any considerable damage, however, while a community of believers exists to whom the form of the risen Lord is more than a phantom.

³ Schenkel has emphasized the objective theological side of a sacrament on the Protestant view in opposition to the merely subjective anthropological conception. Comp. his *Wesen des Protestantismus* i, p. 395, and the preface, p. xi; but comp. also his *Dogmatik*, and other writings of later date, in which a different view is advocated.

of death, the resurrection, the judgment of the world, and eternal life. These are denominated the last things, and the teaching in which they are presented is termed eschatology.

The question whether the soul be immortal may be raised in connexion with the doctrine of the creation of man, or ^{immortality not to be confounded with eschatology.} anthropology. But the question concerning immortality, in the most general acceptation, must not be ^{confounded with the inquiry respecting the last things, which has less to do with the natural constitution of the soul and the destiny of individuals after death than with the world's development as a whole and the ultimate consummation of the kingdom of God.} ogy.

For this reason the position, in connexion with the doctrines of man and before the Church has come under notice, to which Hase assigned eschatology, is inappropriate. The most proper place for the doctrine respecting death is not, indeed, among the four last things; it may, more appropriately, be connected with the doctrine of sin. Its only claim to a place under eschatology lies in the teaching that death also shall be swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. xv, 54). The doctrines of the resurrection and the last judgment are characterized wholly by the scriptural mode of representation; the figurative form is unmistakable; but the vision is required to look beyond the figure to the eternal truth reflected in its imagery,¹ even though it will not be possible to comprehend these several doctrines within a fully rounded circle of adequate conceptions.²

¹ See de Wette, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, p. 218: "The difficulties can be obviated only by distinguishing the purely doctrinal elements from those which are symbolically historical. . . . But the two must be re-combined into a living hope which is not ruled merely by an obstinate concern for the destiny of individuals, but which, likewise, has regard to the fate of the whole. The eternal and the temporal, which are always involved in and connected with each other, are thus conjoined."

² Comp. the prophetic doctrines in Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*. The extra-scriptural chiliastic vagaries and fancies, together with the hypotheses of soul-sleeping, *hades*, etc., have, without exception, been able to maintain themselves only within the sphere of the most narrow formulations of doctrine. Such doctrines have, however, been discussed with greater confidence in recent than in the older theology. Rothe, in his *Ethik*, ii, pp. 154-169, 480 *seq.*, has sought, in a very peculiar manner, to open the way toward a more elevated solution of the problems of eschatology. Comp. also the labours of Auberlen and others. We cannot refrain, however, from directing attention to a statement by Palmer, which deserves consideration at this particular juncture: "The Jewish scribes, before the manifestation of Christ, were unable to construct, from the prophecies of the Old Testament alone, a picture of the Messiah whose truthfulness might still be recognized after he had appeared, although every person who would use his eyes was, after his appearing, compelled to see that the Old Testament predictions were fulfilled in the person and work of Christ. So is it improbable that we should ever succeed in obtaining from the scriptural indications

If this might be accomplished, hope would cease to be hope and would become realization, and faith would be transformed into sight. In opposition to a sentimental, and often selfish, doctrine of immortality, it becomes necessary to insist upon the truth that Christianity knows no other hopes than such as shall be realized in and through Christ; and that, consequently, it can return to the numerous questions which arise no other answer than that which is already contained in its christological creed—namely, that Christ himself is the resurrection and the life, and that in him all his children shall live.¹

Christian hope only to be realized in Christ.

SECTION XIV.

THE TRINITY AND PREDESTINATION.

The doctrine of God in his tri-unity comprehends all theology. But this aggregation can only be brought to pass after the practical and religious signification of Father, Son, and Spirit has been ascertained in its connexion with the historical development of the kingdom of God. The whole is comprehended by this one doctrine, as constituting the sacred mystery of Christianity, and the doctrine of election is most intimately connected with it. Both the eternal nature of God as related to himself, and his eternal decree, lie outside of the relation of God to finite being, and consequently outside of the sphere of practical religion. They are, therefore, in the strictest sense, of a speculative nature, and move wholly within the realm of the absolute.

Election connected with the Trinity.

The terms triad and trinity, together with the idea upon which they rest, are extra-biblical. But it does not follow that the idea is, on that account, unscriptural. The very contrary is true; for the whole of New Testament theology is erected upon a mono-

respecting the future and the consummation of the kingdom of God a harmonious and completely rounded whole which might deserve the name of a system, while we are equally certain and assured that the ultimate fulfilment will authenticate the prophecy as being entirely true and consistent with itself. In such matters, even a thirst for theological knowledge will do better to restrain itself to moderate bounds than to assume the air of knowing what, nevertheless, is not known, and to look contemptuously down from the height of such *γνώσις* upon the *ψιλλὴ πίστις* with which the Church has contented itself for well-digested reasons." It may also be well to recommend special care with regard to a phrase of Oetinger's that has recently been much used and much abused, namely, "that corporeity is the end of the ways of God," as it may lead into a religious materialism which may become as dangerous as the irreligious sort, because unconsciously promoting its designs.

¹ Comp. Hermann Schultz, *Die Voraussetzungen der christlichen Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit*, Göttingen, 1861.

theistic, but trinitarian, foundation, since God the Father chooses mankind in Christ. Christ, as the Son, has redeemed it, and the Spirit imparts the assurance of salvation to believers, and completes the work of sanctification. Neither work is conceivable apart from the others; and it is for this reason that believers are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the substance of the Christian doctrine of redemption is concentrated into a trinitarian formula in the apostolic benediction in 2 Cor. xiii, 14, and elsewhere.

But it is equally certain that the Bible does not emphasize the relation subsisting between the Persons¹ of the Trinity so much as the relation sustained by God to man. Trinity less emphasized than God's relation to man. When John opens his prologue with "In the beginning was the Word," he yet turns at once to his principal theme, the theme upon which he makes all else to depend, *καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*. He regards the manifestation of God in Christ as the most essential feature, and therefore emphasizes it again in his first epistle, where he asserts that the Son of God came into the flesh. The scriptural Triad is, consequently, predominantly a triad for purposes of revelation, while the relations immanent to it are, at most, simply alluded to. Nor should it be forgotten, that the Logos idea itself is not a new or strictly Christian thought, but was already present, as we see in Philo, in the speculative culture of the time. But inasmuch as God has manifested nothing except his nature, it will not be improper to retain the names of Father, Son, and Spirit, not, with Sabellius, as mere names, but as "distinguishing hypostatical terms."²

The salvation taught by dogmatics should not, however, be made to depend on such subtleties. We have every respect for the speculative doctrine of the Trinity; but it is a Salvation not dependent on subtleties. theological sanctuary which only anointed and approved minds, with pure intentions, may seek to penetrate. The doctrine, has, moreover, been loaded with many absurdities from time to time, and even pantheistic infidelity has concealed itself behind such intricacies in order to attack historical Christianity from behind such cover. The same is true of the mystery of predestination. Who has ascertained God's decree? A religious faith, as contrasted with the superficial creed of Pelagianism, is compelled to

¹ The word "Person" is likewise extra-biblical, and in many respects inappropriate. "The very terms 'Father' and 'Son' indicate that they have reference to the manifestation of God, and not to his immanent and extra-mundane being" (p. 296).

² Kling considers this expression to observe the correct medium between the Sabellian and the Athanasian theories (*ubi supra*, p. 38).

acknowledge that salvation is not the result of accident, and not wrought out primarily by ourselves, but that it is a salvation that is willed and decreed by God, based on a foreknowledge of character and works. The problem of God's foreknowledge, and rewards and punishments based on it, we may not solve. It is wiser and more edifying for us to recall continually to mind the narrow limits of the human understanding, and to stand reverently still, with the apostle, before the riches both of the knowledge and the grace of God.

SECTION XV.

ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY.

Schleiermacher, § 206 sqq., and the discussions on orthodoxy and orthodox views by Ricker, Krause, and Hase, in the *Protest. Kirchenzeitung für das Evangl. Deutschland* for 1854; Feit, in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, x, s. v.

James F. Clarke, *Orthodoxy: Its Truths and Errors*. Boston, 1875. John W. Donaldson, *Christian Orthodoxy Reconciled with the Conclusions of Modern Biblical Learning*. Lond., 1867. Daniel Dorchester, *Concessions of Liberalists to Orthodoxy*. Boston, 1878.

A dogmatical system is said to be orthodox in so far as it is in harmony with the doctrine of the Church, as contained in its symbols, and with the conclusions deduced from such doctrine. It is heterodox in so far as it departs from the accepted belief of the Church. This distinction should not be identified with that made between supernaturalism and rationalism, which has already been discussed, although it has many points of contact with the latter.

The term orthodox is to be taken in its historical rather than its etymological meaning in this connexion, for it is to be presumed that every instructor will aim to teach the truth, and to be orthodox in this sense of the word. The conservative in ecclesiastical matters may, accordingly, be regarded as constituting the orthodox feature, while the mobile will characterize the heterodox. Orthodoxy, moreover, is not to be identified with supernaturalism. The two ideas, to say the least, are not coextensive. A great number of heterodox notions had their origin in a period when supernaturalism was generally accepted. Socinianism, for example, is, to the half at least, supernaturalistic, and yet heterodox; and even ultra-supernaturalist opinions may turn over into heterodoxy, as we see in patripassianism. The Church and its creed, rather than the Bible, though Bible-orthodoxy is sometimes spoken of, constitute the measure of orthodoxy, in the strictly technical meaning of the word. It follows, that even the strictest supernaturalist will be heterodox, in so far as his relation to his own Church is concerned, whenever he diverges from her doctrine—for instance, a Lutheran who should incline toward

Orthodoxy not to be confounded with supernaturalism.

Roman Catholicism, or a member of a Calvinistic Church who should incline toward Lutheranism. Rationalism is, no doubt, a heterodox phenomenon, in all its tendencies. But as contrasted with the supernaturalist, the rationalist himself might have the support of orthodoxy upon a given question. He might, for instance, take ground with the Reformed Church upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or with the Lutheran Church upon the question of predestination. Nor is it difficult to show that pietism, with all its biblical supernaturalism, includes many heterodox elements. Where, indeed, can a thoroughly orthodox person be found in our day, whose views shall be so correct as that the defenders of the old-time Lutheran or Reformed orthodoxy will find no feature that is open to objections?

The genuine dogmatic theologian should pursue no other purpose than to present the truths of the Christian faith in purity, and in harmony with the Bible and the results of historical development, recognizing the goal toward which such development tends, and the requirements of the present age. He will obey the apostolic canon, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." He will, accordingly, be both conservative and reformatory in his methods; for "the endeavour to retain, in the dogmatical development, matters which have become wholly antiquated in the public promulgations of the Church, and which exercise no definite influence upon other questions in the process of scientific discussion, is a false orthodoxy. To antagonize such formulas as have a well-established support in the formularies of the Church, and whose scientific expression is not confused by the relation sustained by them to other doctrines, is false heterodoxy."¹

¹ Schenkel says: "No greater error and no more hurtful notion can be found than exist in the fancy that the work of the Reformation was accomplished, and even completed, three hundred years ago, and that every step beyond the original position of the reformers is apostasy from the Reformation itself; that to go back to the finished theological system of Protestantism, as contained in confessional writings, and to settle down in them for all time to come, constitutes the chief duty of a believing theology and of a Church which has attained to greater freedom and independence."—*Wesen des Protestantismus*, iii, 1, Pref., p. iv. Similar language is employed by a French writer: "The Reformation is not the last word of Christianity, and the God who has revealed himself to us in his Gospel has yet many revelations to make to us on the thoughts, the concealed riches, and the infinite applications of the word of life. . . . Ignorance believes voluntarily in the absolute truth; but education and experience teach us to see shadows where we find contrasts, and simple differences where all seemed apparition."—*Lettres à mon Curé*, p. 47. Geneva, 1854. Hase remarks (*Dogmatik*, 5th ed., p. 9), with entire correctness: "Orthodoxy, as designating unanimity with regard to the teaching of the Church as sustained by the written law, is authorized in the evangelical Church. But so, likewise, are individual divergences

SECTION XVI.

THE HISTORY OF DOGMATICS.

Comp. Ch. G. Heinrich, *Versuch einer Geschichte der verschiedenen Lehrarten der christlichen Wahrheiten*, etc., Lpz., 1790; J. H. Schickedanz, *Vers. einer Gesch. d. christl. Glaubenslehre*, Braunsch., 1827; W. Herrmann, *Geschichte der prot. Dogmatik*, von Melanchthon bis Schleiermacher, Lpz., 1842; J. F. Lange, *Christl. Dogmatik*, 1, p. 56 sqq.; W. Gass, *Gesch. der prot. Dogmatik*, etc. (vol. i, *Construction of Basis and Dogmatism*; vol. ii, *Syncretism, the Formation of the Reformed School of Theology, Pietism*; vol. iii, *the Transition Period*; vol. iv, *Enlightenment and Rationalism. The Dogmatics of the Philosophical Schools. Schleiermacher and his Times*), Berl., 1854-57; Hoppe, *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16. Jahrhundert* (§ 76); *Dorner, *Gesch. d. prot. Theologie*, Munich, 1867 (Engl. translation by Robson and Taylor, 2 vols., Edinb., 1871); Mücke, *Die Dogmatik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, etc., Gotha, 1867. Hodge: *Systematic Theology* (3 vols.), N. Y. 1872. Introduction (in Vol. I), pp. 1-183.

The earliest systematic collections of the doctrines of belief are found in the symbols and the confessions of faith. Origen, among the Church teachers of the first period, furnished a sketch of what we denominate a system of dogmatics, in his work on Principles. Of Augustine's works the following belong to this class: *Manual* to Laurentius (on Faith, Hope, and Charity), on *Christian Doctrine and the Kingdom of God* (each of the latter but partially), on Faith and Symbol, and on the Doctrines of the Church. He was followed by Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gennadius, and Junilius. In the Greek Church were produced the Catecheses of Gregory of Nyssa (*Larger Catechetical Treatise*), and of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catechism for the Baptized and to be Baptized*), though they were more particularly designed for practical uses. The first to construct a dogmatics, in the strict sense, that is, a system of doctrine, was John of Damascus (730), in the work, *Precise Statement of the Orthodox Faith*, though the compiler, Isidore of Seville (died 636) had led the way with his *Statement* (3 books).

The dogmatics of the Middle Ages found its chief expression in scholasticism, which latter obtained a necessary complement in mysticism. John Scotus Erigena (died about 880) was eminent as a philosophical thinker of the 9th century. But his principal work, on the Division of Nature, is not a dogmatics in the strict meaning of the term. From the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries downward, Anselm of Canterbury, Roscellin, and Abelard aroused the dogmatic spirit from

and variations, provided only that they maintain a Christian and Protestant character. They both are placed under the law of a higher orthodoxy, namely, the perfect truth of Christianity, and it is incumbent upon Christian charity that it preserve the feeling of unity in the midst of such differences, and even of dispute. Whatever antagonizes Christianity, however, must be excluded as heretical, even though it lay claim to the Christian character." On the distinction between heterodoxy and heresy comp. Schenkel, *Dogmatik*, i, p. 186, and Martensen.

various directions, and sought to bring about a reconciliation between knowledge and faith. But a properly systematic treatment in obedience to established rules dates back only to Peter Lombard, who died in 1164. The authors of such works, Robert Pulleyn, Peter of Poitiers, and others, were designated *Sententarii*. The Victorines, on the other hand, sought to combine mysticism, which rises to the surface from out of the depths of religious feeling, with dialectics.

An increased knowledge of Aristotle, after the Crusades, led to a still further development of scholasticism. Alexander Hales (Doctor *irrefragabilis*, died 1245), Albert Magnus (died 1280), and Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), the head of an entire school which was represented by the order of Dominicans,

Summaries.

composed so-called *Summæ*. These were loosely constructed works, in which every proposition was subdivided into a number of questions, distinctions, and the like—a gigantic labour of the mind. The scholastic spirit, however, soon degenerated into the invention of hollow subtleties, a tendency which was especially facilitated by the prevalence of nominalism. The school of Thomists soon came to be opposed by the mystical school of Bonaventura (Doctor *seraphicus*, died 1274), and also by the dialectic school of Duns Scotus (Doctor *subtilis*, died 1308), both of which originated with the order of Franciscan monks. The dispute between the schools became at the same time a quarrel of the orders. The *Summæ* were now superseded by so-called *Quodlibets*; the number of the various questions approached infinity, and dogmatics

Degeneration of dogmatics.

was ultimately left without substance and worth. The free-thinking but sceptical William Occam (died 1347) was succeeded by the last of the scholastics, Gabriel Biel (died 1495), while mysticism, which had made progress in the practical field in the persons of Master Eckart, Tauler, Ruysbroek, and Suso, received scientific form at the hands of Gerson (Doctor *christianissimus*, died 1429).

The cultivation of humanistic studies gave to dogmatics a many-sided spirit, but left it, at the first, without fixed principles for its control. The regeneration of dogmatics does not begin earlier than the Reformation. Luther was a preacher rather than a dogmatic theologian. The foundation for evangelical dogmatics as a science was laid by Melancthon, the Præceptor Germaniæ, in his *Commonplaces* (*Loci Communes, Viteb.*, 1521; afterward *Loci Praecipui Theologici*). He was followed, in the Lutheran Church, by Martin Chemnitz (*Theological Syllabus*), Aegidius (died 1603), Nic. Hunnius (died 1643), and the rigidly zealous Leonh. Hutter (*Lutherus Redivivus*; died 1616).

Melancthon founder of Protestant dogmatics.

whose work (*Loci*, 1619) was directed especially against the milder school of Melancthon. Twisten published Hutter's *Compendium* in a second edition in 1863. A work of leading importance, *Theological Commonplaces* (*Loci Theol.*, Jen., 1610-25, ix vols. 4to, edited by Cotta, Tub., 1772-81, xx vols. 4to, supplemented by Lutheran dogmatic writers. G. H. Müller, vols. xxi and xxii, 1788-89; latest edition E. Preuss, 1863-70, vols. i-viii, unfinished), was published by J. Gerhard (died 1637); and the works by Quenstedt (died 1688), König, Calov, Hollaz, Baier, and others are also deserving of mention. A new scholasticism unfolded itself in these works, which was counterbalanced by a new mystical tendency in J. Boehme, Weigel, Arndt, and others.

In the Reformed Church exegetical studies were prosecuted with more energy than dogmatical, and the latter were more dependent on the former than in the Lutheran Church, because the letter of the symbol was less authoritative in its influence over them. Zwingli's dogmatical labours (*Brief and Pious Introduction to Protestant Doctrine*, 1523; *Commentary on the True and False Religion*, 1525; *Brief and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*, 1536, *et al.*) are deserving of attention.

But Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Basle, 1535) is a work of the first importance, and comparable with the *Loci* of Melancthon. His successors were Bullinger, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Hyperius; and, in the seventeenth century, Keckermann, Polanus of Polansdorf, Alsted, Alting, Wolleb, Burmann, Heidanus, F. Heidegger, and others. The synthetical method having been usefully followed in the Lutheran Church after Melancthon, Cocceius (died 1669) and Leydecker now began to attempt different methods; for example, the *Federal Theology* and the *OEconomical*, in the order of the three persons of the Trinity. But a new method, the analytical, was introduced into the Lutheran Church by Calixtus. It begins with the end or final cause, the "final method," toward which the entire system of belief must tend. Many, including some of the writers already mentioned, followed in his track, the strictest of all being Dannhauer (died 1668) in his *Christian Introduction*, 1649.

A milder tendency, diverging from rigid orthodoxy, began to assert itself in Germany at the opening of the eighteenth century, toward whose introduction various phenomena in the spheres of both religion and philosophy contributed. This we see in Spener and Pietism, and in the Cartesian, Leibnitzian, and Wolfian philosophies. In the Reformed Church the Arminian tendency, represented by Limborch (died 1712; *Christian Theology*, 1686), gained

a continually increasing number of adherents to its milder views, as did also the related tendency which went out from the school of Saumur. In the Lutheran Church a method increasingly controlled by the influence of the new period was introduced by Pfaff, in his *Institutes* (1720); Buddæus, in his *Institutes of Doctrinal Theology* (1723, 1741); Reinbeck (1731-41, 4 vols.), continued by J. G. Conz, (1743-47, 5-9 vols.); Carpov, (1737-65); Rambach (1744), and, under the determinate influence of the Wolfian philosophy, by Jac. Siegm. Baumgarten, in his *System of Doctrine*, published by Semler (1759 and 1760, 3 vols.). This tendency was also commended, with more or less fulness, by Semler, in his *Institutes* (1774), and *Attempt at a Free Theological Method of Teaching* (1777); and by Michaelis (1760, 1784), Teller (1764, 1782), Toellner (1775), Doederlein, Morus, and others, who thereby brought about ^{Transition to} the transition into rationalistic modes of thought, though they ^{rationalism.} guarded themselves with many qualifications.

After Gruner and Eckermann had prepared the way, Hencke compressed dogmatics, which had once extended over forests of folios, into a few "lineaments," in which process he threw overboard "Christolatry and Bibliolatry, as being mere remnants of an old-time superstition." Kant introduced a new era, and was joined, more or less fully, by ^{Reactionary} Tieftrunk, Stäudlin, and Ammon. ^{tendency of} Storr and Reinhard held fast the orthodox system, but rather with respect to its formal supernaturalism than as a rigid conformity to ecclesiastical tradition. ^{dogmatics.} Augusti, on the other hand, sought to restore the ancient system of doctrine, whose consistency even Lessing had conceded, to its place of honour, but without laying a deep foundation for it in philosophy, or bringing logical discrimination to bear on the question. The latter was much more efficiently done by De Wette, the former by Daub and Marheineke.

In opposition to this reactionary movement of dogmatics, as understood by rationalism, the latter, with entire consistency, took separate ground, finding its most adequate expression in Wegscheider's work, which must be regarded as the *Corpus Doctrinæ* of the tendency. Bretschneider pursued an intermediate course, though starting out with the fundamental ideas of rationalism. He also furnished a serviceable historical apparatus. Dogmatics thus seemed likely to be resolved into speculation in the one direction, or to sink beneath the mass of historical matter with which it was loaded down, or, finally, to be evaporated in the crucible of rationalistic hypercriticism. At this point ^{Schleiermacher's} Schleiermacher appeared with his *System of Doctrines*, in which he ^{dogmatics.}

did not base dogmatics upon either historical authority or philosophical speculation, but regarded it as representing the consciousness by which the Church is animated. From him dates a new period in the treatment of this science generally, though many continued even afterward to move in the ancient ruts. Knapp, Hahn, and Steudel, for instance, simply attached themselves to the older biblical and ecclesiastical system, while Hase, proceeding upon the basis of the doctrine of the Church as historically developed, strove to bring about its reconciliation with the advanced culture of the day, accomplishing the task with spirit and taste under the influence of modern philosophy, beginning with that of Schelling.

The spirit of Schleiermacher made itself positively felt, however, Twisten and Nitzsch. and pre-eminently through Twisten and Nitzsch, each of whom contributed, in his own way, to the securing of friends for the revealed faith of Christianity, which rationalism had given up as lost, even among the younger generation of theologians.¹ Other writers have sought to open newer paths, *e. g.*, Tob. Beck, who sought to comprehend the substance of Bible teaching in a corresponding system with a specially prepared terminology, while avoiding the road which had been trodden hard by the schools. In opposition to serious efforts of this character arose the system of Strauss, which assumed the form of a dialectical process for the annihilation of dogma, but which, after it had reached its culmination in Feuerbach, could only lead to a new and thorough investigation of the dogma, based on a recognition of the indestructible basis upon which the life of the Christian faith is established.

The more important works which have since been issued afford the happiest evidence of this fact, and prove that Christian dogmatics has not yet reached its final form, but that it is Progress of most recent dogmatics. rather passing through a metamorphosis, from which it shall come forth with its youth renewed, and with a renewed disposition to clothe doctrine with fresh and appropriate forms, that shall prove to be more perfectly adapted to the deepest needs of our age. The dogmatics of the Reformed Church

¹ On Nitzsch comp. the Biography by Beyschlag, p. 179. Nitzsch's "crowded, Heraclean style, which never presents more than the half-opened bud of the thought," does seem not only to present difficulties which "all feeble or ease-loving minds" will dread to surmount, but also to place frequent obstacles in the way of those who do not seek to avoid the labour needed to penetrate into such a depth of thought. The forceful elements in the works of Nitzsch are an exalted earnestness and a cool criticism, which enable him to be just toward a more independent mode of thought, while standing firmly upon the positive foundations of Christianity.

has found a well-informed and capable interpreter in Schweizer, who has been joined in the free exercise of thought by Schenkel. In the Reformed Church, Ebrard represents the confessional point of view, while Vilmar, Thomasius, Philippi, and Kahnis represent the Lutheran. The masterly work of A. Ritzsch aims at a positive remodelling of the orthodox system on a biblical basis. The dogmatic works of Biedermann and Lipsius represent the so-called liberal theology. One of the most important of the recent doctrinal systems is the System of Christian Doctrine (*Glaubenslehre*) of Sulzberger, published in Bremen in 1877. He is Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Frankfort-on-Main, and his work is a terse and skilful presentation of the doctrinal system of his communion. The Roman Catholic Church, whose older dogmatic theologians, Bellarmine, Canisius, Maldonat, Becanus, and others, had, to a great extent, conformed to the scholastic method, was likewise unable to avoid being influenced by the intellectual revolution of the times. A more simple and independent doctrinal method, from which the mass of scholastic and Jesuitical rubbish was eliminated, was introduced as early as the time of Noel (Natalis Alexander, died 1724).

Among German dogmatists the older method was followed by Klüpfel (died 1811), Stattler, Gmeiner, Schnappinger, Zimmer, Dobmaier, Buchner, Liebermann, and others. A new movement was begun by Georg Hermes (died 1831), in his *Introduction to the Christian Catholic Theology* (Munster, 1834). He, while fully regarding doubt as the necessary condition for the determining of truth, sought to press through it into orthodox Catholicism, as constituting the ultimate goal of a really profound speculation. But by that very effort he came into formal conflict with Roman Catholicism and its cardinal principle of ecclesiastical authority. A similar process was passed through by the system of Günther. Franz Baader, influenced by Schelling's *Natural Philosophy*, was more speculative than any of his compeers. But a similar tendency had been previously apparent in Schwarz (died 1794), and Cajetan Weiler (died 1826). Among later Roman Catholic theologians, Brenner, Thanner, Klee, Staudenmaier, and others, appear also to be similarly inclined.

In England, some of the leading doctrinal systems have been translations from the Continental writers. Among the Scotch, whose theological type has been Reformed, Calvin's *Institutes* has always been recognized as the standard. The Independents and Presbyterians of England have exhibited a similar attachment. In

the Church of England, Pearson on the Creed and Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, old as they are, have largely supplied the dogmatic treatment. Among the Wesleyans, Wesley's Sermons, which are mostly of doctrinal character, have held the foremost place. The first Methodist writer of a full doctrinal system was Richard Watson, whose *Institutes* (Lond., 1823) have been the standard for the last half century. Pope, in his *Compendium of Christian Theology* (3 vols., New York, 1880), is the first British Wesleyan writer of a dogmatic system at all comparable with Watson.

In the United States, there has been large dependence on the German sources, the works of the German dogmatists being translated and freely read. Knapp's *Theology* has had a wide acceptance. This has been succeeded by Storr and Flatt's *Elementary Course of Biblical Theology* (1836), Nitzsch's *System of Christian Doctrine* (1849), the *Christian Dogmatics* of the Danish Martensen, the *Christian Dogmatics* of the Dutch Van Oosterzee, and Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. But American theology has not been without its original writers in the dogmatic department. Even during the colonial period there were vigorous doctrinal authors, whose works have had an important bearing on the whole later course of theological belief. Each Church has had its own dogmatic system. Dwight's *Theology*, originally delivered as sermons, has had large endorsement among Congregationalists and still wider circles. Hodge, in his *Systematic Theology*, represents the doctrinal system of the Presbyterian Church. This work is the product of a lifetime of reverent study, of broad scholarship, terse and exact style, and of just recognition of the native and foreign literature of the department. Raymond's *Systematic Theology* embodies the Methodist theology, and is marked by careful thought, a rich and warm diction, and a most attractive perspicuity and vigour of style. Both these works, as well as A. A. Hodge's *Outlines of Theology*, and Ralston's *Elements of Divinity*, indicate a disposition of the American theological mind to lean no longer on Continental authorities for doctrinal statement.

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SECTION XVII.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

The theological ethics of Christianity, called by the elder writers *Theologia Moralis* and *Ethica Christiana*, describes the theory of the moral life as it should find expression in a Christian feeling, which is produced by a living faith, and approves itself in a Christian life. It occupies, in common with dogmatics, the ground of positive Christianity, and, therefore, derives its fundamental principles from Christianity. In another direction, however, it stands connected with the general or philosophical ethics of human origin; and while it differs from the latter with regard to its scientific form, and its starting points and motives, their substance can never be contradictory to each other.

This science has been erroneously called practical theology by some writers, who contrasted it with dogmatics, and regarded the latter as a theoretical department, dogmatics being held to deal with things to be believed, and practical theology with things to be done. For, although ethics has to do more particularly with man's powers of action and volition, while dogmatics is concerned with his powers of perception and cognition, it would yet be highly unscientific to regard ethics as a mere collection of practical rules. It is even true that, in certain respects, ethics may be called a theory with more propriety than dogmatics, since every theory requires a corresponding practice.¹ Ethics is certainly employed upon the

¹ This holds true of practical theology properly so called. A word here with regard to the designation of this science. Dörner, *ubi supra*, decides in favour of ethics, as compared with "morals." "Mores, mores (whence comes moral-discipline), refers more especially to the outward appearance than to the interior source, and does not, by far, approach the meaning of the Greek *ἠθικός*. *Mores* describes character, indeed, but not its unifying source. *ἠθικός*, originally the Ionic form of *ἠθός*, involves, on the other hand, what is customary, the moral as generally accepted; not only empirical manners (*mores*), which may be bad, but also what has been sanctioned, and is according to method and rule." Comp. Ersch and Gruber, *Encykl. s. v. Ethos*. Nor will it escape the notice of any who may study the usage of our time, that, while the word morality was formerly of universal application, it is now held to be more refined to lay stress upon "the ethical."

practical side of the dogmatical system, but it is requisite that the practical side itself be theoretically, and, therefore, scientifically, apprehended, and it was for this reason that the necessity for a separate treatment of ethics, apart from dogmatics, was acknowledged in a former connexion.¹ Such a separation does not by any means involve a division by which ethics becomes independent of dogmatics. For even as faith and works are most intimately connected in the practical sphere of Christianity, so that works become the fruitage of faith, so is Christian ethics everywhere based upon dogmatics. The absence from a system of Christian morals

Christian Ethics based on dogmatics.

of indications which everywhere give evidence of the doctrinal views of its author, is always a bad sign.² As dogmatics, moreover, reaches back with its most general ideas into the philosophy of religion, so must Christian ethics join hands, in its scientific expression, with philosophical ethics;³ and it will even resemble it more closely in outward appearance than dogmatics can resemble the philosophy of religion. This results from the fact that the features which are peculiar to a positive religion are more clearly apparent in its doctrinal statements than in its moral precepts.

Every historical religion, nevertheless, possesses definite moral convictions, through which it governs peoples and times—a fact which may be traced down through all the subdivisions of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.⁴ It will, therefore, be necessary for philosophical ethics to descend to the level occupied by the historical phenomena of the moral life which come under the influence of positive religions, in order that it may derive life for the general from particulars—unless it should prefer to move about in the midst of dead abstractions. But its work will consist in utilizing whatever is gained in this way in the determining of the character of universal morality, while Christian ethics is concerned to discover the concrete and historically defined, and especially the characteristically Christian features, for their own sake. Its task is,

therefore, as de Wette has shown,⁵ analytical in its nature, while that of philosophical ethics is synthetical.

The differences which exist between the two may, accordingly, be stated as follows:

¹ Section 1, Part 1.

² Schleiermacher, § 229. Comp. also *ibid.*, Christliche Sitte, p. 3 *seq.*

³ It will, doubtless, be apparent that one philosophical system cannot possess authority in Philosophical and a different one in Christian ethics.—Schleiermacher, § 227.

⁴ Comp. Schleiermacher, § 228, note; Marheineke, *System des Katholicismus*, ii, pp. 20–29.

⁵ *Lehrbuch der Sittenlehre*, § 3.

1. Philosophical ethics has to do with the determining of man toward morality as a whole,¹ while Christian ethics represents the manifestation of the divinely human life in the person of Christ as constituting the ideal of morality, and, consequently, requires of each individual that he should become like Christ. This forms the Christian doctrine of the highest good.²

2. The startingpoint of philosophical ethics lies, necessarily, in the moral self-determination of man, which involves the evidence of its own truth, in opposition to any determination on the part of nature, while Christian ethics regards the Spirit of God as the determining power through the effectual working of his grace in the believer's heart. This is the Christian doctrine of virtue which results, without the slightest modification, from the teachings of Christian dogmatics.

3. Philosophical ethics regards man in the relations which he sustains toward the world, and determines his duties by that rule; Christian ethics has regard primarily to the relations sustained by him toward the kingdom of God. This is the Christian system of duties.

The above distinctions should not give rise to the misapprehension that a philosophical and a Christian morality, which could conflict with each other, may exist, or that a thing may be moral according to the principles of the one and not so according to the principles of the other. The truth is, that the one serves merely to confirm the other. Morality, which presents to view the human element, can no more be contradictory to that which involves the Christian element than the ideas man and Christ can contradict each other. Even Christian morality is

Harmony of
philosophical
and Christian
ethics.

¹ The obligations of Christian ethics are binding only upon Christians; philosophical ethics puts forth a universal claim, for its object is to secure the control of every person who is able to comprehend the philosophical principles from which it is deduced." Schleiermacher, *Christliche Sitte*, p. 2; comp. p. 7 *seq.*; de Wette, *ubi supra*. Rothe likewise agrees with this view at bottom (*Theol. Ethik.*, p. 35), although he does not distinguish Christian so much as theological ethics from philosophical. "The latter begins with the moral consciousness considered simply in that character, while the theological proceeds from that consciousness as it exists in the individual, under the determinate religious form assumed through the influence of the particular Christian Church to which he may belong, and also from the historical ideal of morality as found in the Redeemer's person, of which the former is but a reflection." But Christian and philosophical ethics do not come into contrast with each other on his view, because philosophical ethics and philosophy in general are essentially Christian within the bounds of Christendom. Rothe concedes a relative contrast, however, in so far as mankind have not been altogether penetrated by the influence of Christianity.

² See Schleiermacher, *ubi supra*, p. 86.

required to adapt itself to the conditions of mankind generally,¹ and the philosophical must tend toward the Christian as its goal. The foremost principle of the one, in each instance, is the ultimate aim of the other. Religion, when regarded from the standpoint of philosophical ethics, constitutes the crown and beauty of the moral life, while from that of Christian ethics it forms its root. In the view of philosophical morality, the Christian community is but one society beside others, in the State, in behalf of which certain duties are doubtless to be performed; but the human society of the State, as being the most general form of a moral organism, is the underlying idea.

Christian ethics, on the other hand, starts out from the idea of the Christian community as a distinctively religious organism, and, spreading outward in constantly expanding circles, it comes to include at last the duties which men owe to the State. Brotherly love (*φιλαδελφία*), which has its origin in love to Christ, is by it extended into universal love. The supreme law in philosophical ethics, on the contrary, is respect for the dignity of human nature in other people, from which most general conception it afterward descends to the level of the several conditions of actual life, in which righteousness becomes spiritualized, and transformed into the principle of love. The latter result would, of course, be beyond its powers of attainment, did not Christianity itself afford it a clearly defined embodiment of the idea; for "it is able," in its character as philosophical ethics, "to do no more than set up pattern specimens of the moral life in general outline, while Christian ethics sets forth in detailed examples and precepts the problems which have actually been solved in the pages of Revelation."² Christian ethics,

¹ De Wette, § 9: "Christian ethics is required to be human, to adapt itself to human capabilities and needs, since it could not, on the contrary principle, bring an effective influence to bear on man." Bruch, p. 19: "The more thoroughly the ethics of Christianity is apprehended, and the spirit by which it is animated is understood in its purity, the more will the conviction grow that it is nothing else than the truest reflection of the legislation which is woven into the nature of the human mind, and which, asserting itself in living power in the mind, is designed to lead man toward the goal of his destination." Pelt, *Encyklopaedie*, p. 520: "True reason is always one, and finds its highest and purest mode of expression in Christianity; the task remains the same."

² De Wette, § 4; or, in other words, Pelt, *Encykl.*, p. 520: "The process of the unification of nature and reason is only indicated in the philosophical realm, while it is accomplished in the Christian." But comp. Dorner, *ubi supra*, p. 190: "The separation of the two branches of philosophical and theological ethics, which must continue at least as long as philosophical ethics may desire, causes conflict. This, however, is beneficial, not only to the end that reason, outside the pale of Christianity, may recognise with increasing clearness that its truth and purity are attainable only

therefore, passes beyond the philosophical. To the former belong the recognition of moral conditions and an abundance of moral forces which are in thorough harmony with human nature, though imparted to it rather than originating in it. It may be said, accordingly, that to this extent philosophical ethics has to do simply with the moral nature of man, while Christian ethics is engaged upon the positive and Divine qualities which have been introduced into that nature, with grace and its salutary effects. It is, of course, necessary that a correct idea be obtained of this positive element, and of its relation to the natural man. It is the task of dogmatics to secure this idea.

Christian ethics transcend philosophical.

SECTION XVIII.

CHRIST'S WORK THE BASIS OF ETHICS.

The positive element of Christian ethics does not consist in any authoritative letter of either the Old or the New Testament, but in a course of life which was introduced into human conditions, and typically actualized, by Christ, and which, through the influence of his Spirit, is to be continued in the community of believers, and to approve itself as a moral force upon the outside world.

The positive element of Christian ethics.

It was long customary to so conceive the positive feature of Christian ethics, and the characteristics by which it is distinguished from philosophical ethics, as to warrant the statement that the latter acknowledges the authority of reason only, the former that of the Bible. Two entirely different authorities were thus opposed to each other in a form altogether outward, it being assumed that the Bible contains a collection of Divine commands, which were even characterized as "arbitrary," as contrasting with the autonomous requirements of reason.¹ The idea bears only against a false and merely formal supernaturalism, which assumes that the Bible is simply a code of faith and morals, and grounds the positively revealed ethics in the good pleasure of God. The Old Testament may

through the religion of the incarnated λόγος, but also on account of the non-Christian elements in Christian theology itself, which afford a partial endorsement of the ethics of the general human reason as against theological ethics, until the ethical self-consciousness of the Church, which coincides with the ideal process by which the first and the second nature interpenetrate each other, is complete." Comp. also Gelzer's *Monatsbl.*, *ubi supra*.

¹ Ernesti, *Vindiciae arbitrii divini in religione constituenda* (Opusc. theol. i, p. 171 sq.). *Per contra*, Toellner, *Disquisitio, utrum Deus ex mero arbitrio potestatem suam legislatariam exerceat, etc.*, Lugd. Bat., 1770; de Wette, *ubi supra*, p. 4. Comp. Dorner, *ubi supra*, p. 188, against this false positivism.

possibly correspond to such an idea, and the Decalogue, although it might with but little difficulty be traced back to the general foundations of morality, has, in point of fact, been long compelled to serve as a framework for Christian ethics.

But it is also true that they who have correctly regarded the teaching of Jesus as the regulative feature, have too constantly considered it as merely statutory, without sufficiently remembering Jesus not a mere moral and statutory teacher.

that the profound significance of that teaching can only be comprehended in connexion with the life of Jesus and with the entire work of salvation. Jesus did not aim to enunciate disconnected moral maxims, like Epictetus, nor is his example, to which appeal is made, mere superadded example; and it cannot, in many circumstances, be example even for us.¹ For a Christian disposition does not consist in the imitation of his example in special matters, but in the imitating or appropriating of his spirit (Phil. ii, 5). As dogmatics builds upon the foundation laid by apologetics, whose work is to prove that Christianity is a religion, and indeed the absolute religion, so is ethics required to begin with taking its stand upon the apologetical result that Christ is the sinless One, the actualized moral ideal for humanity, and that, therefore, Christianity is not simply a general sort of moral

phenomenon, but the universal moral power which rules Christianity the universal moral power.

over the whole of modern history. Hence its positive feature is not a letter, but an act—the revelation of God through Christ incarnated in human nature. Its question, therefore, will not be merely, “What is written?” but rather, “What is in harmony with the spirit of Christ?” Likewise, as dogmatics already entertains ideas which are not expressly contained in the Bible—for example, the Trinity—so is Christian ethics, in the course of its development, imperatively required to pass beyond the letter of the Bible, and is, therefore, required to engage in the exact definition of moral ideas. The most blessed fruits of Christianity are fruits of which but the germ exists in the Bible—for example, the idea of a Christian State, of Christian marriage and all that it involves, of the abolition of slavery, of respect for

¹ The situation that one comes to occupy when he demands for every particular act a warrant from the moral deportment of Christ, may be learned from the example of Thomas à Kempis, who deduced the duty of writing books from John viii, 6. Vide Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, ii, p. 161. Schleiermacher's words relating to the individual bearings of Christian ethics (*Die christliche Sitte*, p. 48 *seq.*) are very significant in this connexion. The setting up of a pattern in the field of morals is always a questionable procedure. An ideal, such as that to which we seek to attain, is more than a pattern which we strive to copy.

individual life, and of religious services on the Christian Sabbath. These have been freely developed in the course of human life, without any direct command or statute in the Scriptures imposing the duty. Hence, as dogmatics presupposes the history of doctrines, so does Christian ethics have regard to the entire development of the Christian life, in which connexion such malformations as Montanism, Pantheism, Gnosticism, Asceticism, Jesuitism, Quietism, also come under notice, as marks of warning, similar to the study of heresies in dogmatics.

SECTION XIX.

DIVISION OF ETHICS.

Christian, like philosophical, ethics falls into general principles and particular or applied ethics. The former is concerned with the settling of the moral principle, or, better, of the objects and motives of moral action, and hence, with the investigation of man's moral nature and capacities, the correct bounding of the ideas of good and evil, of sin and imputation, and of grace and freedom. It also has to do with the work of setting forth the goal of all moral effort, with the doctrine of the highest good, all of which leads back again into the profoundest depths of the doctrines of the faith. Christian ethics general and special. Special ethics, on the other hand, has to do with the particular manifestations and expressions of the moral life in given circumstances, and is subdivided into the particular doctrines of virtue and of duty.

The division into general and special ethics is, of course, only relative. Rothe's observation, in opposition to this view, that it is "merely external and formal, in a thoroughly abstract way,"¹ is correct if the division be taken as an absolute one, and if it be carried out in an abstract and lifeless manner. But an examination of Rothe's work itself will show at once that the first two volumes contain general ethics, together with matter that is usually included under dogmatics, and that the third is devoted to special morals, although the author, at this point, in connexion with the doctrine of duties, again distinguishes between the general and the particular. He justly declares, that, with reference to general ethics, the discussion relating to a "supreme moral principle" is confusing and without result. He demands, instead, Views of Rothe, Harless, and others. a threefold object, which he disposes into the doctrines of good, of virtue, and of duties. Other writers have preferred a different division. Harless sets forth the following three parts:

¹ Theol. Ethik, i, p. 199.

the good, the possession, and the preservation, of salvation. The last named of these has to do with "the concrete manifestation of Christian virtue in the fundamental relations of human life," and hence coincides, in this regard, with special ethics. Pelt likewise divides ethics into three parts:¹ (1) The actualizing of the highest good upon earth in the form of the kingdom of God; (2) Of the will of the individual, to be developed in conformity with the doctrine of duties; and (3) The realizing of the highest good in the habitual character of individual Christians, or the doctrine of virtue. Rosenkranz, following the antithetical method of the Hegelian school, divides the whole of ethics into the two diverging ideas of good and evil, and of human freedom.² By this method the first and second form the general, and the third the special, part.³

Schleiermacher's division is in harmony with his fundamental views of Christianity.⁴ The end of Christianity is held to be blessedness in God, which, however, has been disturbed by the consciousness of sin. This fact gives rise to a feeling of disinclination, out of which comes an impulse to act in the direction of restoring the idea, now violated, of the relation between the higher and the lower potencies of life, or, in other words, of restoring human nature to its normal condition. This is restorative action. Over against such disinclination, moreover, is an inclination, or voluntary desire, to yield to the authority of the higher requirement, and this gives rise to expansive or extensive action. But, in addition, there are elements of satisfaction, intermediate between the inclination and the disinclination, which do not, indeed, correspond to absolute blessedness, but yet are a relative blessedness; and these originate action, designed, not to introduce changes, but, while remaining without any proper efficiency, to serve as an expression of the individual's inward state. This is descriptive action, whose only object is to recommend the personal experience of the individual to the favour of others. Its general expression comprehends everything which we are accustomed to include under the name of Christian worship.

Whatever may be the method, however, by which it is intended to formally connect theological ethics with dogmatics, on the one hand, and, on the other, to combine or isolate philosophical ethics from dogmatics, and whatever may be the mode by which we seek to distribute the proper tasks of philosophical ethics over different departments, and to trace the various radii from the centre to the

¹ Encyklopaedie, p. 519.

² Ibid., p. 57.

³ Other methods of dividing are given in Pelt, p. 523.

⁴ Christliche Sitte, p. 44 *seqq.*

circumference of life, everything will depend upon the discovery of the centre itself, in order to trace, in the spirit of the Gospel, "the main outlines toward a thorough regeneration of the moral life in both State and Church."¹

Asceticism and pedagogics are sometimes regarded as special subdivisions of ethics, the former as teaching man how Asceticism and to train himself for morality, the latter as showing how pedagogics. he may train others. But since every exercise of moral power reacts upon the moral disposition, while the good cannot be secured without conflict, it follows that asceticism is already conditioned in morality. Many forms of exercise occur in the practice of godliness (*γυμνασία*, 1 Tim. iv, 7, 8), being at times largely negative, and aiming to avert the evil by reacting against the power of sensual allurements, as we see in the mediæval asceticism, fasting, mortifications, voluntary abstinence, and in other abnormal forms. Then, again, they are largely positive, stimulating the good by meditating upon the supreme good itself, and by absorbing the emotions in the divine ideals. All of this, however, finds a place in morality itself. According to Schleiermacher's division, the former would belong to the class of restorative actions, and the latter to that of descriptive actions.

The moral principles involved in education must likewise be discussed in ethics, and more especially under the head of expansive actions.² The art of training, however, the technics of education, forms a distinct science, which is properly termed pedagogics, but which is not a theological, but a philosophical, science, in so far as it deals with man as a whole. It belongs to practical theology in so far as it is concerned with a training for ecclesiastical life.

Casuistry, too, has been treated as a distinct branch. It has to do with cases in which duties come into conflict with each other (*de casibus conscientiae*). Kant designated Casuistry. it as the "dialectics of conscience." It is, however, merely the outgrowth from a scholastic and Jesuitical morality, and, as such, is to be banished from a sound system of ethics, inasmuch as it does not present actual cases of conflict to view, and merely resolves apparent cases by a higher law.

¹ Gelzer, *Protest. Monatsbl. für innere Zeitgeschichte*, 1854, Preface to vol. iv. The author includes among the most indispensable prerequisites for such a work, a profound understanding of modern history from the Reformation to our times, and incessant energetic investigation of original sources, and inquiry into the original meaning of Christianity, and also into the laws of its transformations in the field of secular and ecclesiastical history.

² See Schleiermacher, *ubi supra*, p. 58; Rothe, *lil*, p. 679 *sqq.*

SECTION XX.

THE HISTORY OF ETHICS.

E. Feuerlein, *Die Sittenlehre des Christenthums in ihren geschichtlichen Hauptformen*, Tüb., 1855; A. Neander, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, pub. by Erdmann, Berl., 1864; C. S. Wake, *Evolution of Morality; being a History of the Development of Moral Culture*, 2 vols., Lond., 1878; A. Thoma, *Geschichte des christlichen Sittenlehre in der Zeit des N. Test.*, Haarlem (Lpz.), 1879; Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, 2 vols., N. Y., 1873, treats the History in vol. I.

The Bible presents to our notice neither a system of morality nor one of doctrines; but it has a wealth of moral precepts, all of which are animated by, and borne upon, the spirit of the theocracy, and which are interwoven with the history of God's kingdom, like pearls in a diadem. Nor did the apostolic fathers refrain from moral admonitions. In the progress of the conflict with the heathen, or antique, conception of the world, the more rigid view of Montanism soon came to occupy a place beside the milder tendency. In another direction, mistaken views of Christian liberty, on the part of the Gnostics, led into the dangerous errors of the Carpocratians, and the later pantheistic sects of the Middle Ages. It thus became the task of Christian theology to more exactly determine and regulate Christian morality. Certain preliminary labours had already been performed by the apostolic fathers and the apologists. We see this especially in Clement of Rome and the Shepherd of Hermas. Clement of Alexandria followed, giving many moral precepts, carried down to particulars in the pedagogics, and treating in his Miscellaneous works the moral law and virtue as the chief good.

A considerable number of treatises of a moral nature are found in the works of Tertullian, which must be divided into classes, according as they were written before or after his conversion to Montanism, *e. g.*, *On Theatricals*, *Idolatry*, *The Soldier's Crown*, *The Pallium*, *Patience*, *Veiled Virgins*, *Exhortation to Chastity*, *Monogamy*, *Modesty*, and other works. In a similar spirit Cyprian wrote an *Exhortation on Martyrdom*, on *Good*, on *Patience*, and on *Works and Alms*. The preachers Macarius, Basil the Great, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, Ephraim Syrus, and Cyril of Jerusalem made extended use of moral references, and many of their sermons are purely moral. Ambrose, too, in his works on *Virgins*, and on the *Duties of Ministers of the Church*, and Augustine, in his works on the *Morals of the Catholic Church* and on *Continence*, furnished moral and ascetic treatises. Jerome rendered profitable service, especially to monastic asceticism, in his polemical conflict with Jovinian and Vigilantius, and his *Morals of*

Gregory the Great (died 604), in his work on Job, indicate the nature of their contents by their title. In this department, as in dogmatics, the work of compilation preceded that of systematic arrangement, as we see in several of the works of John of Damascus.

The dogmatical works of scholasticism include ethics also, it being largely controlled by the "four cardinal and three theological virtues" of Aristotle. Casuistry, also, was developed under its influence, Raymond de Pennaforte (died 1275) obtaining special celebrity by his Summary on Penitence. The Victorines and the later Mystics penetrated more deeply into the foundations of the religiously moral life, but committed the error of not basing asceticism upon the spirit of Christian liberty. This applies also to the valuable Imitation of Christ of Thomas à Kempis. The ^{ethical reaction} continually increasing corruption in the Church after ^{in the Church.} the removal of the papal chair to Avignon, and the separation of the churches, produced a mighty reaction.

The forerunners of the Reformation, such as Wycliffe, Huss, and others, pointed out, among other things, moral infirmities, and the reawakened interest in classical studies, likewise, introduced a new feature into ethical teaching. ^{Humanism and} Morality ^{ethics.} was exalted into a guide to the wisdom of Christianity for the practical government of life by Petrarch (died 1374), Marsilius Ficinus (died 1499), Louis Vives (died 1540), Erasmus (died 1563; Manual of the Christian Soldier) and others. Savonarola (died 1498) wrote his Simplicity of Christian Life in a spirit of larger sympathy with Christian faith. While the Reformation must be regarded as a moral renovation, not as a reform of abstract doctrine, it was yet, first of all, necessary that the new principle should be apprehended in the way of conquering the faith of men. The reformers, therefore, appear as moral heroes and ^{The reformers} inaugurators of a new period, but not as moralists in ^{and ethics.} the strict sense. Zwingli, however, presents with special force in his sermons the morals of practical life. He performs that same office, also, in his writings, The Shepherd, Freedom of Foods, and other works. Luther, in his Letters, Meditations, Sermons, Appeal to the German Nobility, and similar writings, gives living witness of the moral spirit by which he was animated. Melancthon, in his Elements, however, accorded a scientific treatment to ethics, though from an ancient standpoint. Calvin, who, as a reformer, was a Christian, Cato-like censor, included ethics in the doctrine of regeneration, as expounded in his Institutes, under the Life of the Christian Man, The Bearing of the Cross, and other chapters.¹ In

¹ Institutes, ii, 8; comp. lib. iii, c. 6-8.

the Reformed Church generally it was common, in view of the position occupied by the Old Testament, to attach great prominence to the legal element, and to combine it into a system, chiefly in connexion with the Decalogue.

The first to treat Christian ethics as a separate theological department belonged to this Church—namely, Lambert Danaeus (Danaen, died 1536), in his Christian Ethics (Geneva, 1577, 1601–40). The school of Saumur produced in the seventeenth century the Christian Morals (1652–69, 6 vols.), by Moses Amyraud (died 1664), in which the attempt was made to harmonize natural with revealed ethics. A new interest was imparted to the study of ethics by the Cartesian philosophy, particularly within the Reformed Church;¹ and Arminianism gave special prominence to the ethical side of Christianity as constituting an essential feature.

After Calixtus² had, in the Lutheran Church, separated ethics from dogmatics, which he does in his Epitome of Moral Theology (1634–62), other affiliated works were published, such as those of Conr. Dürer, of Altorf (died 1677; Compendium of Moral Theology, 1698); G. Th. Meier, of Helmstedt (died 1693); J. Ch. Schomer, of Rostock (died 1693; Moral Theology Consistent with Itself, 1707), and similar works. The two movements of Pietism and Methodism reacted upon the ethical life with stimulating and purifying effect. The close of the old and the transition into the new period was marked, both in dogmatics and ethics, by Buddaeus in his Institutes of Moral Theology (1711, 1724), and J. L. Mosheim in his Ethics of the Holy Scriptures (Helmst. and Leips., 1735–53, 9 vols.). These were succeeded by Rambach (1738, 4to), S. J. Baumgarten (Halle, 1764), Crusius (Leips., 1772, 1773, 2 vols.), G. Less (1777, 4th ed., 1787), Endemann (1780, 2 vols.), Döderlein (Jena, 1789; 3d ed., 1794), Michaelis (Gott., 1792, 2 vols.), Morus (1794–99, 3 vols., published by Voight), and others.

In the Roman Catholic Church the Jesuits especially devoted themselves to ethics, dragging it further and further into the labyrinths of casuistry, and shaking it to its lowest foundations by their miserable theory of probabilism. The most notorious are Gabriel Vasquez (died 1604), Thomas Sanchez (died 1610), Francis Suarez (died 1617), Paul Laymann (died 1635),

¹ Comp. Pelt, p. 479.

² The Lutheran Church had not been without ethical writers even prior to Calixtus; the latter merely gave to ethics a more systematic form, and brought it into connexion with the body of Church teaching. Comp. Henke, *ubi supra*, p. 514.

Vinc. Filliucius (died 1622), Escobar (died 1669), and Busenbaum (died 1669), in his *Marrow of Cases of Conscience*. This work, which first appeared in 1645, has passed through 52 editions. It has been rewritten and enlarged by Lacroix (Cologne, 1757) and others. Jesuitism was confronted by the stricter and more Augustinian spirit of Jansenism and the school of Port Royal, to which Ant. Arnauld, Pierre Nicole (*Essay on Morals*, Par., 1671-1714, 6 vols.), and Pasquier Quesnel (*Abridgment of the Morals of the Gospel*, Par., 1693) belonged. They combined with a thoroughly sincere moral disposition a strict asceticism, amounting almost to enthusiasm, and not unfrequently an obscure mysticism.¹ Quietism was a distinct outgrowth from this tendency.

A new period for ethics began with Kant and his doctrine of the Categorical Imperative, by which ethics was happily delivered from the fetters of an erroneous theory of blessedness, or Eudæmonism, but was at the same time robbed of its profound religious motives, and transformed into a species of moral arithmetic. Even Christian ethical writers, such as Ammon, followed this system for a time, while others, as Reinhard, proceeded by the eclectic and empirical route. Men of strong supernaturalistic faith, like Schwarz and Flatt, contented themselves with adhering only to what is scriptural, without starting out with any definite scientific principle. De Wette has pointed out the necessity for such a principle.² As Schleiermacher created an epoch in philosophical ethics by his *Critique of Morals*, so his treatment of Christian ethics is thoroughly peculiar, and everywhere based on the specifically Christian element. From this time a striving to attain to a more thoroughly scientific character is apparent in most of the Protestant works belonging to the department of ethics, however strongly their authors may be controlled by dissimilar fundamental views.

Richard Rothe has, according to Bunsen's judgment, penetrated more deeply than his predecessors "into the innermost marrow of ethical speculation, and has demonstrated that Christianity is the realization of the highest thoughts of God." In the Roman Catholic Church, Liguori (died 1787) and Bened. Stattler, (*Ethics*, 1782) endeavoured to restore probabilism. Others adopted the older scholastic method, for example, Liebermann in his *Institutes* (Mayence, 1840, 5 vols.). Among the Roman Catholic moralists who have shown themselves accessible to the scientific impulses of the century, to a greater or smaller extent, we may mention Schwarz-

¹ On this point compare especially Reuchlin's *Gesch. von Port Royal*.

² In *Berlin wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift*, 1819, Nos. 1 and 2.

hüber (1785), Lauber (1784-88), Wanker (1794), Mutschelle (1802, 1803), Geisshüttner (1803), Schenkl (1802, 1803), Reykberger (1794), Reigler (2d ed., 1828), and Vogelsang (Bonn, 1834-39, 2 vols.). The latter is a disciple of George Hermes. The manuals and textbooks of J. M. Sailer (Bishop of Ratisbon), Heinrich Schreiber, and Joh. Bapt. von Hirscher are especially noteworthy because of their practical aim.

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 Oaths: Goeschel (1837), Riegler (1837, 1847).
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 Life in the Christian Family: H. Thiersch (6th ed., 1872).
 Asceticism and its History: Zöckler (see under Church History), etc.

A large number of works on the observance of the Sabbath day have been issued in recent times, *e. g.*, by Streuber, Oschwald, Liebetrut, Hengstenberg, Kraussold, Beck, and others.

The relation of the Christian to politics has also become a question of considerable importance in Ethics in our day. To this place we must also assign the prize essays of the Harzergesellschaft: On War, by Wickemann; and on Capital Punishment, by A. Bizius.

Valuable service in the department of Christian Pedagogics was rendered by Schwarz (of Heidelberg), who wrote while Rationalism was yet prevalent. Comp. also J. C. A. Heinroth, *Von den Grundfehlern der Erziehung*, Lpz., 1828; Th. Schwarz, *Ueber Religiöse Erziehung*, Hamb., 1834; K. Raumer, *Die Erziehung der Mädchen*, Stuttg., 1854. Last ed., 1866.

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SECTION XXI.

THE METHODOLOGY OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

The study of systematic theology can be pursued with profit only after the preparatory studies in exegetical and historical theology have been completed. Yet it is possible to so awaken an interest

for dogmatics and ethics, while pursuing such preparatory studies, that a proper and methodical study of the former science will only require for its complete treatment such elements from the mental and outward experiences of life as have developed into personal convictions. It is by no means possible to master dogmatics by study alone. It requires to become a possession of the mind as the result of earnest conflict. The same is true of ethics. It is first of all necessary that Christianity shall have been justified as a divine fact to the personal consciousness, and consequently that apologetics shall have subjectively performed its work in the mind of the dogmatic theologian. Otherwise it will be impossible to determine and practically complete the objective development of dogmatics into a science.

The study of encyclopædia is designed to awaken an interest in dogmatics. The theologian is invited to direct his attention, with the first step he takes into the science, upon that point at which all theology culminates in a scientific aspect. He is not to lose sight of the goal while examining into the great variety of matters which intervene, although this is likely to occur where a soulless and micrological exegesis is employed, or the ordinary road of trodden ecclesiastical history is followed. The dogmatic heights cannot be stormed, but must be gained. The intervals that lie between cannot be overleaped. The fruit must ripen under the vivifying influence, from within, of the religious disposition as it ascends into greater clearness, and, from without, of the streaming light of science. In its nature the study of dogmatics is partly historical and partly philosophical, and neither side should be culti-

vated to the neglect of the other. A mere dogmatic Dogmatics both historical and philosophical. historian who is thoroughly "posted," as students say, in his department, but who has not been inwardly impressed by his subject, and brought into relations of sympathy with it, resembles, according to Hegel, a counting-house clerk, who keeps an account of the wealth which belongs to other people, without ever acquiring property of his own. But it is also true that the mere speculator who has failed to lay an historical foundation is not unlike the mercantile speculator, or swindler, without substantial capital, who is, consequently, doomed to inevitable bankruptcy. It is, therefore, needful that the historical and the philosophical elements be combined in this study, and upon a scriptural basis. But if the conversational and disputational method, in addition to that of direct address, is in keeping anywhere, it is here.

Disputation, however, will not accomplish every thing. The inward health, which holds together the marrow of the religious life,

and to which dogmatics must bear testimony, is of greater value than the gymnastics of the intellect. Mere science is inferior to wisdom, which, to use the expression of Gerson, requires a cognition of the affections. The practical task of ethics is, at least, as important within the dogmatico-ethical department as the scientific.

Religious ex-
perience neces-
sary to under-
stand dogmat-
ics and ethics. He only who has experienced the sanctifying, purifying, and elevating power of the Gospel in his own being, who is earnestly striving to attain to that Christian disposition in which the Christian virtues find a realization—he only will be able to speak of a fruitful and blessed experience derived from the study of dogmatics and ethics. He only who internally participates in the weal or woe of the Church is entitled to an opinion upon these matters. Without this, however great may be his outward learning and logical ability, he can only speak of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven as the blind may speak of colour.¹

This practical way is pointed out by our Lord himself (John vii, 17) with reference to apologetics. The reading of writings for and against a principle, instructive as it is for the riper judgment,² serves, as a general thing, to confuse rather than to set forth the truth. Only he who has learned from his own experience to know upon what point the weight of Christian truth is really directed, will be able to comprehend the exact salient point of apologetics,

¹ "So long as moral and religious regeneration is regarded simply as a formula, to be recited from the catechism—and multitudes of nominal Christians have even now no other conception of its character—there will arise no loudly expressed opposition against it. Or, if it should arise, it will amount to noise only, and pass away in the antiquated squabbles of schools of theology. Far otherwise will be the case when the dead formula is transformed into a mighty law of life, and an effective regeneration is suggested such as will endeavour to permeate the State with moral influence, and lead the Church back to its eternal origin, that it may renew its youth; at this point the ways of the living and the dead, of hirelings and the children of the house, will diverge. At this point of separation stands the present time."—Gelzer, *ubi supra*. "All that occurs in the profounder life of the soul is intelligible to them only who have passed through analogous experiences; and in the same way the deepest experience of the human soul, its union with Christ by faith, must ever remain unintelligible to those who have not partaken of it."—Gess, *Über die biblische Versöhnungslehre*, p. 33.

² Oberlin, for instance, prepared himself for his conflict with the freethinkers by reading the works of Voltaire. Comp. Oberlin's *Leben*, by Schubert, p. 29. In like manner the theologians of our day cannot be excused from learning to know the literature of nihilism, whose highest perfection of form has been attained in Strauss's *Old and New Faith*, and which has entered on a new stage of development, as idealistic pessimism, with Schopenhauer's philosophy. But to begin with such studies, in the expectation of thus being enabled to discover the truth, is like plunging into a whirlpool for the purpose of learning to swim.

and will be able, when encountering even unskilful argumentation, to separate the kernel from the shell. So, too, the true tactics for the polemic, with which he may resist the assaults of error, can only be acquired through the experience gained in conflict with the foe within his own being. Besides, it is only in connexion with such conflict that the courageous disposition is developed which forms the necessary correlative to genuine Christian endurance.

It is evident, finally, that the study of ethics also will be attended with profit only when personal moral growth keeps pace with the progress of the study. Where conscience is lacking the mind will, despite all the definitions formulated by science, never learn what constitutes the power of conscience, and in the absence of love it can never know wherein consists the might of love. It is indefatigable labour expended on himself that opens the moral nature of man to the vision of even the scientific inquirer. Only where the chief good is recognised as such, as the result of personal experience, can the doctrine of what is good be scientifically developed with success—the doctrine of duties only where obligation is personally felt, the doctrine of virtues only where Christian virtues are practically cultivated. In the absence of moral effort any amount of ethical studies will fail to become more than dry theory or lifeless, abstract doctrine. A majority of the errors committed even in the field of scientific ethics—for example, in casuistry—were coincident with a neglect of practical morality. The times of decadence in morality have ever reacted unfavourably upon the treatment of ethical science. Similar facts may be shown in the field of art. But incongruities between theory and practice are nowhere so strikingly apparent as when they exist in the sphere of morals, as in Pharisaism or hypocrisy.

CHAPTER IV.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

PROVINCE OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY embraces the theory of Church activities or functions, whether they be exercised by the Church as a whole or by individual members and representative persons acting for the Church. Its task is regulated by the nature of religion in general, and by that of the Christian Church in its determinate historical individuality. It, therefore, builds upon all such studies as give to religion and Christianity a scientific character and an outward form. Its immediate sphere of action, however, is that of art—that is, of action emanating from known laws.

In designating practical theology as a theory, we evidently depart from the usage by which the preceding departments are characterized as theoretical in contrast with the practical.¹ But usage may also prove our justification. It does not, at any rate, hold to the etymology of the word so far as to have us think, in connexion with it, simply of theorizing (*θεωρεῖν*)—the properly contemplative as distinguished from the practical. On the contrary, whenever theory is spoken of a reference to practical ends is always understood, so that it denotes a guide to practice.² This usage, less

¹ Marheineke likewise observes that “the theology which is not practical is theoretical. The latter is knowledge for its own sake, the former for the sake of practice.” —Prakt. Theologie, § 6. But knowledge having reference to subsequent action is the very thing that is denominated theory!

² The definition by Pelt, by which practical theology is made “a scientific knowledge respecting the self-development of the Church,” is likewise inadequate. The knowledge is not alone sufficient in this case, but needs to be transformed into action, as Pelt himself remarks, in the progress of his statement (p. 561), when he says that practical theology aims to show how “the further development of the Church may be assured by the action of the Church in the present moment.” It is true of every science, and, therefore, of this, that a theory of this nature must not be a rhapsodical something, but is required to become an organic whole, “bearing the idea upon

scientific than customary, it is true, would, accordingly, convert practical theology most emphatically into a theoretical science. It transmutes into action what the inquiring mind has brought before us from the fields of the philosophy of religion, exegesis, Church history, dogmatics, and ethics, and transforms the *ἐπιστήμη* into *τέχνη*. It is not the application of an art, but the theory which qualifies for the practice of an art. It thus possesses a claim to scientific character. For, while all theology aims, in its character as a positive science, to affect the life of human beings, it is yet incomplete without that department which is most directly engaged in carrying that positive aim into effect. It is, accordingly, with entire justice that practical theology has been termed, by Schleiermacher, "the crown of the tree."

Scientific character of practical theology.

But, in like manner, as there is an internal unity of life in the crown of the tree which is outwardly repeated under a different form, so are all the different theological sciences repeated in practical theology, but with reference to the life of the Church and its needs, and hence in the form of application.¹ In its most general aspects practical theology reaches back into the philosophy of religion, for it is designed to reduce religion to practice in the life. Unless the nature of the

Practical theology related to philosophy of religion.

which it rests within itself as a recognised germ of life" (p. 562). Vinet, speaking of practical theology, observes well and to the point: "It is art which supposes science, or science resolving itself in art. It is the art of applying usefully, in the ministry, the knowledge acquired in the three other departments of theology, which are purely scientific."—*Pastoral Theology* (Skinner's ed.), p. 21. Also Ebrard: "Practical theology, when examined in the light, is not a knowledge, but an ability; not a science, but an art, in which the theological knowledge that has been acquired becomes practical, in which it undergoes a practical application." The contrary view is advocated by Palmer, *ubi supra*, p. 323: "Not the application to certain concrete conditions of office and life of a previously indwelling knowledge, but a knowledge itself which the other departments of theology have not furnished, forms the contents of practical theology." We concede this, provided this knowledge be a knowledge relating to what is to be done. On any other view practical theology becomes the most hollow and unfruitful of all studies, while it is undeniably the most fruitful of them all when its eye is fixed upon actual life.

¹ It is not easy to understand why Graf (*Prakt. Theologie*, pp. 185 and 176) should object to this expression, unless the view introduced by Schleiermacher with reference to theology in general be regarded as antiquated (p. 136). Our idea does not, however, involve a "popularized theology," but simply a scientific combination and elaboration of the practical elements. Comp. what Vinet says: "The speculative side should have its place. Action is the last end of speculation; but whatever may be the nature of the action, it is not sufficiently provided for if attention be confined to it in the practical point of view. It should be studied abstractly. . . . He who regards the things of his profession only in the midst of action will act neither with freedom, nor with intelligence, nor with depth."—*Pastoral Theology*, p. 22.

religion be understood, all worship, sermons, religious training, and care of souls will be impossible. The conception entertained with regard to the nature of religion will determine what the worship, sermon, catechesis, and the care of souls are to accomplish.

But practical theology cannot be allowed to rest content with mere general definitions in religious matters. It has to do with well-defined Christian and ecclesiastical functions. It, therefore, presupposes, in its scientific work, the whole of the positive contents of Christianity—its facts and teachings, and, more than all else, a knowledge of the Bible. The sermon must be rooted in the Bible. The homilist needs to be also an exegete. It also requires familiarity with Church history. The entire constitution and government of the Church, and the organization of its worship, The historical are grounded in historical conditions, and cannot be basis. spun out from abstract theories. Liturgics, for instance, is based upon archæology, and Church government on the history of the constitution of the Church. The function of teaching, moreover, in all its departments, necessarily presupposes Christian doctrine, considered both in its establishment by apologetics and in its development by dogmatics and ethics. Finally, since Church functions are always exercised by a particular Church, having a determinate denominational character, and being exposed to the possibility of conflict with other confessions, practical theology is required to include also this symbolical and polemical side of theological science. It thus comes to pass that the symbol is reflected especially in catechisms and liturgies, and that the constitution of any particular Church corresponds to its peculiarities of confession. These considerations justify the placing of practical theology at the close of the theological course. Only that theologian who has passed through a preliminary scientific training, and has received into himself and assimilated the substance of theological knowledge, is qualified to dispose of and utilize the possession he has acquired. The latter, however, will not accomplish itself. Hence, it is the task of practical theology to present to view the combined practical features of all theology, and then to indicate the objects toward which the activities of the Church are to be directed, and also the laws under which its functions are to be exercised.

Practical theology completes the theological course. The office of practical theology is to show, not merely what may be admitted to the ecclesiastical field in the character of an established element of worship or Church constitution, but also how everything is to be administered. Only a crude empiricism would consent to leave this to the play of chance or considerations of

convenience. The scientific dignity of practical theology appears in the very fact that it will not rest satisfied with mere routine, but demands, and makes possible, a regulated action in behalf of the Church and in harmony with its spirit. Such action, in unison with law, we designate as being according to art, and therefore assign practical theology to the department of art as its legitimate field. It is important, however, that the word art be not understood in a perverted sense, so as to denote paltry arts and tricks, or the unnatural, since true art is altogether ^{True art the highest nature.} nature, taken out from its crude and accidental surroundings, intellectually illumined, and transmuted into consciousness.

It is sometimes said by persons who are prejudiced against science, that the apostles were not learned men; that they did not treat preaching as an art, and that this work does not afford a field for the exhibition of art, because only what comes from the heart can effect an entrance into other hearts. Such objections, however, serve merely to show to what extent the real nature of art is yet misunderstood. The word is employed in this connexion both in a wider and a more limited sense. Practical theology is entitled to the name of a theory of art, even in the broader meaning, since every rational function which aims at a definite result must be guided and upheld by an authoritative principle. In this sense it is actually customary to speak of medical art, the corresponding feature to which in the theological field may, perhaps, be found in the art which has to do with the training and the care of souls. But a place in practical theology must be conceded to art also in the narrow or æsthetical meaning of the word, in which sense it comes under the category of "descriptive functions."¹ This will appear more particularly in connexion with the theory of worship, in the department of Liturgics.

SECTION II.

PRACTICAL SIDE OF CLERICAL LIFE.

The aggregate of ecclesiastical functions, which constitutes the object of practical theology, may be comprehended under the two categories of Church Government and Church Ministrations. The clergyman is required by the practical relation which he sustains toward the Church to devote himself, predominantly, if not exclusively, to service in each of these departments. For this reason, practical theology has hitherto ^{Former restriction of practical theology.} been largely restricted to the task of furnishing a guide to clerical

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher's division of Ethics, *supra*.

duties, or to the character of a science of the clerical calling, with particular reference to the ministrations of the Church.

"The practical in theology," says Schweizer, "has in no wise been created by the spiritual order, but rather has itself produced this order, which is in a peculiar sense the servant of the Church. The theology, at times predominantly learned, and at other times more largely practical, has been developed by the Church itself, regarded as a community holding to a common faith."¹ His view requires that practical theology should begin with the institution of a spiritual order, a measure which belongs, according to Schleiermacher's arrangement, to the theory of Church government. Since, however, this branch has not as yet been largely developed, it would seem to be by no means advisable, in a methodological point of view, to place its scanty proportions in the foreground. It is, likewise, very difficult to divide the whole of practical theology between the two categories of Church government and Church ministration.² It is impossible to separate them wholly from each other. The liturgical elements, for instance, belong to Church government in so far as the organization of the worship is concerned,³ and to Church ministrations when the administration of the worship is in question.

It seems to be hazardous, upon the whole, to depart too greatly in this matter from the concrete facts with which we have to deal. We do not misapprehend the faulty character of an empirical process which yields as its result the simple fact "that preaching is carried on, and then constructs a theory—homiletics—to correspond with that fact."⁴ But it is also necessary that, on the other hand, the *a priori* construction of a science whose very name indicates that it is designed to meet practical wants, be avoided. These practical needs, moreover, have not arisen as the result of mere accident, but grow out of the historical development of the Church during her progress to this time. Hence they are consequently to be regarded as necessary rather than accidental facts, and as rooted in the history of the Church.

To these considerations we must add the practical nature of the calling of the theologian himself. The primary object in which he is concerned, when, having been qualified for the service of the Church, he leaves the school behind, is certainly that he be introduced into the spiritual office. To acquaint him with the duties of that office is the work of practical theology. Should he confine his efforts in that position also to speculative labours merely, when may

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 20.

² See Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 35.

³ Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 269 and 286.

⁴ Schweizer, *ubi supra*, p. 24.

we suppose that he will develop a sense for the practical? It is just this theory that constitutes a most distressing feature, that, after having in many instances spent numerous years in study, our young ministers often fail to know how to conduct a mere Bible class, or to construct a sermon that shall be more than a compilation from the notes of seminary lectures. If it happen that, in addition, their heads become filled with notions upon Church government through the study of practical theology, instead of their being brought in person to the place where safe action is necessary, what is to be looked for in such a case? A morbid and total devotion to science, without due emphasis on its practical departments, would result in rendering the young preacher unpractical who is placed in the very heart of the activities of practical theology. It appears, then, that, in connexion with the study of practical theology, the young preacher should be first directed into the fields which have already been cultivated by other hands—homiletics, catechetics, and liturgics—and led to put forth his effort there. It is, nevertheless, requisite that the nature of such studies, their internal necessity, and their connexion with the organism of the Church, as a whole, be made scientifically clear to his mind.¹ After this he may extend the range of his vision beyond the cultivated fields of Church ministrations, and embrace the uncultivated lands of ecclesiastical polity and ecclesiastical law.²

It is certainly an observation of real value, that the functions of the Church are not identical with those of the clergy, and, therefore, may not be confounded with them. But the theologian must comprehend these functions, and the clergyman must execute them theoretically or in practice. A sudden attempt to establish a lay theology, in which the clergyman should take occasional part, but only with reference to his own person, would be wrong, and could just as well be applied to other departments. It may be said that the Bible is the common property of all Christians, and that therefore exegesis belongs to all; that the faith is the common property of the Church, and that dogmatics is consequently a science in which all may engage, and by no means theologians only. Since, however, theology as a science does not come within the reach of all men, but is empirically restricted to those who are occupied in a special calling and profession, we may say that exegesis, historical

¹ Comp. Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 32.

² Schleiermacher consequently evinced sound judgment in placing Church ministrations before Church government. Rosenkranz, too, concludes his *Encyklopaedie* with this department. Felt, on the other hand, begins with the theory of Church organization.

theology, and systematic theology have to do with what it is necessary that the minister should know. Practical theology, on the other hand, treats what he has to do, in the exercise of a clear consciousness and as a pastoral function; acting, as he must, in the name of the Church, maintaining a constant connexion and reciprocal relation of active influence with the Church. This practical point of view will govern our arrangement, which does not rest on *a priori* considerations, but upon a simple recognition and observation of the state of facts in the case.

Difference between the relation of the preacher to practical theology and the other departments.

SECTION III.

METHOD OF TREATMENT.

The duties for which practical theology is to qualify, admit of being divided according to various methods, which correspond to the different points of view that may be occupied. We class them under the three following categories:

1. The gathering of individuals, and their introduction into the fellowship of the Church. This we call *Halientics* and *Catechetics*.

2. The guiding and promoting of the Christian life within the Church society: *a.* As expressed publicly in connexion with the worship, either in a prescribed or a more independent form; this is *Liturgics* and *Homiletics*. *b.* As manifested in the wider circles embraced within the Church, in the form of the care of souls; this is *Pastoral Theology*.

Categories of Practical Theology.

3. These functions are enclosed within the *Organization* of the Church, by which each clergyman is required to labour in his own place, and to whose proper management he must contribute; this is *Ecclesiastical Polity* and *Law*.

Every mode of division involves deficiencies, which are owing to the fact that the actual state of the Church, with the needs which have been made manifest by experience, does not in all respects correspond to the ideal of what the Church ought to be. A purely scientific arrangement, based on the idea of the Church, will not unfrequently come into conflict with things as they exist. On the other hand, one which starts out with a recognition of the actual condition of the Church is open to the charge of being controlled by accidental features, and, therefore, of being unscientific. This objection was brought to bear against most of the earlier methods of arrangement, which, however, in many instances, scarcely deserved this name, since they joined together homiletics, liturgics, and catechetics, at haphazard,

All modes of division imperfect.

without going back to the conditions lying deep in the organism of the Church, upon which their life depends.

The disposition to organize this department has been manifested in different directions since the time of Schleiermacher, and divisions of the most various kinds have been attempted. Those by Nitzsch, Schweizer, Marheineke, and Moll principally deserve attention. Nitzsch conceives practical theology as being a theory of Church functions, and divides the latter into fundamental and conservative. Among fundamentals he reckons homiletics, catechetics, and liturgics, the first two of which are included under the idea of the didactic. He divides the conservatives into education and sacred politics. This method is followed in the dissertation cited above. A somewhat different view prevails in the larger work,¹ which divides the functions, first, into those designed to edify, such as preaching, celebrations, the care of souls; and, second, into the regulative, such as internal and external Church law, objectively as legislation, subjectively as the formation of government and constitution. Schweizer has raised important objections against the arrangement of Nitzsch. Of these we notice especially that which censures the destroying of the natural connexion of homiletics with liturgics through the association of the former with catechetics, thus giving to it a character too exclusively didactic. Schweizer proceeds upon the distinction between Church government and Church ministrations, and endeavours to carry further into details, and to modify, the plans marked out by Schleiermacher, with whom he agrees in the main. He deals, first of all, with the instituting of the spiritual order, the developing of a positive clergy from the natural clergy.² He then lays down an ingeniously contrived division of Church ministrations, based upon Schleiermacher's distinction between the free and those restricted to set forms. Such restriction applies, most of all, to the services of the public worship, though less rigidly to the sermon than to the liturgy. It is less operative in the care of souls, where it appears more largely in the department of pastoral

¹ *Praktische Theologie*, vol. i, p. 128, *sqq.*

² He obtains three forms: 1. The Roman Catholic, on which the sacerdotal character of the individual (*character indelebilis*) makes a clergyman of the clergyman. 2. The Illuministic and Quaker, where the distinction between those who impart and those who receive is but temporary, and determined by the particular service in hand. 3. The Protestant, which is intermediate between the preceding two.

³ The clergyman is restricted in services which he performs in the name of the Church, and as directed by her, being, so to speak, merely the organ of the Church, while in free activity his individuality may assert itself. Coincident with the above is the distinction between the fixed and movable.

supervision than in that of unofficial service. It appears least of all in the work of winning souls to the Church,¹ though more prominently when that function is exercised in connexion with the regular work of a church than in connexion with missionary work.

Schweizer's division will, accordingly, result in the following scheme: I. The theory of Church government. II. The-
Schweizer's di- vision. ory of Church functions; 1. Theory of worship; *a.* Li-
 turgies, *b.* Homiletics; 2. Pastoral Theology, the Care of Souls;
a. ministerial, *b.* free; 3. Halieutics, theory of the art of adding
 to the membership of the Church; *a.* Catechetics, *b.* Theory of
 missionary operations.

Much may be said, however, in opposition to this division also.
Defects of Schweizer's arrangement. Not only is the entire distinction between free and
 restricted merely relative, as Pelt has shown,² but the ar-
 rangement itself, his plus out of the minus, is not
 always properly graduated. Should catechetics—which, in its
 character as the service for immature minds, reaches back into
 worship, and therefore into the department which, more than
 others, is controlled by established forms—be less restricted to
 forms than the care of souls? The missionary function, halieutics,
 moreover, is erroneously placed by the side of catechetics, while it
 ought to precede, and prepare the way for, the latter function, as
 well as for all the remaining ones. It is, certainly, a function of
 acquisition, while catechetics is a preparatory function. Halieutics
 seeks its field, and finds it, beyond the limits of the organized eccle-
 siastical community; catechetics stands within those boundaries,
 though on the line. The two departments should, accordingly, lead
 and follow, instead of being placed side by side. The contrast be-
 tween freedom and limitation cannot be the determining idea in
 this matter.

Marheineke distributes practical theology over the three concen-
Marheineke's method. tric circles within which practical effort must be em-
 ployed. He distinguishes: 1. The Christian Church;
 2. The Protestant Church; 3. The particular, or local, Church. The
 ministrations of the Church have reference to the latter, and are
 divided into: *a.* The formation of the congregation, the instruction

¹ From ἀλιεύω ἀλιεύς, Matt. iv, 19. The term was first employed by Sickel in his *Grundriss der christl. Halieutik*, Lpz., 1829. We employ it in its broad meaning, not excluding Halieutics from Homiletics, with which it was identified by Sickel, but still regarding it primarily as the science of missions, and, therefore, placing it before Li-
 turgical Homiletics proper, and also before Catechetics.

² Encykl., p. 567. Comp. also the review in *Rheinwald's Repert.*, 1837, vol. xix, p. 125, sqq.

of youth; catechetics. *b.* The assembling of the congregation; homiletics and liturgics. *c.* The influencing of individuals; care of souls. This method is also open to the objection of destroying the unity of the different functions. Liturgics concerns the life of the general, as well as that of the local, Church. Catechetics has to do both with future members of the Church, and, in part, with the congregation. Preaching is conducted in the name of the Church, and for the good of the congregation. Moll deduces the functions of practical theology from the nature of the Church, devoting Part I to the physiology of the Church, and reserving the theory of ecclesiastical functions for Part II. These are divided into regulative, training, and edifying functions. The first class includes the constitution, the legislation, and the administration of the Church. To the second belongs training by means of supervision, instruction, and discipline. The third has to do with liturgical performances. Harms constructed a witty scheme, without claiming for it any scientific character. It is according to the three P's—the preacher, the priest, and the pastor—the catechist losing his place, and being stowed away in the pastor's province. A fourth P ought to have been available for the pedagogue. The Roman Catholics, Drey, Staudenmaier, and Graf, have adopted still other divisions.¹

We might attempt additional methods to those which we have enumerated.² For example, we might arrange an order according to the following plan: 1. The official and extra-official; or, based on the nature of religion, the directly religious and liturgical, designed to affect the feelings; 2. The homiletical, which operates more especially upon the understanding, and addresses its appeal to reason; 3. The practical, or pastoral, function, which directs its aim upon action—the practical life. In connexion with this scheme it would be necessary to regard catechetics, the common basis of the whole, as a preparation for the religious life in every direction, such as the public worship, the instruction, and the religious training

¹ See Pelt, *ubi supra*.

² This, as we observe, is substantially the same as that of Ebrard, in *Liturgik*, § 10, namely: *a.* Ministerium externum (catechetics and missions); *b.* Ministerium internum (worship and care of souls); *c.* The common bond of outward order (gubernatio). A different method is given by Ehrenfeuchter, *Theorie des Cultus*, p. 81, who gives the precedence to catechetics (the power of religion to produce doctrine and dogmas); the next place to the care of souls and ecclesiastical law (the power to penetrate through the individuality of nations in the course of historical development); and the last and highest place to liturgics, because the most diversified powers of the life of the Church flow together in the worship; but, being deprived of movement, present themselves as settled states.

of children. The entire discussion of this subject indicates that it would be prejudice to insist that any particular arrangement is the only correct one, and that every division which may be scientifically justified deserves notice in its place.¹

SECTION IV.

HISTORY OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

Directions for the conduct of the spiritual office are already found in the Pastoral Epistles of the New Testament; in the Apostolic Fathers; in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Chrysostom, in his work on the Priesthood; Ambrose, in his treatise on the Duties of Ministers; in Augustine, in his work on Christian Doctrine; and in ^{Works of the} Ephraem Syrus, in his work on the Priesthood. To ^{Fathers.} these must be added The Pastoral Care, which is ascribed to Leo the Great (died 461), the Book of Pastoral Care, to John, Bishop of Ravenna, by Gregory the Great (died 604), and the Epistle to Ludifredus on the Duties of Priests in the Church, by Isidore of Seville (died 636). During the Middle Ages the work on the Institution of the clergy, by Rhabanus Maurus, was a leading book for the training of the clergy, and many directions are found elsewhere for priests, bishops, monks, and Church officers in general, according to the different gradations of the hierarchy and the requirements of different places.²

The forerunners of the Reformation turned their attention ^{Work of the} ^{Reformers.} erably upon practical theology. Wycliffe, among others, for example, wrote a tractate on The Pastoral Office. But a special change was wrought in the character of practical theology by the Reformation itself, by which it became the theory of culture for preachers and pastors, instead of remaining a theory of training for priests. The isolated directions of Luther were collected by Conrad Porta, of Eisleben (died 1585), in his Pastoral of Luther, which has been often reprinted since 1582, the last edition being that issued in Nördlingen in 1842.³ The term

¹ An absolute division is impracticable, because the several branches of practical theology are so interlaced as to admit of being represented separately only in a modified sense. See Vinet, *Past. Theol.*, pp. 22, 23.

² Comp. Ratherius of Verona, *Synodica ad Presbyteros et Ordines ceteros forinsecus, i. e., per universam diocesin constitutos*, in d'Achery, *Spicileg. T. L.*, p. 376 *seq.*; the *Tractatus de moribus et officiis episcoporum*, by Bernard of Clairvaux (died 1153), addressed to the Archbishop Henry of Sens, and Neander, *Der heil. Bernhard*, p. 17, *seq.*

³ Comp. F. Gessert, *Evangelisches Pfarramt nach Luther's Ansichten*, Bremen, 1826.

pastoral theology, which had already been employed by Erasmus Sarcerius (1562), was now, with minor variations, transferred to other works also; for example, those of Quenstedt, in his *Pastoral Ethics* (1678, 1708), of J. L. Hartmann (died 1684), of Kortholt, in his *Faithful Pastor* (1698), of Mayer, in his *Museum of the Minister of the Church* (1690),¹ and of other writers who did not always work in harmony with the spirit of Luther.

The universities provided chairs of practical theology only in exceptional instances; for example, in Helmstedt and Tübingen. Such features as were deemed important Practical theology in the universities. were generally treated in connexion with dogmatics under the head of The Ministry, or in the chapter On Cases of Conscience. Spener, in his *Pious Desires*, and A. H. Francke, in his *Pastoral Admonitions* (1712), his *Observations on Hartmann's Pastorate* (1739), and in his *Pastoral College* (1743), infused new life into this study. But, down to the close of the eighteenth century, the works most esteemed were those of Mieg (died 1708), *Sacred Duties of the Protestant Pastor* (1747), Deylingius (died 1755), *Institutes of Pastoral Prudence* (Lips., 1768), Pet. Roques (died 1748), *The Protestant Pastor* (1723, Germ., Halle, 1768), Mosheim (1754), and Töllner (1769), *Outline*, upon which followed Rosenmüller (1778), G. F. Seiler (1786), J. J. Pfeiffer (1789), and others. All of these, however, were superseded by Niemeyer.

The rationalistic spirit of the age, which first found expression in Spalding's *Utility of the Preacher's Office* (1st ed., 1772), asserted itself during the final decades of the century in the secular mode of apprehending the task of Rationalistic teaching of practical theology. practical theology. Those profounder relations of the spiritual office, as they had been described by Herder, in his *Provincial Sheets*, were crowded into the background more and more. Gräffe, with his dry formalism, allied himself with Kant, while Schlegel, on the other hand, emphasized the "promotion of Christian godliness," and F. H. Ch. Schwarz (died 1837) defined the Christian idea still more clearly. To this was now added the impulse for scientific arrangement which emanated from Schleiermacher, although works of even later date—for example, the very serviceable treatise by Hüffell—were but slightly influenced by it.² Harms is original throughout, everywhere proceeding upon practical considerations, in this respect contrasting with Marheineke, who is purely speculative. The two complement each other; but the bridge which leads

¹ Comp. Tholuck, *Geist der Luther. Theologen Wittenbergs*, p. 261.

² According to the judgment of some critics the work of Hüffell has even lost in value by reason of its strict regard for scientific principles.

over from the one to the other might be difficult to find by the student. In view of what has been done down to the present time, it may be asserted that, so far as Germany is concerned, Nitzsch has brought the science of practical theology to a conclusion for some time to come. Within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church Maria Theresa was the first to erect a chair of practical theology, its seat being in the national university of her realm, Austria. Sailer was efficient here, also, in a preparatory way, and was followed by Schenkel, Pawondra, Schwarzl, Gollowitz, Reichenberger, Hinterberger, Herzog, and others.¹ Among Roman Catholic works, that by Graf is preeminent.

Little has been done in England or America for the scientific organization of practical theology. The usage has obtained of treating the functions of the minister under the two heads of preaching and the pastoral care, leaving Haliotics, Catechetics, Liturgics, and Ecclesiastical Law to be treated, without any attempt to assign them fixed places, or to be omitted altogether. Shedd speaks of the minister as both an orator and a pastor: as an orator he addresses masses of men; as a pastor he deals with individual souls. All of practical theology, therefore, which this writer considers is the formation of clerical character and the discharge of strictly parish duties. Hoppin, following the same general method, divides the minister's activities into those of the study and pulpit, and those which find their place outside of the study and pulpit. Vinet, who is regarded as an authority in America, makes the same twofold division: "The preacher instructs, the pastor trains up: the one receives and nourishes those who come; the other seeks also those who do not come." Kidder, however, takes in the whole scope of practical theology, though without attempting to show the logical connexion of its parts. It is made by him to include "a knowledge of the various theories of Church polity; the theory and administration of discipline; the history and use of liturgies; the agencies and details of Church enterprises; catechetics, or the elements of Christian instruction; homiletics, the science and art of Christian address; and the duties and relations of the pastoral office."² Practical theology, in England and America, still waits for a broader treatment which shall unite all the parts into one consistent whole.

¹ See Pelt, p. 557.

² Christian Pastorate, p. 196.

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SECTION V.

CATECHETICS.

Catechetics has to do with the introduction of persons into the Christian community, and therefore with the imparting of instruction and the religious nurture connected therewith. Catechetical instruction in the Christian countries of our day is largely confined to children, who have been admitted into the Church by the rite of baptism and by the regeneration of the heart. But its range should also embrace the instruction of such adults as have not come under early religious training, or have neglected it.

The function of receiving new members into the Church is preceded by that of gaining new members for the Church, or rather Haliēutics and Keryktics. for the kingdom of God in general. This function of acquisition has been termed Haliēutics. It coincides with the missionary function, or Keryktics,¹ and by its nature takes the precedence of catechetics. In view of the continually increasing demands of science, it was impossible that the missionary function should, in its steadily progressing development, retain an empirical character alone. It was compelled to gradually construct a science of missionary operations, and a good beginning has already been made in this direction.²

It is not proper, indeed, to embrace the methodology of missions within the circle of studies which are necessary to the future servant of the Church as such, because mission work, as historically developed down to the present time, is, with few exceptions, rather a matter for independent Christian effort than an enterprise of the Church in its official character. Another reason is, that the training of the missionary varies from the ordinary course of theological training in many respects, both as to form and matter. The methodology of missions will, nevertheless, possess interest Methodology of missions. for every theologian who is interested in the general work of missions; and even within the bounds of Christendom the

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher, § 298; Danz, p. 362, and the works by Stier and Lindner, cited there.

² Such beginnings exist in the various instructions given to missionaries by the societies in whose service they are engaged, *e. g.*, the *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern, welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*, Barby, 1784; the instructions in *Annual Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, Lond., 1804-44; Melville Home, *Letters on Missions*, Lond., 1824; James Hough, *The Missionary Vademecum*, etc., Lond., 1832; William Swan, *Letters on Missions*, Lond., 1830. Also the special instructions relating to India, of Duff, Buyers, etc. Comp. also the *Calwer Beleuchtungen der Missionsache*, since 1842; and especially W. Hoffmann, *Missionsfragen*, i, 1, Heidelb., 1847.

ultimate object always is to *win* souls for Christ. Homiletics, too, must aim to win souls. The same must be said of catechetics and pastoral theology, although such effort differs considerably in character from that which is expended upon persons who have no acquaintance whatever with Christianity. Within the Church the theory for such effort may, at least with reference to cultured persons, be largely regarded as applied apologetics. But, beyond the borders of the Church, there is no element upon which it may lay hold aside from the religious spirit in human nature generally.¹

Returning to catechetics, we observe that the name did not originate accidentally;² for *κατηχεῖν* (from *ἦχος*, a sound), whence *κατηχητής*, *κατηχούμενος* are derived, signifies, in both the New Testament and the earlier Church fathers, to announce or instruct in a general sense (comp. Luke i, 4; Acts xviii, 25; xxi, 21-24; Rom. ii, 18; 1 Cor. xiv, 19; Gal. vi, 6). On this basis catechetics would be synonymous with keryktics. But by the more definite usage, which was subsequently developed, the name of catechists was applied to persons who prepared the novitiates for Christianity, for which reason they were also called nautologists, since they, according to a figure prevalent at the time, brought on board new reinforcements for the crew. It will be necessary to hold fast this idea when attempting to determine the scope of catechetics. Every person whose Christianity is not yet sufficiently advanced to enable him to participate personally in the benefits of redemption, is yet a catechumen, a minor, whose susceptibility to the influence of both the edifying and the regulative function needs to be aroused.³ Every person who aids to qualify him for that end is a catechist.

Scope of catechetics.

It is, of course, true that Christian youth—that is, that portion of the Church which has become incorporated with it through baptism and instruction in the Sunday-school, but which has not yet, by renewal of the baptismal covenant, been individually received into the fellowship of the Church—are with us the leading objects

¹ In dealing with Jews the Old Testament Scriptures furnish a point of contact; but the nature of the work becomes, for that very reason, different from that which must be employed with the heathen. It, as a rule, presupposes a knowledge of Christianity, though not a Christian understanding, and is therefore more particularly polemical and apologetic than halieutic.

² Schliermacher, § 291, thinks that the term is too limited for the ground to be occupied; but it is in some sense also too broad, inasmuch as in the ancient meaning of the word *κατηχεῖν* the homiletical function was also involved. A further discussion of the word *κατηχεῖν* may be found in Zezschwitz, p. 17, *sqq.*

³ Schliermacher, §§ 293, 294; Zezschwitz, *System der Katechetik*, Einl.

of the catechetical function.¹ But circumstances may exist in which adults likewise need catechetical instruction, as in the case of Jews, Mohammedans, or heathen who become Christians, or of Roman Catholics who become Protestants. It is, as can be readily seen, the task of ethics and pastoral skill to determine the general method of estimating such changes of relation from the religious and moral point of view, while catechetics has to do with persons only who have already resolved to effect that change.²

Difference between ethics and catechetics. But adult persons are found, even in Christian countries, whose immaturity in a Christian aspect calls for catechetical instruction, either because they were not baptized in infancy or because their religious training has been wholly neglected. Nor is it by any means a settled question, with reference to a large portion of the Christian Church, especially in the rural districts, whether a form of instruction midway between the hermeneutical and the catechetical could not be introduced, which should carry forward and establish the instructions previously received by persons who have been admitted to fellowship among mature Christians.³

SECTION VI.

CATECHETICAL METHODS.

The Christian religion rests upon the facts of consciousness as well as upon those of a positive revelation and of actual history. It follows, therefore, that the task of the catechist will involve the developing of religious feeling and of the understanding of the catechumen with regard to the inward truths of religion, as well as the impressing on his soul of the great value of external truths. This reflection will indicate to what extent the interrogative method is adapted to catechetical instruction.

¹ The instruction of candidates for Church membership is exclusively a clerical function, while the earlier religious training belongs, in part, to the school and the family. It follows that different classes of catechumens may be assumed, each of which will require a mode of treatment peculiar to itself.

² Palmer's exclusion of the instruction of proselytes from the scope of catechetics (*Katechet.*, p. 5), and its being assigned to the field of missionary work, arise from the confounding of the function of winning and converting souls, by which the resolution to embrace the new faith is called forth, with the teaching function, which assumes the change of religious belief as an already existing fact, and is employed upon a more thorough exposition of particulars. The catechumen is no longer beyond the pale of Christianity, though he yet remains outside the Church. Comp. also what he has said in Section iii with reference to the relation of *haliutics* to catechetics.

³ With reference to the catechization of adults, which Spener already introduced at Frankfurt, and which others also successfully engaged in, see Burk, *Pastoraltheologie in Beispielen*, p. 536, *seqq.*

This instruction should be, not mere instruction, but the training and nurture of the soul.

Two methods are to be avoided at this point—the one going to the extreme of endeavouring to lead the young and inexperienced mind to discover every thing through the questions he is made to answer, while the other goes to the contrary extreme of seeking to furnish him with the needed information wholly from without. Catechetics goes back to the nature of religion and Christianity, and is required to gauge its task by that rule. Religion ^{function of} cannot be imparted from without like a material sub- ^{catechetics.} stance. The spark which God has placed in every human soul must be kindled into life. But this, in turn, must be accomplished through incitements and communications from without. Among these may be enumerated the presenting of religious examples, and of great religious occurrences and facts, the opening to view of the connexion running through the Bible history,¹ and especially by directing attention to the splendour of the life of Jesus. All this must constitute the introduction to a subsequent strictly systematic method of instruction in the form of catechism. The method should also be accommodated to the necessary gradations of the course of instruction, being at one time more interrogative, and at another more in the form of direct statement. This will serve to show how far the definition of Bertholdt² and others may be approved, which asserts that “catechetics is the particular science which lays down the rules which are to govern in religious instruction, imparted by the method of question and answer, in order that it may become appropriated and profitable.”

Many absurdities have been evolved, especially by Gräffe, in connexion with this play of question and answer. There has been talk of spiritual Socratism, in which the fact was overlooked that Socrates had to do with very different persons from ^{The Socratic} those who, as a rule, come under the influence of the ^{method.} catechist.³ Their questions, moreover, have a very different aim.

¹ “Catechetical instruction should begin with creating a clear conception of all these personages (Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, Paul, John), each of whom is representative of some particular feature of the religious life, but all of whom unite among themselves into a common whole.”—Rosenkranz, p. 332. All that is merely mechanical, as well as all that is merely learned and critical, should be avoided.

² Theol. Wissenschaftskunde, ii, p. 297. Mosheim regarded catechization as being “a reasonable and orderly conversation between teacher and pupil.”—Sittenlehre (3d ed.), i, p. 488.

³ Hüffell, i, p. 447, *sqq.* (2d ed.). “The Socratic method begets the conceit in the mind of catechumens that they, in some way, produce religion, and almost compels them to indulge in arrogant criticisms upon the faith whose wisdom has, after all, not

The natural process is that he should put the question who desires to learn about some matter, and it would follow that the catechumen and not the catechist, should ask.

This is the arrangement in the catechism of Leo Judæus. But it is the catechist who inquires in order to ascertain how much the catechumen knows—a task which may consist simply in the mechanical conduct of a recitation, which certainly does not deserve the name of a Socratic method; or it may involve a process of interrogation which serves either to merely excite attention, to arouse independent thought, or, as being grounded in the conversational form, to logically advance the progress of the discussion. This last form is only available, however, when dealing with persons of somewhat mature years and an advanced stage of knowledge. In such a case the various forms of questioning, such as the problematical, assertory, demonstrative, categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive, may all be employed; not, however, so as to admit of their being previously memorized, but in such a way as to develop them naturally through the active interchange of ideas. The exciting of such
The real art of the catechist. interchange in proper measure, together with the an-
the catechist. mating of its progress, constitutes the principal art of the catechist. This, however, cannot be accomplished by the mere eliciting of answers. The catechist will need to assert his right to speak at the proper point, to impart after having for a time demanded. It is, therefore, as important to observe the proper key while narrating, expounding, and exhorting, as to impart the proper turn to questioning.

The task of catechetics, however, is by no means fully exhausted when directions relating to form have been supplied. It is, first of all, essential that the religious nature of youth be studied in so far as it is the object of catechetics, and this not merely with reference to its powers of apprehension, but in every direction in which it is displayed. At this point catechetics has general pedagogics for its basis, and this, accordingly, would be the proper point for discussing the relation of religious instruction as imparted by the school to that dispensed by the Church. Much has been said upon this point from the pedagogical point of view. But it is further essential that the subject-matter of the instruction, which is distinctively Christian in its

yet dawned in any wise upon their understandings.”—Rosenkranz, p. 335. Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 815. Zetzschwitz shows, however, that the abuse of the method of developing a subject by question and answer does not set it aside, but that its further development is a task of the art of catechetics, vol. i, p. 4; comp. p. 11 *sqq.*, vol. iii, p. 23, *sqq.*, and vol. iv entire.

character, be handled in accordance with clearly defined theological views, and also that the grading of the instruction, the object to be attained thereby, and the means to be employed, be clearly determined. The grading might be about as follows: 1. For the period of childhood, the exciting of religious feeling and reflection by means of repeating Scripture narratives and teaching simple texts, verses from hymns, and the like; 2. At the riper stage of youth for boys and girls the connected teaching of Bible history, accompanied with the teaching of the catechism. At this stage the didactic element will predominate; 3. At the stage of incipient manhood the instruction proper for all candidates for Church membership, their preparation for the sacrament, and their initiation into the deeper unity of the Bible, in both history and doctrine, as well as into the teaching of the Church. With the latter process may be connected a survey of Church history, introduction into the life of the Church as a community, and into the life of devotion generally. To what extent a stage of instruction beyond that for candidates for Church membership should be assumed is a question of practical importance, but upon the answer to which the catechetical function is no longer dependent, since, in the nature of the case, its task was ended at joining the Church. All that is subsequent to that act belongs to ecclesiastical didactics and to pedagogics in its broad acceptance; for instance, the religious instruction imparted in Bible classes, in Sunday-schools, Church lyceums, lectures, and similar ways. Here we see the value of catechisms, of sacred histories, of volumes of selected passages from the Bible, and many similar works. Every pastor should always have in mind the instruction, and use of proper methods thereto, apart from his pulpit ministrations.

But the true catechist has not fulfilled his task when, in his official capacity, he has conducted a session for the instruction of the children. He will bear in his heart the youth entrusted to his care (John xxi, 15: *βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου*). ^{Catechetics a part of pastoral work.} With this feature catechetics reaches over into the field of pastoral care. It is also customary, in many places on the Continent, to connect the instruction of children with the public worship, and in this respect catechetics comes into contact with the homiletical and liturgical functions—the arranging of an appropriate worship for children. But where no such custom prevails the hour given to religion must not become one of instruction simply,¹ but must at the same time be made an hour of edification, of

¹“The catechetical function must not be confined to instruction, but must consist pre-eminently in developing a children's worship, the soul of which is prayer, and it

training in the practice of godliness, and hence a branch of worship. The summit of the catechetical function, finally, consists in the reception into Church fellowship, the recognition of whose significance and relation to the whole belongs to liturgics.

SECTION VII.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL ENDOWMENT.

The study of catechetics must not be confined to oral instruction merely, but must also involve appropriate practice, an opportunity for which should be afforded the student. Occupation with the general instruction of children will furnish a useful introduction to such practice; and the student who has enjoyed the benefit of thorough instruction in religion and of a thorough preparation for joining the Church, and who has preserved the blessed influence of such a course in his own heart, will, in a special sense, possess a great advantage over others. Diligent attention given to sound catechetical methods, and a general interest in the religious and intellectual life of the young, are also of advantage.

The opinion is strongly entertained by many that catechetical knowledge will spontaneously develop itself. But precisely that which seems easy, even to children, is the most difficult of all. Let Luther be remembered, who owned that he was obliged to give his entire life to the study of the catechism, and yet never could exhaust the study. By way of contrast let a young minister, dried up with speculative and critical knowledge, be imagined as the centre of a circle of animated and joyous children. Does conceit lead one to despise these little ones, and is there in him nothing of the feeling which attracted Christ toward those of whom he said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven"? In that case it were better to acknowledge one's bankruptcy than to sin against the sanctuary of childhood. But if the love exists, and only practice be lacking, the needed remedy may yet be found. It is the task of the Church to provide that remedy. The end in view is not to be attained by hiring a few children through offering rewards, or forcing them into the auditorium as horses are driven in a riding-school, for the purpose of experimenting with them.

must involve a disciplinary element."—Pelt, *Encykl.*, p. 676. "The children's worship must go hand in hand with catechetical instruction and with the several departments of catechetics. It must preserve, nourish, make, and keep alive what these have planted."—Hirscher, p. 568; Vinet, *Past. Theol.*, pp. 229-235; Palmer, p. 536, *sqq.*; Kraussold, p. 179, *sq.*; Zezschwitz iii, p. 615. In the language of the early Protestants of Germany, recitations from the catechism were explicitly termed "praying," a usage still in vogue in some sections of Switzerland.

The pastor should seek out the children in their sphere as he would look for plants in their natural soil. All young pastors, even those who are not constrained thereto by motives of economy, should endeavour to secure opportunity for the teaching of children. Even the scientific instruction of the young forms a valuable preparation for religious teaching, and the teaching of language and history especially will afford those gymnastic advantages which were elsewhere looked for from the Socratic method. The ability to tell a story or relate an incident well is a special art to be acquired only by practice. But the religious disposition and continued participation in the religious life are, here as elsewhere, a prime necessity. Every opportunity afforded the theological candidate to teach a Bible class, or conduct a Sunday-school, should be thankfully embraced all through his theological studies. To observe a thorough catechist while surrounded by the children, and with him to enter into the thought and feeling of the children, will quicken the mind and impart courage. Hirscher beautifully says: "Fortunate art thou if nature has provided thee with rich endowments; but, however this may be, let there be no lack of effort to secure what may depend upon thyself. A real enthusiasm will richly supply what nature might have bestowed in but inferior measure."¹

SECTION VIII.

HISTORY OF CATECHETICS.

Comp. Langemack (died 1740), *Historia Catechetica* (Stralsund, parts 1-3, 1739-40); Köcher, *Katechetische Geschichte der päpstlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1738; Schuler, *Gesch. d. katechet. Rel.-unterrichts unter d. Protestanten von der Reformation bis 1762* (1766), Halle, 1802; Gilbert, *Christ. Catechet. hist.*, P. I., *tres priores setates complectens*, Lips., 1835; Dithmar, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. katechet. Unterrichts*, Marburg, 1848; Ehrenfeuchter, *Gesch. d. Katechismus mit bes. Berücksichtigung d. Hannover. Landeskirche*, Gött., 1857; Mayer, *Gesch. des Katechumenats u. d. Katechese in d. ersten sechs Jahrhunderten*, prize essay, Kempten, 1868; Weiss, *Altkirchl. Pädagogik dargestellt in Katechumenat u. Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrhunderte*, prize essay, Freiburg, 1869; Vinet, *Pastoral Theology* (Skinner's Translation, 2d. ed.), New York, 1861; Kidder, *The Christian Pastorate*, Cincinnati, 1871; Elliott, *Hermeneutical and Pastoral Lectures*, New York, 1880; Phelps, *Men and Books*, New York, 1882.

The catechumens of the ancient Church were not children; but childhood is already designated in the New Testament (Mark x, 13-19; Eph. vi, 4; 2 Tim. iii, 15) as called to participate in the kingdom of God. With regard to the relation held by catechumens, and the different classes to which they belonged (*ἀκροώμενοι, γονυκλίνοντες, κατηχούμενοι, φωτιζόμενοι*), consult the best works on ecclesiastical history. Zezschwitz says:² "Ecclesiastical antiquity has no knowledge of a *τέχνη κατηχητική*, or catechetical art. The latter appears in that character at a time

¹ Page 724.

² Page 15.

when the governing idea is no longer the catechumenate, but the function of teaching." The Apostles' Creed furnished the subject matter of instruction at an early period. But distinctively catechetical discourses were also in vogue, together with addresses delivered on the occasion of reception into membership. This we see in Cyril of Jerusalem, and in the Catechetical Discourse of Gregory of Nyssa. A guide for the instruction of adult catechumens was given by Augustine in the treatise on Catechetical Questions, addressed to the deacon Deogratias, at Carthage.

The situation was changed when the baptism of children had become more general, and Christianity had been made the religion of the state. Then catechetics became, in consequence, more largely what it is in our day—a teaching of the young. Charlemagne rendered valuable service by providing for such teaching. The Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer were taught in addition to the Creed. These were termed Leading Articles, which extended also to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The monks Otfrid, of the Weissenburg monastery in Alsace, and Kero of Notker Labeo, of St. Gall, wrote the first catechisms. A clear view of the position of catechetics in the fifteenth century is given in the Picture Catechism, published by Geffcken, in Leipzig, in 1855. The Waldensian Catechism represented an evangelical tendency. The Wicliffites and Hussites (Bohemian Brethren) were also interested in the religious education of the young, which had been so terribly neglected by the Church in the lifeless and mechanical state in which it had become immersed.¹ Among Roman Catholics, upon the Reformation, the Chancellor Charlier Gerson constituted a notable exception, assuming the position of catechist in his own person, and also furnishing the priests with a guide for catechization, though in very general outlines merely, in his treatise on Drawing the Poor to Christ.

The first agency to perform thorough work, however, was the Luther's two Reformation. Luther, while engaged in the visitation catechisms. of the churches, in 1528, became convinced of the need for providing the people with a "good, simple, unvarnished catechism," a "lay Bible which should embrace the entire contents of Christian doctrine." This called forth his two catechisms, the smaller being intended for children and the larger for teachers.²

¹ Comp. Herzog's Waldenser, 4, supplement, p. 458; and Zetzschwits, Katechismen d. Waldenser u. Böhmischen Brüder, Erlangen, 1863.

² Different editions by Stier, Parisius, Purgold, etc. See Winer, Handbuch d. Literatur, complementary vol., p. 199.

They constituted the basis of religious instruction during a long period, and engaged the attention of numerous commentators. Luther is still a model as respects the true catechetical style in point of hearty and naïve mode of expression.¹ The Reformed Church, too, did not remain behindhand. *Œcolampadius*, in his *Report on Children*,² and *Leo Judæus*,³ and *Calvin*,⁴ led the way. The *Heidelberg Catechism*, composed by *Zacharias Ursinus* and *Caspar Olevianus*, became as famous as the *Heidelberg Catechism*. catechisms of Luther, having been translated into nearly every language, and been made a symbolical book of the Reformed Church.⁵

The older catechists did but little theorizing, the amount contributed in this direction being limited, upon the whole, to noteworthy hints in individual works. But a special emphasis was placed upon the matter in the state churches by the ordering of sermons on the catechism by the authorities of the Church.⁶ But there was no absolute lack of theoretical instruction. The catechism of *David Chyträus*, at *Rostock* (1554–1604), assumed the form of popular dogmatics, but secured a wide acceptance by reason of its clear arrangement and precision.⁷ We may mention the following additional works: *Hyperius*, on *Catechetics* (1570, republished by *A. Schmidt*, *Helmstedt*, 1704); *Alsted*, *Catechetical Theology* (*Hanov.*, 1622); *Dietrich* (died 1669), *Catechetical Institution* (1613); *Maukisch*, the commentator of *Dietrich* (1653); *Kortholt*, *Encouragement for Catechetical Instruction* (1669), and *Trotzendorf*. These authors are the most widely known theorists between the time of Luther and that of *Spener*. Leading authors between Luther and Spener.

¹ "The catechism of Luther," says *Herder*, "must be fervently committed to memory and retained forever." *Comp. Harnack*, *Der kleine Katechismus Luthers in seiner Urgestalt*, *Stuttg.*, 1856. *Comp. Vilmar* (*Pastoraltheol.*, p. 104) with reference to its advantages over the *Heidelberg* from a pedagogical point of view. *Zeitzschwitz* (*Katechetik*, ii, p. 265, *sqq.*) furnishes a "historico-critical estimate" of the material of catechetics.

² Reprinted in the *Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften d. reform. Kirche*, vol. ii, pp. 296 ff.

³ Newly published by *Grob*, *Winterthür*, 1836.

⁴ *Henry*, ii, pp. 160, *sqq.*

⁵ Originally issued in 1563. An edition in the form of the original edition, published by *Wolters*, 1864. *Bethune*, *Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*, *N. Y.*, 1868. See a judicious estimate of this work, as contrasted with the depreciatory treatment accorded to it in the days of rationalism, in *G. Müller*, *Theophil.*, *Zurich*, 1801, p. 318. *Comp.* also the more recent works of *Zyro*, *Sudhoff*, *Güder*, *Bender*, *Krummacher*, and others.

⁶ *Comp. Rudelbach*, *Ämtliches Gutachten üb. d. Wiedereinführung der Katechismus-examina*, etc., *Dresden*, 1841.

⁷ *Krabbe*, *Chyträus*, pp. 45, 46.

The last-named theologian, Trotzendorf, gave a new impulse in this field by the publication of his *Catechetical Tables* (1683), and also by his *Thoughts on Catechetical Information*, published by a friend in Halle, in 1815.¹ The principal query with Spener was, "How shall we connect the head with the heart?" Seidel, of Berlin (1717), and others, followed in his track. Oetinger, too, is important in this connexion because of his *Historical and Moral Storehouse of Catechetical Directions*, which appeared in 1762.²

In the orthodox school, Fecht, of Rostock (died 1716), delivered lectures on catechetics, and combined catechetical practice therewith. Additional guides to catechization were furnished by Rambach in his *Well-Instructed Catechist*, which appeared in 1722; by Buddæus (died 1729), in his *Catechetical Theology*, which appeared in two volumes in Jena, in 1752, and by others. In the Reformed Church, Osterwald (died 1747) endeavoured to bring into vogue, through the medium of his widely circulated *Catechism* (Amsterdam, 1707), a more independent treatment, which should accord with the needs of the time. But his effort resulted in his substituting the subjectively abstract element of natural religion and morality for the earlier concrete and objective modes of expression sanctioned by the usage of the Church. The rationalistic revulsion in education, caused in the latter half of the eighteenth century by Basedow, Salzmann, and other philanthropical schoolmen, reacted also upon catechetical instruction.³ The aim was to counteract, by the process of a free development of the faculties of the soul, a merely mechanical method and a dead orthodoxy.

But the result was a lapse into the opposite extreme. The positive subject matter was frequently lost in the process of shallow argumentation, and in this way a false Socratism came into being, which could be confined within appropriate limits only after long-continued struggles. The so-called "philanthropic" method found "Philanthropic" adherents, though with modifications, in Miller, in his method.

Directions in the Art of Catechising (1778, 1782, 1788); in Rosenmüller, *Directions in Catechising* (1763, 1793), and others. Schmid treated catechetics in an entirely formal way, as we see in his *Catechetical Handbook* (Jena, 1791, 1792-99, 1801, 3 vols.). Graeffe, finally, carried the rationalistic formalism of questions to

¹ Comp. Thilo, Spener als Katechet., Berlin, 1840.

² Comp. the *Süd-deutscher Schulbote*, 1855, 1-4.

³ Comp. Salzmann, *Die wirksamste Mittel Kindern Religion beizubringen*, 3d ed., Leips., 1809. In his Konrad Kiefer he raves against the catechism, and allows little Konrad "to pluck pigeons" instead of handing him the book!

its highest point. He may, therefore, be considered the representative of the older rationalistic catechetics, based on Kantian principles in religion and morals, while Dinter, on the other hand, succeeded in overcoming formalistic narrowness and dryness by a more vivid and original apprehension of the matter of religious teaching. Still, in his dogmatic opinions, he did not forsake the rationalistic point of view.

The religious element, and, more particularly, the peculiarly Christian features of that element, was regarded by Daub and Schwarz as being the essential thing, a view that was in the strongest contrast with the former method. A more profound apprehension of the whole subject, however, has been attained through the influence of the Schleiermacher school—as we see in *Services of Rutenik and Schweizer*—though the process was not *Schleiermacher*. unaccompanied by the danger of making the dialectical element prominent at the expense of the emotional.

The Jesuits and related orders acquired entire control of the education of youth in the Roman Catholic Church, the Larger (1554) and Smaller (1566) Catechisms of the Jesuit, Peter Canisius (died 1595), being highly esteemed, in addition to the Roman Catechism, which received the sanction of the Council of Trent, in 1566. The theory of catechetics, likewise, was not neglected by the Jesuits.¹ But even Roman Catholic catechetics did not escape the influence of the age in later times.² Here, too, an animated and Christian mode of treatment obtained the victory over every sort of lifeless formalism.

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² See M. Vierthaler, *Geist der Socratik*, Salzburg, 1796.

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 Al. Schweizer, *Leitfaden zum Unterricht in der christl. Glaubenslehre für reifere Katechumenen*. Zürich, 1840.
 See Winer, *Handbuch der Theol. Literatur*, vol. ii, p. 213, *sqq.*; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, articles *Catechetics*, *Catechism*, and *Catechumena*, vol. ii, pp. 148-154.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CATECHETICS. •

There have been many English works on the Catechism of the Church of England. Among these we may mention:

- Barry, *Notes on the Catechism*. 2d ed. Lond., 1868.
 Williams, *A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism, with Proofs from Scripture*. A new ed. Lond., 1841.

The individual Churches have each produced their catechism, which, in many cases, have undergone important modifications. For the names of these, and works written on them, we refer to the denominational literature of each of the great communions. See Hurst, *Bibliotheca Theologica*, pp. 284, 267, 328. New York, 1883.

SECTION IX.

THE THEORY OF WORSHIP—LITURGICS.

To comprehend the nature of Christian worship as a whole, and the field of the various elements by which it is modified in particular, is the scientific task of liturgics. Upon the manner in which it is performed will depend, in great measure, both the general organization of the public Christian worship and the administration of its several details. The former is included in the department of Church government, the latter in that of Church ministrations.

It is the task of the philosophy of religion and of ethics to point out the necessity of public worship. It is, first of all, important to arrive at the understanding of such worship as being a necessity of the common life of Christianity instead of a mere court-ceremonial; or, at most, a moral stimulus for the masses. The nature of worship, which Hegel terms "the highest deed of the human spirit,"¹

¹ In harmony with that view, and carrying the idea further into its details, Rothe calls worship an *action*, and more particularly an action to be performed in common—an internal, ethical, spiritual action, the highest which the Christian may perform.

must be deduced from the nature of religion and of Christianity. It is, therefore, the first duty of liturgics to apprehend the idea of public worship as an ethically justified and obligatory act on the part of the congregation. The constituent elements of the worship are afterward to be recognised in harmony with their liturgical importance and their relation to each other, as they stand upon the basis of that fundamental principle. This is also the point at which the relation of worship to art, in the strict sense, is to be determined. The Church is not simply an educational institution, as those seem to suppose who centre the entire worship in the sermon, and regard everything else, such as singing, prayer, the sacraments, and the benediction, as mere additions.

Bähr says: "In no other religion does the religious community appear to be so necessary and essential as in Christianity. The idea of a church, whether local or embracing the whole of the Church, is eminently peculiar to Christianity, and attains to the full dignity of truth in it alone. Christianity assumed the form of an independent religion for the first time when it appeared in and with the form of a community, and it lives and continues on from age to age only in that form. . . . The Church, united by the ties of a common Lord and a common faith, not only sustains a doctrinal relation to Christ, but also a vital connexion like that of the body to the head. But it appears as such, as a whole, only in the public worship."¹ Also Palmer, in his treatise on Practical Theology, says: "In the celebration the Church presents herself in bridal array; at such times we should, before all else, be filled with joy and exultation, excited by the reflection that it is a glorious privilege to belong to the Church, to be identified with and live in it."² Schenkel's idea, shared, however, by many others, that public worship is merely a means for the exciting of piety, and that it has no end in itself, grows out of his warped view of religion generally.

Worship must be conceived as the common act of the congregation in which the religious life of its members finds expression under the form of devotion. Such expression takes shape partly in the word and partly in the symbol.³

¹ Page 351.

² Comp. *supra*, § 12. We concede fully that a mere participating in the worship is not necessarily religious, and that facility in the use of forms of worship cannot be a substitute for universal piety (p. 171); but this is pronouncing judgment upon mock-worship merely, which stands related to the true and sacred worship of God as artificiality does to art, or hypocrisy to religion. Here, too, the rule applies: *abusus non tollit usum*.—Dogmatik, p. 172.

³ Ehrenfeuchter's conception (§ 33) of Christianity, as the end of all symbols, can hold good only in so far as the symbol is regarded as being veiled and obscure;

The nature of the religious, or, more exactly, the Christian, symbol, as distinguished from the legal types of Judaism and heathen nature-symbols, and the relation of the symbol to the Word, can only be understood from the peculiar nature of the religious or Christian life. Ehrenfeuchter says: "It would be as silly to apologize for religion because it has a system of worship as to excuse the soul for having a body. Some desire to attribute the worship to the sensuousness of man alone. . . . But on this method no one would suspect the eternal law of life, by which everything that is real is also possessed of the power to express itself in figurative form, and to manifest itself in the fulness of life and energy."¹ The place of the sermon in the worship is likewise determined by liturgics, so that homiletics itself is, in a broad sense, a part of liturgics.² In a different point of view the sermon, nevertheless, extends beyond purely liturgical limits, and unfolds in its independent movement a conformity to law which is no longer included in the domain of liturgics. All worship is based upon action and reaction, upon mutual incitement according to settled laws, which modify its organism, and upon which its earnestness, dignity, solemnity, practical fruitfulness, and power to edify, depend.

This, accordingly, is the place for discussing the contrast between the formally restricted and the free, the established and the movable, the devotional and the festal, what has been historically transmitted, and what is demanded by the present time.

A sound theory of worship will maintain a true medium between that settled uniformity of a lifeless mechanism which moves in the world of empty ceremonies, and a frivolity which is possessed of a mania for novelty and adherence to the fashion of the times, and which elevates its unsettled and superficial notions to the place of what has been tested and shown to be of worth.³ It also distinguishes between a superabundance

Province of a sound theory of worship.

mystification has an end. But Christianity has, on the contrary, developed a noble, free, consciously-spiritual symbolism, upon which the worship is necessarily based, and which Ehrenfeuchter himself has profoundly and fervently apprehended under the idea of an "ideal art." Pp. 253, 275, and elsewhere.

¹ Page 51.

² This is also the view of Palmer, p. 352. Comp. Hagenbach, *Liturgik u. Homiletik*.

³ Even a better and really religious subjectivity has its limits. Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 76, observes with justice that "when the attempt is made to enforce the universal acceptance of an individual poetic view, which may possibly be profoundly true for the individual, and afford him wondrous comfort, the only result will be a hardening of the poetic element and a petrification of the religious. For the poetic feeling of an individual is transitory, and even has its highest charm in the fact of its

of what may be perceived by the senses, and that rationalistic soberness which dreads all that is imaginative.¹ It will know how to discover those elements of art which are most nearly related to the religious life, and be obliged to carefully distinguish between the sacred and the profane, the necessary and the accidental, that which has been made from that which has developed. Fluctuating and unsettled states, in this regard, will increase in proportion as our stay upon the soil of practice without principles, on the one hand, and of impractical theories on the other, is protracted.

A general interest in the liturgical regulation of our Church affairs has, however, been aroused, and the theory of worship has been reconstructed from its foundations. It is only to be regretted that bridges leading over from the region of speculation to that of practice are so few, the result being that the learner, whose immediate object is to qualify himself for the service of the Church, is, with all the abundance of theory at command, left in ignorance with respect to the course he should adopt. The simple restoration of what is old, toward which the tendencies of the present age are directed from certain quarters, will by no means furnish a solution of the problem. What is needed is a living worship, which shall address both the intellect and the feelings. Upon ^{Need of a living worship.} this consummation science needs to fix its eye, pursuing its course

evanescent character, in the isolation of each separate moment which blooms forth with enlivening influence from the prosaic conditions of the actual world. . . . Such play of the imagination and the feelings gives rise to the arbitrary character of particular services (*ἰδιωτικαὶ λειτουργικαὶ*).” “A misunderstanding of the significant difference which exists between public and family worship works serious injury at this point.”—*Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹“This is the pietistic view, which attaches no importance whatever to the outward features of the worship, and perhaps regards it as being in contradiction with itself, or with the idea upon which it rests. With this coincides the rationalistic view, in that it separates the interests of freedom from those of necessity, and maintains that the Christian religion is only designed for the needs of individuals, and requires that each one should be pious for himself; that no value is to be attached to outward union for the purposes of a common worship, because this will constitute a limitation of individual liberty.”—Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 75. Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, *Liturgie*, § 38. On the relation of Protestantism to art, comp. Meyer, *Das Verhältniss der Kunst zum Cultus*, Zurich, 1837; Grueneisen, *De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto*, Stuttg., 1839, 4to; Protestantismus u. Kunst, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1839, 4, No. 8, pp. 287–322; *Der Protestant. Gottesdienst u. d. Kunst in ihrem gegenzeitigen Verhältnisse*, St. Gall, 1840; Lange, *In welchem Verhältnisse steht die Reformirte Kirche nach ihrer Lehre u. nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung zur Kunst?* An essay in the *Verhandlungen d. Schweiz. Prediger-gesellschaft*, St. Gall, 1844; Schnaase, *Verhältnisse d. Kunst zum Christenthum u. besonders der evangel. Kirche*, Berl., 1852; Koopmann, *Der evangel. Cultus u. d. Kunst*, Darmst., 1854, and Kottmeier, *Darstellung des Heiligen durch d. Kunst*, etc., Bremen, 1857.

until the time shall arrive when the understanding, having been matured by thorough study, shall yield its fruitage as well in the practical life as in other domains.

SECTION X.

CONTRAST BETWEEN PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGICS.

In the Protestant minister's circle of studies that part of liturgics which relates to ministrations in the Church, or to direct administration, will require less space proportionately than that which has to do with the government of the Church, and consequently with the devising of methods. The contrary to this is the rule in the Roman Catholic Church.

The word liturgics points primarily to the already existing service for the Church, the Liturgy.¹ The more complicated such service is, the more time will be needed for acquiring the mechanical readiness which is necessary to its performance. It is apparent that theology will be in a very low state where the whole of the theological course is expended upon a mechanical training of this sort for the clerical office. Regions still exist within the Roman Catholic Church where nothing more than such a mechanism is required. But Roman Catholic theology is not at its best in such localities. Wherever it bears the character of a science, it seeks, rather, to penetrate by the way of speculation into the inner sanctuary of worship, and to justify its meaning and importance to the thinking mind.² But there is no

Mechanical liturgy in Roman Catholicism.

¹ Comp. the lexicons on *λειτουργός*, *λειτουργεῖν*, *λειτουργία* (Luke i, 23; Heb. viii, 2; ix, 21; x, 11), formed out of *λῆτρος* (*λήτρος*, from *λαός*, *λαός*), the equivalent of *δημόσιος*, and *ἔργον* (*munus publicum*); hence *ἔργον τοῦ λαοῦ* = *τοῦ λαοῦ* is equivalent to *λεῖπον ἔργον*. See also the Apol. Conf. Aug., p. 270 (ed. Hase), where the ancient use of the word is well expounded. On the ecclesiastical and Levitical meaning of the word in the New Testament, comp. Bleek on the respective passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The derivation from *λῆτή* (*λῆταί*, *process*, whence is derived the word *litany*) is erroneous. The Latin word *cultus* (Gr. *λατρεία*) answers to the German words "Gottesdienst" (divine service) and "Gottesverehrung" (worship of God), which have been frequently objected to, especially the former, though unjustly. See Pelt, p. 100. Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 63, says, that "he only who has been made free by God, and been born again into the liberty of the children of God, can resolve to enter upon the service of God, in which alone man can be truly free."

² "In our days," observes a Roman Catholic writer, "praise will be given by all rational persons to him who has sufficiently sharpened his intellectual vision to enable him to find again in the worship of the Church the royal robe with which the incarnated Son of God was enveloped, and to interpret all its forms in the spirit to which its origin is due."—Most, Die liberalen Principien auf dem Gebiete des Cultus, in Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift, 1847, No. 1.

breaking through the bounds of what has been traditionally received and what already exists, and Roman Catholic liturgics is, therefore, compelled to struggle always with the same task in reference to worship, which oppresses the scholastic theology of Roman Catholicism with reference to dogma, namely, to secure an after understanding of matters which already exist. "The theory has more the character of a statute than of an internal and necessary law."¹

This is not the case with Protestant liturgics. This is continually employed upon the task of constructing a system of worship which shall perfectly correspond to the Protestant principle, and to the needs of each particular time. It does not become contemplation merely with reference to the already finished edifice of the temple, but is essentially constructive, and we always find it engaged with line and compass in the study of the plan. It does not aim to secure a definite conclusion of its labours for all subsequent time, but to carry forward the development, within certain limits to be by itself appointed, of what is capable of being developed. There can, accordingly, be no idea of a mechanism in the performance of liturgical services, and the specifically technical features connected therewith can only consist in the personal appropriation of things that are prescribed, and in a personal entering into the spirit of the worship. The liturgical capability of the Protestant clergyman will, therefore, be manifested by a spiritual reproduction of what is prescribed by the Church, and is to be attained less in the way of practice than in that of inward consummation. For, it is certain that even the simplest of liturgical services, such as the offering of prayer in the presence of the congregation, the administering the sacraments, and the pronouncing the benediction, are more appropriately and fervently performed by him who has penetrated the mystery of religious feelings and their public representation, than by him who, having no sympathetic feeling, simply performs a duty which is officially assigned to him. Every *opus operatum* is a negation of the Protestant principle, the death of liberty, and a turning away from the internal to the external.

This leads to a further distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgists, namely, that the Protestant clergyman, in his liturgical functions, sustains a different relation toward the congregation from that sustained by the Roman Catholic. While the latter ministers in sacred things by virtue of his priestly character, even where no

¹ Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 68; compare § 16, and Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 198.

Protestant liturgics.

Necessity of religious feeling.

Difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgists.

congregation is present, or, when it is present, still only before it, and never in and with the congregation,¹ the Protestant liturgist represents in person the priesthood of the whole congregation. He expresses in Church prayers only what all mentally repeat, and, if he sing, his voice is lost in the volume of praise by the whole congregation. The sacraments, even, are administered by him as the officer designated by the congregation, and set apart by the Church. He shares with the Roman Catholic liturgist, indeed, in being bound by the rule established by the Church, but not in the same degree, nor in the same manner. Many consider it, no doubt, a prerogative of Protestantism to afford absolute license, and such license has occasionally been carried to a high pitch, certainly not to the advantage of real Protestantism.²

To assume that the preacher offers prayer simply as a preacher, since "the prayer must be his own work as much as the sermon," is erroneous. A clear distinction must be made, at this point, between the homiletical and the liturgical elements.³ No restraint is imposed upon him with respect to the former by homiletical rules, and he is certainly expected to come before the congregation with prayer as well as speech. The more the congregation recognises in the preacher's personal piety the acme of the religious life of the community,⁴ the less will he refuse to perform a service which he must consider, in this precise form of service (*λειτουργία*), as being the necessary complement to the more independent sermon. The sermon is an inadequate and incomplete feature when not sustained by the whole economy of the worship.

Liturgics in relation to ethics and ecclesiastical law.

Liturgics touches upon the fields of ethics and ecclesiastical law. Here, too, arise the ethical questions concerning the extent to which the liturgist is required to represent the ritual in his own person, and whether he is simply to

¹ Ehrenfeuchter, p. 223.

² "The further development with which such a formal Protestantism violently breaks in upon, and interrupts, the course of liturgical tradition, is a progress into vacancy, and the setting to rights and clearing up are a transferring into the hands of the individual of what is designed for the Church as a whole."—Marheineke, *Prakt. Theologie*, § 227. Remarks on the license assumed by Protestant clergymen to the injury of the liturgical rights of the congregation occur in Bähr, *ubi supra*.

³ Comp. Al. Schweizer, *Wiefern liturgische Gebete bindend sein sollen?* Zurich, 1836, p. 22, *sq.*, and the discussions of this subject by H. Lang, Bitzian, and Rüfli in the *Swiss Reform*, 1878, Nos. 10, 12, and 15.

⁴ "The bond of union which embraces the entire body must also appear in the single individual, and the organism of the whole show forth in the particular member"—Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 65; comp. p. 346.

make use of its forms of expression.¹ Upon this follows, in immediate sequence, the legal question respecting the authority in which the right to prescribe a ritual is vested, and the extent to which it is allowable for the individual administrator to depart from the established form. Pedantry in Church government may work as injuriously at this point as self-will and arbitrary measures may in connexion with the ministrations of the public worship. Such differences can only exist, however, where the life of the church is hampered in some direction, either because the liturgy has been imposed without the consent of the congregation, or the liturgist has intruded himself into his place. When the minister ceases to be the organ of his congregation and of the Church he is no longer in his proper place. But where he possesses the confidence of the congregation it will not be difficult for him to decide how far he may go in any given case. The being governed by forms, laid down by the legislative authority of his Church, will not be regarded as a burdensome constraint, but as a duty imposed on him by his own convictions as a servant of the spirit rather than the letter. He will thus be enabled to move with freedom and dignity even when guided by such authority.

After all that has been said, however, the question may yet be raised whether Protestantism can recognise a science of liturgics at all? and whether we are not to be guided Protestant recognition of liturgics. in such matters, also, simply by the Holy Scriptures?

The latter must certainly be the authoritative standard here as everywhere. Principles such as are contained in John iv, 24, and Matt. vi, 7, will ever continue to be governing principles, and the Lord's Prayer will remain a model for all other prayers. But this does not imply that the liturgical forms of the apostolic age, which are not even well understood by our age, should be retained as an inalienable heirloom for all subsequent time. A literal retention of this kind would even destroy the higher conception of worship. The idea of the Lord's Supper would be entirely lost if, for example, it were maintained that exactly twelve should be seated at one table whenever it is administered. What could be more erroneous than the assumption that, since the early Christians did not yet possess the New Testament Scriptures, it is requisite that only Old Testament Scriptures be made the subject of preaching and Old Testament psalms be sung? On this view it would be wrong to celebrate Christian festivals, and we should be obliged to observe

¹ The above follows a distinction made by Schleiermacher, and has been opposed by v. Cölln and Schulz (Leips., 1881). Comp. Schleiermacher in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1821, No. 1, and the replies of the above, Leips., 1881.

the ancient Sabbath with the Jews and the Sabbatarian sects. It is, therefore, with entire propriety that Ehrenfeuchter observes,¹ that it certainly is the aim of Protestantism to restore primitive Christianity, not, however, in the sense of actualizing its beginnings, but rather its principles. Hence "the sphere of worship includes more than that of the Holy Scriptures."² Hence, also, Protestant liturgics is presented with the great and far-reaching task of "ascertaining and representing the eternal forms of worship."³

SECTION XI

FORMS OF WORSHIP AND THEIR RELATION TO ART.

The essential elements of Protestant worship are the sermon, ^{Elements of} which is based upon the word of God, the united prayer ^{worship.} and singing of the congregation, and the benediction, which concludes the service. The highest point of Protestant worship is attained in the periodical celebration of the Lord's Supper, whose leading characteristic is that of a feast. The distribution of the various liturgical observances, the relation they are to sustain toward each other, and the more or less festal character they are to bear, will be determined by the ecclesiastical year, the periodically recurring festal seasons which it includes, and the wisdom and care of the pastor. All forms of art which have no immediate relation to the living Word are referred to the background at this point, and are designed at most to promote an auxiliary object, not directly aiming at an increase of devotion.

It must be conceded that not all Protestant liturgists are agreed upon the above statements. Many have maintained ^{The eucharistic element.} that the eucharistical feature especially should not be wanting in any form of divine service, and that all else should, as in the Roman Catholic Church, tend to give prominence to it as the principal end in view, even the sermon being made to occupy

¹ Page 72.

² Ibid., p. 166: "The sphere of worship is always extended over an existence of actual joy in God, over a present filled with the consciousness of God, while the sacred writings always, by their form, refer back to what is past."

³ Ibid., p. 75: The ancient Church in general deserves, next to the apostolic age, to be consulted, together with its forms of worship, whenever a reconstruction of the worship is in question, but it is not necessary that their example be anxiously imitated. It should be discriminately used with reference to the needs and conditions of the present time. Comp. Simon, *Die apostol. Gemeinde-u. Kirchenverfassung*, Poted., 1851; Abeken, *Der Gottesdienst der alten Kirche*, Berl., 1853; Harnack, *Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst im apostol. Zeitalter*, Dorpat, 1853.

a secondary position in this regard.¹ It cannot be denied that the Lord's Supper constitutes the summit and crown of the common worship. But it is to be questioned whether its too frequent repetition would not lead to a loss of real solemnity and fervour of disposition, and to its being degraded into an *opus operatum*. This assertion of the eucharistical feature with which the demand for a purely liturgical service, without the sermon, is connected, has its excuse in the one-sided view which led Protestantism, particularly of the Reformed type, to lay stress for a time upon the sermon as being the only element of worship which is absolutely essential. That the sermon should constitute the central feature of the service, even though but in a formal way, is entirely proper, and in harmony with the position everywhere assigned to the word of God in the organism of Protestant worship. But it should be remembered that the word of God does not secure a proper recognition through the sermon only, and that the latter is not in any sense its only exponent.² The original representative of the word of God is the Bible itself. For this reason the reading of a section from the Scriptures is included among the elements of public worship.³ But it is necessary that the congregation be afforded opportunity for self-edification, upon the basis of God's word, for giving expression to the

Plan of the sermon in worship.

¹ *E. g.*, by Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, Rostock, 1847, 2d ed., 2 parts, 1858-59, and since then by many others.

² Bähr, *ubi supra*, has directed attention upon this point with emphasis, and often with keen irony; but he goes too far in the direction of undervaluing the sermon. Ehrenfeuchter (§ 87) assigns to the latter its true position among the different elements of the worship by conceiving of it as their formal centre. Comp. also Vinet: It is being recognised with increasing clearness in the Reformed Church that the attention is not to be fixed alone upon the hearing of a sermon in connexion with the public worship, but that the direct participation of the congregation is absolutely requisite. Comp. Coquerel (file): What is adoration and worship but an art by which he who adores puts himself in true and actual relation with Him whom he adores? . . . Nothing which is passive alone constitutes the highest worship. The being present and listening is not an act, and consequently not worship. *Le Culte tel que Dieu le demande* (Paris, 1853). This is a rationalistic view, and should be qualified.

³ These lessons are not simply needed for the purpose of acquainting the people with the Scriptures, although this was formerly the case, when the Bible was not so generally circulated as at the present. But the united listening in the Church is very different from the private reading at home. Comp. Palmer, *Homiletik*, p. 370. R. Rothe wrote from Rome, "The mere listening to the reading of the Scriptures in the Christian congregation has always been a rich blessing and enjoyment, to me at least, although I have not unfrequently been deprived of them by their discussion *pro and con*." In Nippold, p. 860: In the Reformed Church it is usual, in some localities, to read the Decalogue, but it is better to make independent selections suited to each separate occasion. The ancient Church had its lectors.

impressions received, and to elevate itself into immediate communion with God.

Prayer and singing are exponents of the word of God equally with the sermon, in so far as they are based upon, and originate in, that word. Even the sermon can only be a word of God to the congregation when it is not only based upon the Bible, but is supported by the common devotion, and, so to speak, grows from it as its appropriate soil. It is necessary, therefore, that prayer and singing on the part of the congregation should both precede the sermon, for the purpose of exciting devotion and collecting the minds of the people, and follow it, to reproduce and fix the impressions received.¹ They form a species of antiphony to the sermon, while the benediction which follows constitutes the symbolical conclusion of the whole.*

It is for liturgics to decide what is the relation sustained by prayer and singing to each other and to the sermon, and in what order the several parts are to succeed and support each other. Probably a hymn of general character, not directly related to the sermon, will furnish the most appropriate introduction for divine service, to be followed by the prayer. The prayer should conclude with the Lord's Prayer. Its character involves that it should be introductory, and calculated to excite devotion, but at the same time adapted to call forth that contrite disposition whence springs a real desire for salvation. Then follow Scripture selections, and then singing, with special reference to the sermon, and afterward the sermon. The closing prayer may have direct bearing on the sermon, and be shaped by its thought. It is designed to fix the impression wrought by the sermon, but must lead over into the general worship again. At this point intercession is in place. The closing hymn and benediction form the end.

It is of advantage to the nature of devotion that the different services of the Church be not equal in the extent and fulness of their liturgical elements. The average medium is found in the Sunday services, which are more extended than the week-evening services. The more joyous a divine service is designed to be, the more largely may forms of art be drawn upon in its arrangement, though under the presumption that such forms will possess a strictly religious character. If we examine the available

¹ "The singing falls chiefly to the lot of the congregation, and the preaching is the service of the clergyman; while the functions of both are combined in the prayer, as in a common centre."—Marheineke, *ubi supra*, § 250.

* Rosenkranz, *Encykl.*, p. 340.

forms of art we shall find them to consist in discourse, music, and action.

A large field is open to music. Should it be employed only when connected with words, under the form of singing? Should it be congregational only? Ought it to be interspersed with solo and choir singing, or accompanied with instrumental music, and to what extent?¹ How far may instrumental music be allowed without the accompaniment of song? The limit lies here. As action may, as a rule, be regarded only as an auxiliary to speech, so instrumental music may be regarded only as an aid to the singing.

Religious architecture² also deserves a prominent place among the arts connected with Protestant worship, and beside that of discourse and that of song, not only for reasons of propriety, but also because of the religious and symbolical idea which the edifice is to embody and express.³ But a church edifice, even when the embodiment of an idea, together with the symbolical features introduced into the structure, is not to be regarded as involving any essential element, but merely as an aid to the exciting of devotion, and as exercising an influence to stimulate and support, rather than to direct and govern, the worship. The architectural symbol, therefore, stands upon the border line, upon the same footing as the music of the organ and the ringing of church bells. For it is possible to conceive of a truly elevating Protestant worship from which all of these are wanting, while such worship could find no expression at all in the absence of the sermon, singing, and prayer, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The essential feature, in which Protestant worship differs from Roman Catholicism, is simply its inward nature, freedom, and life—qualities which must not be allowed to give way before any degree of æsthetical refinement. However, it would be equally improper to renounce

¹ "It may be said of the Christian Church, that in the organ it has invented an instrument which combines within itself all the tones which existed singly in separate instruments before its discovery."—Rosenkranz, p. 337. Comp. Herder's poem, *Die Orgel*. Harms pronounced against the organ, as did also the ancient usage of the Reformed Church, which had no better name for it than the "pope's lyre" (!). Comp. Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 112, *sq.*

² Vetter, *ubi supra*. "There is no grander cathedral than St. Peter's Church in Rome; but more beautiful than this, says the cherished Neander, is that Church which consists of two or three Christian souls assembled in the name of Christ."—Merle d'Aubigné in the *Verhandlungen des sechsten evangel. Kirchentags zu Berlin* (Berl., 1858), p. 48.

³ Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, p. 290, *sqq.* This field embraces also the external surroundings of the church edifice, particularly burial grounds and their monuments.

all natural connexion between worship and art, in so far as the latter enters modestly into the service of the Church.¹

Lange says: "Worship is the festal representation of the ideal in the real; while art is the festal representation of the real life in the ideal;" or, "art represents the manifestation of the new world in symbolic form, while longing that it shall come into being; and worship represents the hidden character and the growth of the new world with a yearning that it may appear." Ehrenfeuchter shows ingeniously how man becomes in worship both the material and the manager of it: "The art of comprehending himself in the innermost relations of his life, and of entering into relations with God, is what we demand of every human being. This constitutes the profoundest and truest element of life." F. W. Krummacher beautifully remarks, in one of his sermons, that "art is entitled to a place in the Church. This admits of no doubt; but it is the product, and not the creator, of the new life. The promise is restricted altogether to the word, and the word is accompanied by the generating, while art has only the preserving and refreshing, spirit. Art, moreover, belongs rather to a Solomonic period of the Church than to a Davidic. In the latter it is necessary that the sword of the word should first perform its work. Not until the victory was achieved did the harp and psaltery ring out their notes."²

It follows from this, that worship through the Word still constitutes the heart of Protestant liturgics. To deal with the Word in preaching is the office of homiletics; and liturgics, accordingly, is Limitations of restricted: 1. To the word as connected with the sing-
liturgica. ing (Church hymnology); 2. As emanating from the common feeling in the form of prayer (Church prayer); and 3. As it introduces and accompanies the performance of sacred actions, as in the benediction and the sacraments. The two latter form the ritual. Hence hymn books and the ritual constitute the liturgical apparatus which each Church government is required to provide for the use of the ministrations of the Church, and liturgics is required to furnish the fundamental principles by which the work of providing such apparatus is to be governed. With reference to hymn books, or the text of hymns, it is by no means a question how to provide the Church with hymns which should be modelled upon

¹ "Art," remarks a Swiss pastor (Ritter of Schwanden), "is that St. Christopher who seeks out a lord, serves him faithfully, and does not admit into his mind the thought of being lord himself; and yet so feels his own worth as to be resolved to remain with him only who is the strongest."

² Die Sabbathglocke, Berl., 1853, pp. 178, 179.

any particular liturgical theory. On the contrary, liturgics boldly and gladly makes use of the existing treasures of hymnology in the Church.¹ Hengstenberg says: "The poetry of Protestantism evidently finds its culmination in the Church hymn. In Hengstenberg on religious poetry. opposition to 'the widespread notion which still controls many weak natures, that the worship of Romanism is more poetic than that of Protestantism,' it is asserted, and with truth, that this would be a correct opinion 'if poetry consisted in all manner of mechanical forms and outward ornaments.' But poetry is spirit which speaks to spirit, and the unadorned singing of one of Luther's or Paul Gerhard's hymns with the heart of a living congregation is more poetical than all the allurements which attract the eye and ear in the splendid worship of Roman Catholicism."

To sift our hymns, and discover the gold contained in them, is one of the highest arts of theology. Here, again, it is easy Old hymns not necessarily good. for a view that is based upon the taste of individuals to assert itself, whether it be the fanciful pedantry of affecting what has the flavour of antiquity or the rationalistic soberness which eliminates everything that breathes the aroma of poesy. Not everything that is old is also good. Even among the old there is much that is antiquated, either because it is involved in a dogmatical or ethical conception of the world which has passed away, or because it can no longer be comprehended and enjoyed.² The thing demanded is, accordingly, that hymns of a truly sterling character be sought out with accurate judgment, and that the heart of this class be discovered. But the claims of the new are also to receive due recognition beside the old, though the purity of tone and colour in the latter should be preserved. The Church hymns of the former days often become mongrel forms through an "improvement" which results to their damage, and through their being dressed up *a la mode*, by which means they assume a character which cannot be approved either by good taste or historical judgment. Changes are required in occasional instances, no doubt, but they should be executed with the utmost caution, and it is one of the principal problems

¹ The Reformed Church has long been content to use psalms only. Here, too, it would be a misapprehension of the idea of scriptural worship were the text of spiritual songs to be confined to psalms only. Many of the most beautiful Church hymns are usually revised psalms.

² Evangel. Kirchenzeitung, vol. lxxiv, No. 4, p. 374.

³ See Marheineke, *ubi supra*, p. 256, and Stier, *Erneuerte Rechenschaft über das evangelische Gesangbuch*, Brunswick, 1852.

in liturgics to determine the principles on which they are to be introduced.¹

If the Church hymn belongs to the department of poetry, the prayer involves a form of language which expresses the *Public prayer.* "unity of poetry and prose"—that is to say, of free and yet elevated speech. Every infusion of merely reflective, dogmatizing, moralizing, and logically connecting elements, is to be avoided. The older written forms of Church prayers, while containing much that is strong and robust, were yet often pervaded with a dogmatizing and polemical spirit which could not be edifying; and modern forms often include much sentimental verbiage, or are couched in the tone of merely moralizing preaching. It will be necessary that the appropriate manner and tone of the Church prayer, by which it secures an aspect of due veneration, be retained, and that all effeminacy and insipidity be excluded, while at the same time the structure of sentences is kept sufficiently flexible to avoid the impression of stiffness.²

With reference to the administration of the Sacraments, we may say that they constitute the most fixed and immovable element of worship, especially with regard to the words of institution and consecration, which liturgics is not at liberty to change. The additions, such as preliminary and supplementary prayers, exhortations, and the like, are not so immovably fixed. Such other formulas as relate to specific occasions may receive a more independent and flexible treatment, though the true spirit of the Church may always be retained even in the framing of such formulas.

¹ The preface to Knapp's *Liederschatz* contains valuable directions for this work. Comp. also Herder's preface to the *Weimar Gesangbuch*. Numerous discussions of this question have been had in recent days at Church conferences and synods, and in periodicals, but without arriving at any agreement respecting the principles on which a hymn book for the common use of the evangelical Churches should be composed.

² *Ehrenfeuchter*, § 81.

³ Kapp (in the work mentioned below) has set forth some excellent principles. Comp. also Hebel, *Ideen zur Gebetstheorie* (in *Werke*, vol. vii); we are not to pray "as the awkward members of a guild, and the foremen address each other in a sworn form of greeting, but as dear children approach their beloved father." There is danger, however, that the Church prayer express too great familiarity, as if addressing a mere "friend of the family."

SECTION XII.

THE METHODOLOGY.

The nature of liturgics forbids that facility in its use should be acquired by practice, as may be done with catechetics and homiletics. But the liturgical sense may be variously cultivated, and especially by making of the divine service a vital element for the pastor, in which he feels himself at home. The understanding of liturgical matters is likewise aided in a special degree by familiarity with the older and more recent liturgics, though we may not use them, and particularly by familiarity with the treasures of hymnology which belong to the Church. To this may be added personal practice in singing,—if we have the gift,—an acquaintance with the theory of Church singing, and also an insight into the nature of Christian architecture.

Practice in the leading of the prayers of the congregation may be connected with practice in preaching, but the true ^{The necessity} anointing of the liturgist must be derived from a Higher ^{of divine help.} Power. Fessler says: "The school and extensive reading, industry, and practice, may, when joined to distinguished ability, produce excellent orators, but the forming of a divinely inspired liturgist, who holds full communion with God, is exclusively a work of grace—i. e., of the illuminating, inspiring, and anointing influence of the Holy Spirit."¹ Frölich observes, with striking truth, that "to strike the proper tone with a certainty which shall excite the congregation to join heartily in prayer, and to fill it with devotional feeling, and to hold it fast, and harmonize it with the different turns of the prayer, demands not only all the fervour of which the leader is capable, but also all his skill." . . . In the biography of Spleiss, superintendent at Schaffhausen, he is credited with having prepared himself for the conduct of his liturgical services with the same industry and care which he bestowed upon a sermon; and thus, while his sermons frequently burst forth with excessive vivacity, his liturgical delivery was quiet and restrained. But each word was emphasized with the proper degree of force, and made to express its full meaning, especially in the more important passages.

Every part of the service connected with the worship, and not the sermon alone, must be minutely studied. An expressive and unaffected presentation of these various parts is very rare. Even the ablest preacher may utterly destroy the good influence of the sermon by carelessness in the conduct of the other portions of the

¹ Rückblicke auf meine 70 jährige Pilgerschaft, Breslau, 1826, p. 416.

service, while the lack of personal eloquence may be readily overlooked in the case of a faithful administrator in holy things.

The proper reading of the Scripture lessons is highly essential. They should be selected with great care, their spirit studied, and then read with calm fervour.¹ With regard to singing, the minister is not required to accomplish more than any other member of the Church. But he is still expected to direct the singing to the extent of selecting the hymns which are to be sung. For this purpose, if for no other, a thoroughly intimate acquaintance with the hymn book, unfortunately so rare an acquirement, is of great advantage. Luther went too far when he said, "I will not look at a preacher who cannot sing." The pastor should do all he can, in his appropriate sphere, toward the improvement of the singing by seeing that the congregation are supplied with hymn books, and all possible helps. He cannot, therefore, permit himself to remain in ignorance of the poetical and musical treasures of the hymnology of his individual denomination, or of that of the Church as a whole.

The opportunity of attending public worship while travelling should never be neglected, from religious as well as homiletical and liturgical considerations, the object being to enlarge one's spiritual and mental horizon, and the combatting of prejudices that were previously entertained. A visit, for example, to a congregation of the Moravian Brotherhood will yield to every mind a profitable picture of Christian propriety and liturgical simplicity. Besides, every opportunity for a better acquaintance with the better specimens of ecclesiastical art and architecture should be seized upon cheerfully. No preacher visiting the older countries should neglect any privilege, both in services in the churches and in observation, to enrich his mind for better ministrations after his return home.

With regard to every part of the service, and more especially the administration of the sacraments, everything depends upon a sense of propriety, which itself results from thorough moral culture. At the communion table and the baptismal font the most learned pedant, the keenest critic, and the profoundest speculator, may be put to shame sooner than a simple, properly trained, modest, and inwardly consecrated and anointed servant of God. Such a man as that the preacher—if not that already—should endeavour to become.

¹ Such reading should not be declamatory, but suited to the spirit of the passage, and recitative. Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, p. 352; Bähr, p. 72.

SECTION XIII.

THE HISTORY OF LITURGICS.

Christian worship has developed itself out of the Jewish worship. It was at first simple synagogue worship, then, to an increasing extent, levitical priesthood and temple service, and, finally, a return to the simpler form through the agency of the Reformation. From that point it is possible to distinguish three periods: "The stormy period of the Reformation; then the quiet and often stagnant intermediate period; and, finally, the active and struggling period in which we live."¹

Liturgics is conformed in its method to these successive stages: The apostles already furnished hints respecting the proper behaviour at the time of worship (1 Cor. xi, 22; Eph. vi, 19; Col. iii, 16; James ii, 2, 3). The apostolical constitutions and the liturgies which were promulgated under the names of the Apostle James and the Evangelist Mark, of Jerusalem and Alexandria, are, as is well known, rejected by criticism. With them were connected, in the East, the liturgies of Basil and of Chrysostom, and, in the West, those of Gelasius and Leo I. These last, however, were superseded by the Roman Missal of Gregory I. Milan alone preserved its special liturgy.² When the Romish worship, under the supervision of the papacy, had developed into the ritual of the Romish mass, and the functions of the priesthood had extended over a wider area, it became necessary to provide guides for their conduct, such as Durandus (died 1296), in his *Reason for Divine Offices*, and similar works.

Luther transformed the mass into a simple observance of the Protestant ceremony of the Lord's Supper, and the Reformed theologians rejected both the name and the thing.³ The symbolical books contain the earliest liturgical principles, and they reappear occasionally in dogmatical works in connexion with the Church and the sacraments. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the flourishing period of German Church hymnology, did more in the way of furnishing a liturgical apparatus, such as hymn books and formularies, than in that of discussing the worship itself. It was not until a beginning was made, from the standpoint of modern rationalism, in the work of setting aside the ancient, or of conforming it

¹ Lange, *ubi supra*, p. 109.

² Comp. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus*, Rom., 1649-65; xiii, fol.; Renaudet, *Collectio Liturgiarum orientalium*, Paris, 1716; Daniel, *Codex liturgicus ecclesie universae*, Lips., 1847, *sqq.*

³ Comp. J. C. Funk, *Geist u. Form des von Luther angeordneten Cultus*, Berlin, 1818.

to the so-called "demands of the spirit of the times," or the period of diluting the hymnology of the Church, that new theories were provided to accompany the new liturgical forms. This Rationalistic works. was done by Zollikoffer, Seiler, Diterich, Hufnagel, Wagnitz, and others, first in the journals of the period, and afterward in books. Specimens of these works may be seen in Bastholm's *Improvement of the Outward Worship* (Leips., 1786); Spazier's *Frank Thoughts on the Protestant Worship of God* (Gotha, 1788); Wolfrath, *Questions on Liturgical Subjects* (Hamburg, 1793-94); Burdorf's *Hints for the Improvement of the Festivity of Public Worship* (1795); Jenisch's *Worship of God and Ecclesiastical Reform* (Berlin, 1803), and Reinhold's *Ideas on the Outward Worship* (Neustrelitz, 1805). To these may be added Tzschirner, in his *Cautious Improvement of Sacred Services* (1815), who demands a natural worship of God, and Hebel, in his *Liturgical Contributions*, who admits the emotional element, but too strongly from a subjective point of view. The mystical and Romanizing tendencies, stimulated by the romantic school, likewise asserted themselves by the side of the rationalizing and sentimental tendencies in worship, in Horst's *Mysteriosophy*, and in the works of Fessler, and others.

Gass (died 1831), stimulated especially by Schleiermacher, was the first to provide a really scientific basis for evangelical liturgics, of which the writers mentioned in the literature below availed themselves in the further development of this branch, though generally governed by speculative rather than practical motives. Kapp was more largely practical than any other author. The latest Recent diversity of views. movements within the ecclesiastical territory have given rise to a great diversity of views. This we see in the union of the two Protestant Churches of Germany, and the connected dispute, extending into ecclesiastical law, respecting the ritual, in which Schleiermacher took part. We observe it also in the reaction against the Prussian service book, which emanated from the Old Lutheran party. To these must be added Puseyism, which originated in the Oxford School, and whose fundamental views in relation to ecclesiastical law and liturgics found acceptance in Germany as well. We see it also in Irvingism, which sought to restore a levitical worship.

In the Reformed Church it was felt to be necessary that at least a justification of the peculiar form of worship be furnished. Greater sobriety and caution were manifested from that point, in opposition to an æstheticising, mystifying, and speculative transcendentalism, which does not exclude the recognition of whatever may be more valuable among the possessions of other churches. It is in

place here to recall the unfortunate dispute concerning the ritual in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the hymn book controversy in the Palatinate, in connexion with which such a quiet discussion of principles as was to be desired, and as would have yielded fruit to the Church and to science, was not, in all probability, secured—a proof that not all times are equally prepared to admit of liturgical reforms, and that some will warn against retrogression in matters where others see only progress. Nor has the Roman Catholic Church been free from attempts to reconstruct the worship anew since the close of the last century. Not to dwell upon the Theophilanthropists of France (1796), who endeavoured to introduce a sentimental deism, and the church of the Abbé Chatel at Paris (from 1830), it may be sufficient to mention, in the theoretical department, the Principles of Liturgical Theology, of the Benedictine, Köhler (1788), and Winter's What the Liturgy should Be (Munich, 1809), together with the works of Schmidt, Hnoge, Lüft, and others. Ignatius of Wessenberg rendered especially meritorious service in the ennobling of the worship and the introducing of a German hymnology. His ideal, at all events, was to build up a German Catholic Church, though not of the kind produced in the fourth decade of this century, to which that name was applied. It remains to be seen how far the Old Catholicism of Döllinger and others will succeed in constructing a liturgy.

Controversy in
Baden and the
Palatinate.

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SECTION XIV.

HOMILETICS.

Liturgics determines the nature and form of worship. But homiletics has to determine the nature and form of the Christian sermon alone, and to furnish instruction respecting the mode of expounding the word of God in the congregation, and of presenting it in discourse. Liturgics directs attention to the entire contents of Christian revelation, whence the sermon is to derive its material; and the latter operates partly in the field of hermeneutics and partly in that of rhetoric, though with constant reference to the peculiar nature of sacred discourse, as distinguished from other forms of oratory.

Relation of Liturgics to homiletics.

The word homiletics is derived from *ὁμιλία*. It is usual to understand homilies as denoting only a single class of sermons, namely, those whose unity does not inhere in a theme which is propounded, but in the text, and which approximate to popular forms of speech in their language more than do those of other classes.¹ The ancient usage covered a broader ground with this term, however, and in conformity therewith we use the term homiletics to designate not only the theory of this single form of discourse, but that of the sermon in general. At this point, however, we must fix the limit. Homiletics must not be expanded into a theory of sacred, or even Christian or religious, eloquence, in general. It is possible to conceive of Christian addresses which are not included in the department of homiletics proper; for example, the missionary address (*κήρυγμα*). The latter may be denominated a sermon, in the peculiar biblical meaning of the word; but it, as well as the preaching of the apostles, is nevertheless unlike what our sermons can be, since they are not the product of the impulse of the moment, but bear the character of a regularly repeated and integral part of public worship. Herder remarks,² that "as soon as the sermon ceased to be what it really was in the mouth

Homiletics not a theory of sacred eloquence.

¹ Opinions differ greatly with regard to the propriety of homilies. While Herder has advocated their use, Harms has decided adversely to it, and says: "they fill, but do not satisfy." Schleiermacher was likewise not inclined to regard them with special favour. He considered homilies to be a mere aggregation of separate sermons.

² In *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*, No. 40, the whole of which should be read in this connexion.

of the apostles, a message, it became an exposition of the word of God, its writings and teachings, and an application of what had been read in the midst of a quiet Christian assembly. This was termed a homily, and was not properly an oration."

If it be desired to set forth a theory for the awakening preaching of an apostolic herald, or for the proclamation of the Word among the heathen, it will be found convenient to appropriate to it the name *keryktics*—a term first formed by Stier from the Greek word, *κηρύσσω*, to proclaim.¹ Such preaching precedes, in point of time, even catechetics, while the sermon, as ordinarily understood, is addressed to persons who already belong to the Christian community, so that homiletics carries forward the work of catechetics.

We would not assert that the usual sermon should involve no element of *keryktics*, for many nominal Christians exist to whom the call to repentance needs to be continually addressed, and Schleiermacher pivoted the question upon too fine a point when he excluded all hortatory sermons of this kind. Vinet urges the reality, which is stronger than any theory. It is equally certain, however, that many of our most zealous hortatory preachers miss the mark by incessantly driving the plough, instead of pausing to sow the seed and water it, and cherish the growing blade. By preaching only repentance we always tarry in the court of the Gentiles, and never enter into the most holy place. The needs of advanced Christians and growth in grace should not be disregarded. The treatment accorded to cold and formal Christians within the Church, moreover, is specifically different from that which the actual heathen, who "are without," can receive. An appeal may be addressed to their nominal Christianity, or, better, to the Christian name they bear. They may be reminded of their baptism, and everything may be presumed of them in an ideal sense, though it does not exist in a real form. Their conscience differs from that of the heathen, and discourse addressed to that conscience must differ from that which aims to reach the heathen mind.

Still other forms of discourse might be mentioned which belong

¹ Comp. Nitzsch in Stud. u. Krit., 1832, No. 3, p. 725: "Since it must be admitted that the word homily—whether so used in the New Testament or not, is immaterial in this connexion—does yet, when historically considered, and taken in the meaning assigned to it in the early usage of the Church, denote the function which embraces the whole of the service of the *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, it follows that homiletics is always to be regarded as a leading branch of practical theology by the side of catechetics. The combination of the two is, only in the case of the missionary, however, to be denominated *keryktics*, provided it is still necessary to retain the Greek designations for the sake of brevity, and of associating the conditions of the present with those of antiquity and history."

to the keryktical, and not the homiletical, department; for example, the preaching of the crusades in the Middle Ages, and such free discourses in the open air as the mediæval friars were wont to deliver, or the bazar and street preaching of the most recent period. There is also a class of discourses which belongs within the circle of parliamentary speech, such as conference and occasional addresses. Occasional discourses stand at the very boundary line, and are included more especially under the pastoral or the liturgical function, as they are directed to the peculiar condition and religious needs of the respective persons concerned, or relate entirely to the particular occasion to be utilized. The ordination sermon, for example, grows out of the position held by the ordaining minister under the economy of Church government.

We, therefore, confine our attention to the sermon within the limits of the regular services of the Church, in which it assumes various characters in accordance with the solemnity, be it more or less, of the particular service, being either a Sunday morning or evening sermon, or a more popular discourse in familiar language, as the homily, or a practical exposition of some Scripture. The feature which makes a sermon of the sermon, and distinguishes it from other forms of religious or Christian discourse, is the text¹ or passage of Scripture which does not serve merely as a motto, but is the root from which the sermon must grow. This determines not only the contents of the sermon, which must be scriptural in any case, but also its form. The preacher is not simply a speaker, but also an expounder, with the single qualification that at one time the former function will be more prominent, and at another time the latter. The art of preaching has its

The text.

¹ *Textus* (from *texo*), a texture. Applied to the texture of discourse in Quint., 8, 6; Ammian. Marcellin., 15, 7. Comp. Stephani Thesaur. In the Middle Ages the term *textus* was applied to the Bible itself; comp. du Frêne. It is here given to a particular section taken from the Scriptures, which Campe not inappropriately renders by "Grundspruch" (fundamental theme). Examples are not wanting, in the history of homiletics, of sermons which have no other texts than verses from hymns or sections from the Catechism. But such discourses do not belong within the range of the sermon as fixed by the requirements of a fully developed Protestant worship. They may be serviceable for the work of edification in other directions, but they cannot replace the sermon. Addresses not founded upon a text are, as a rule, better adapted for occasional discourses, but they are termed occasional discourses for that very reason. Texts taken from secular books are even worse than no texts at all. In the Middle Ages sermons were based on Aristotle, later, in the fifteenth century, on Brandt's *Ship of Fools*, and the Rationalist Unitarians of England still draw their texts from Schiller and Byron. An instructive discussion as to whether a text is needed or may be dispensed with, and concerning the special difficulties involved in the being restricted to a text, is contained in Vinet, *Homiletics*, chap. 8.

field of exercise both in the department of hermeneutics and in that of rhetoric. With regard to the former branch we refer to the department of exegesis, treated in this work. With reference to the oratorical branch it is important to assure to pulpit discourse its special field. As religion itself is neither a formal knowing nor a doing, religious discourse likewise differs from those forms of discourse which direct their aim chiefly upon knowing or upon doing. The former class, of course, are not discourses, in a strict sense of the word, but approximate in character to treatises, such as academical addresses or lectures.

The sermon should not be a lecture or treatise. It aims to The sermon not a lecture. enlarge and correct the religious apprehension, but only in order that the religious state of the soul may be more clearly understood and be more unimpeded in its expression. The preacher may not rest satisfied with having wrought conviction in the mind unless it make itself felt upon the heart. It should also pass over into action. The pulpit discourse differs, however, from all such addresses as aim directly to produce action, and in connexion with which the speaker is content with having the object realized which he has in view, without regard to the motive from which it is performed. This is the case with parliamentary and juridical addresses. The older homiletical writers of France distinguished between "eloquence of the bar" and "eloquence of the pulpit." It will be apparent, from this consideration, to what extent Demosthenes and Cicero may be regarded as our models. "The person," says Herder, "who, without qualification, regards the forensic orations of Demosthenes and Cicero as models to which our sermons are to be conformed, has no proper idea of the nature of either the sermon or the forensic address; he has not apprehended the design of either."¹ He elsewhere says: "Preachers cannot, like Demosthenes and Cicero, call forth sudden decisions and resolves to action; they cannot, because they should not; and they should not, because they cannot. There are no Philips before our walls that we should at once rush in wild enthusiasm to guard our gates—this is true, and who has ever wrought to secure that end? There are no felons to be instantly condemned or acquitted—who has ever spoken as if this were the case? But let it be supposed that something of this kind were yet to be devolved upon the speaker, then, teacher, you are compelled to perform the work, and will need to display ability in its accomplishment, or you speak but poorly. If a Christian duty, of whatever kind, ought to be instantly performed, and it were devolved upon you to make

¹ Briefe, No. 40, Werke x, p. 18.

it clear and urge to action, it were weak not to do this despite whatever theory might be employed to furnish an excuse."¹

Should the sermon then aim simply to influence the religious feeling? By no means. A mere gush of feeling is not at all a discourse. The sermon should not be a monologue, an expanded prayer, a meditation in which the preacher appears only in his relation to God and Christ (after the manner of the ancient "speaking with tongues," 1 Cor. xiv, 2), and not in that sustained toward the congregation. This is a fault in which many emotional persons become involved, whose discourses soar upon the air, instead of being directed upon the heart like arrows from the quiver. A discourse is distinguished from the poem by the very fact that it is not a mere outburst of the feelings, but rather a homily, in the etymological meaning of the word—that is, a conversation with the hearer, who is to be regarded as not merely a recipient, but as joining with thought and feeling in the discussion, and possibly as replying to it and raising doubts. Vinet says: "Oratorical discourse thus appears as a contest, a combat; this idea is essential to it. At one time the orator combats an error by a truth, at another he opposes one sentiment to another sentiment. In its just use oratory is a combat waged against errors of the mind and heart with the warfare of speech!"² "The oratorical discourse is a drama, each word of the preacher is a question to which the auditor replies in himself, and his reply becomes a new question to which the orator replies. There is an interior in every oratorical art." Cicero, when asked to point out the result of rhetoric, replied: "Actio, actio, actio."³

We must, accordingly, include the dialectical element also, although this, again, must rest upon a profounder basis, namely, the common feeling of Christianity. But we must not resolve everything into dialectics. The sermon must necessarily be of a parenetic or hortatory character, and aim to excite to resolve and action. But such resolution must likewise grow out of the feeling which has been excited, and out of definite convictions. The sermon is a testimony of Christ and of life in him, and at the same time a proclamation of that life.⁴ It is discourse to an extent, perhaps, not equalled by any other form of address, inasmuch as it addresses the entire man, takes hold upon the inmost depths of his being, discloses that being to his thought, and raises him above himself.

Relation of the sermon to the congregation.

Oratory a conversation.

The sermon a testimony to Christ.

¹ Provinzialblätter, p. 374.

² Homiletics, Skinner's edition, p. 26.

³ Ehrenfeuchter, p. 358, assigns the latter only to the sermon, the former to prayer.

⁴ Comp. Herder, Der Redner Gottes (Werke zur Relig. und Theol., x, p. 475, sqq.).

The individuality of the speaker is, doubtless, more fully displayed in the sermon than in the liturgy. But this must not be understood as implying that his individuality, in the form of personal views, should assert itself in this work, or that the preacher should preach simply himself, or merely human doctrine. Christ attains to a distinct form in each separate individual, and it follows that the individual life can only be properly manifested in the higher peculiarities which it involves, and for the benefit of the common life of the Christian community. We will not, therefore, say that the preacher is required to renounce his individuality. This view presumes a conflict, which, unfortunately, arises in many cases between the convictions of the preacher and those of the Church. It should, rather, be the aim of the preacher to make the asserting of his individuality subserve the spiritual elevation of the congregation, and his human teaching reflect the word of God. For the preacher's individuality is not, in point of fact, to be considered a channel through which water flows, or a glass for the passage of the rays of light. On the other hand, we hold that the preacher is not to annihilate, but to perfect and idealize, his individuality. The speaker, carried along by the peculiarity of his Christian life, pours out upon the congregation what has been developed into life in his own personal experience, and thereby awakens new life in his hearers.¹

But he does this in an artistic form by first stripping off the evil features attaching to his individuality, including everything that is merely subjective and accidental, by permitting the product of his mind to become clear to himself through the process of meditating upon it, and to become, in a true sense, a part of his inner life, and by assuring himself, with an inward certainty that extends down to the individual expression, that he is justified in appearing in this precise manner, and not otherwise, before the congregation, as its speaker, and that he is called to labour precisely in that form. We do not question whether the preacher, by virtue of his official position, is alone competent to perform this function, and
Lay preaching. not other members of the Church as well. Laymen officiated as speakers in the early Church. We consider it proper

¹ Beyer, *ubi supra*, p. 25, separates the idea of the sermon into three parts: (1) The creative; (2) The receptive; and (3) the mediating principle. He finds these three in (1) The word of God; (2) The congregation; and (3) The person of the preacher. "The word of God furnishes the sermon with its life-giving and saving contents, the life derived from God; the adaptation to the congregation gives to it historical and local form; and the mind of the preacher, in which the preceding elements are combined into unity, bestows upon it the power and colouring of personal life."

that our worship be so expanded as to admit of other than settled and stationed ordained preachers. Lay preaching, however, should have clearly defined limits. To judge of the sermon altogether from the pastoral, instead of from the liturgical and lay, point of view, and to consider the pulpit simply as an elevation upon which the one shepherd stands to feed his flock, appears to us an entire misunderstanding of the nature of the sermon. We do not disregard the benefits arising from the bond which joins pastor and people together, but all the gifts and graces for preaching are not confined to him who may be pastor.

SECTION XV.

HOMILETICAL ARRANGEMENT AND MATERIAL.

Homiletics is divided into two parts, the General and the Special. The latter embraces, 1. Invention; 2 Disposition; 3. The Division of elaboration and delivery of the discourse. homiletics. Care is required, however, to avoid the danger of regarding such division in thought as having brought about a real separation in the concrete, and to guard in general against losing sight of the essential character and meaning of pulpit discourse, because of the influence of the arbitrary rules of the schools which have intruded themselves into the different divisions of homiletics.

The theory may be divided in conformity with the two questions, What shall be preached? and How shall it be preached? The limit of sacred eloquence. This was the plan pursued by Augustine in his Christian Doctrine. The matter may be considered in its general and its particular aspects, the general inquiry being, How far does the limit of sacred eloquence extend? That limit is determined by the Christian character. Nothing but what is connected with the Christian life as such,¹ and aims to establish, purify, and perfect that life, may properly be made the subject of homiletical discourse. But nothing that belongs within that circle can be excluded from the range of such discourse. This is, consequently, the place for determining the character of Christian preaching. The sermon should be pervaded by both doctrinal and ethical preaching. The two should interpenetrate each other, though the doctrinal element may at times predominate, and at other times the ethical. To what extent may political matters be discussed? How far may the course of nature, as the changes of the seasons, be regarded? In all these

¹ We assume as self-evident the fact that the standard to which such Christian life is to be conformed is given in the word of God, and particularly in the teaching of Christ and the apostles.

matters good taste and sound wisdom must be observed. There is a time for everything.

The first division of homiletics is the theory of invention. No direct invention, in the ordinary meaning of the word, must be understood. The matter for our preaching was invented long ago. But the duty is devolved upon us of deciding what portion of the existing treasure shall now be presented to the congregation. With what subject should the preacher deal on this day, at this hour, in this particular instance? At this point we again meet the opposing elements of the prescribed and the free. There are certain great general topics, such as Christmas, the new year, Easter, important national days, and public events of paramount interest, which require special treatment, but the device of the text and mode of treatment are the province of the preacher in his individual capacity. To what degree may a preacher be guided by his personal mood? How far may outward circumstances govern his choice? Should he, in his regular ministrations, undertake a doctrinal or an exegetical series? Which parts and books of the Scriptures deserve to be separately treated? Should he select his texts chiefly from the Old or the New Testament? Should he prefer historical to doctrinal passages? Should he choose parables; larger or smaller sections; texts from the gospels, or the epistles, or the apostolic history? Guiding principles are needed in all these matters. There should be no accident or personal whim. Even eminent preachers have allowed themselves to be misled into the effort of exciting curiosity either by selecting peculiar texts or discussing piquant themes. Reinhard and Dräseke in Germany, and many preachers in both England and America, have erred in different directions upon this point; the one being misled by his ingenuity, the other by his wit. Reinhard, however, was tempted to go astray because of the restriction imposed by the topics prescribed by the ecclesiastical calendar. The custom of selecting abbreviated texts, mere starting points of texts, so to speak, prevails especially in the Reformed Church of France. This is very prominent in the sermons of Adolph Monod and Alexander Vinet.

A frequent and living intercourse with the Scriptures, the observation of its practical features, an acquaintance with the human heart, a correct estimate of the preacher's personal disposition, and especially a candid observation of the time and its needs, and of the Church at large as well as the local church, comprehend the secret of homiletical invention, and protect against the intellectual bankruptcy of being preached out, while they also cut off, at the beginning, all temptation to

Conditions necessary for proper texts.

make use of unworthy artifices, such as an attempt to surprise by novelty and originality. A text that has been judiciously selected is worth half a sermon, and brief and striking texts are certainly very effective. Palmer remarks: "It is a beautiful and grand thing for the preacher to have succeeded in striking the proper chord in the very enunciation of his text, and an electrical effect is often produced when the congregation is made to realize at the outset that this is to be the subject which ought to be discussed to-day."¹

When the theme and text have been selected the work of arranging is in order. It is, first of all, necessary to determine the exact relation sustained by the text to the theme, and this decision will govern the further progress of the sermon, the theme being either at once evoked from the text, and then developed more extensively, or, being gradually developed before the hearer's mind, the discourse is strung upon the thread of the text. The former method is synthetic preaching; the latter, analytical. The two methods may frequently be combined and interpenetrate each other, especially when but little attention is bestowed upon unnatural and inflexible divisions, and more regard is had for a natural and attractive grouping of ideas. Arrangement is certainly needed, but not arrangement only. Connexion is also requisite. By this we mean a just distribution of effective points, not only in harmony with the laws of logic, but also with those of rhetoric and art.

Herder strikingly observes of a true disposition of the sermon: "There must be no figure, no clause, no comma, which does not grow, as it were, necessarily out of the theme as a branch and its limbs, or a flower and a leaf of the tree grow out of the root or the trunk. If it be not in this place it is nowhere, and the discourse is incomplete; it has a gap, a vacant place, as we say of paintings. A totally different question is that which asks whether the disposition should be set forth like a naked skeleton. Nature does not follow that plan, and the sermon should be the last to adopt it. Natural arrangement, and a continued analysis of the word of God, form the best disposition for its use."² The best mode of division, however, will always be that in which the connexion of the text determines the structure of the sermon, and where the latter grows out of the text. This, likewise, settles the question concerning the relative value of synthetical or analytical sermons.

The sermon should not be a mere unorganized agglomeration and aggregation of saws and sentences any more than it should resemble a skeleton. A fine human figure is resolved into its component

¹ Page 384.

² Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, No. 45.

members before the observer, but the members have an elastic connexion, and are not articulated with wires. The bones may no more stand out than they may be buried in obesity from sight. So with the sermon. This involves the entire secret of so-called sermonic division. Much pedantry has taken root in this field, but it is once more dying out. The aim was to divide off with the aid of line and compass, and an external symmetry, as in the Artistic division. closely clipped French gardens, came to be considered the law of beauty. A Procrustean bed was made ready, and everything was stretched or cut off until the parts, and secondary parts, were all of equal length. The utmost conscientiousness was employed in measuring and weighing whether a sermon should be divided into two or three parts, or whether more than three could be allowed, and how much space should be allotted to the introduction and every other member. Many preachers even made use of an arrangement obtained from others, as if theft were not a crime, and as if the arrangement and the execution did not mutually determine each other. A master must be competent to fit his own goods; only a bungler will construct a patchwork article.

Much has been said upon the delivery of the sermon. It cannot be denied that the pulpit has its own peculiar style, any more than it can be denied that there is a special style of praying or singing, or of architecture, in the Church. The preacher should not talk, but speak, and speaking is an art. His tone should not be simply argumentative, nor merely hortatory, nor yet merely pathetic. The beauty of the discourse is dependent on its truthfulness. Beyer well says: "If the idea of the beautiful requires that thought should find its adequate expression in the concrete form, a sacred beauty must always be ascribed to the sermon. Its divine substance is to be presented to view under the form of human speech, and, therefore, must penetrate with glorifying power through the whole discourse, and appear in its structure, and even in the separate words. But the beauty of the sermon is for this very reason not such as may be intentionally sought out and artificially manufactured. It is no tinsel ornamentation."¹

The more fully justice is done to the sermon the richer will it be in fulness of expression, resembling the word of God, in which it has its origin. In its moments of elevation it may approximate to the poetical character, but without becoming poetry.² Everything

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 348, and also p. 567.

² Comp. Palmer, *Ueber das Malen in den Predigten*, p. 85, *sqq.* We would not agree with him in designating Krummacher absolutely as a model, since his colours are at times altogether too glaring.

that is unworthy, all that resembles the Capuchinade, all meretricious ornamentation, both that which recalls to mind the grosser affairs of ordinary life and that which involves the terminology of the schools and books; in a word, all that is purely technical, should be carefully excluded from the sermon. ^{Useless ornament to be avoided.} All foreign terms which are not contained in the Bible are, therefore, to be avoided whenever possible. Dignity and simplicity should combine in it into the higher unity of Christian earnestness. Popularity of style should not be carried to the extreme of triviality. The language should be select, but not strained. A true popularity, an adaptation to the level of common minds,¹ may most readily be secured by the study of the Scriptures and of the good, robust preachers of the earlier days. Such older forms of thought need to be recast into modern phraseology; however, in order that an adventurous pulpit jargon, having no affinity with actual life, may be avoided.

Whether the sermon should be written and memorized, or merely elaborated in the mind, will depend upon personal considerations, and theory has but little concern with the question. Palmer says: "The congregation does not ask, and has no right to ask, how you prepare to speak readily, whether by writing your sermon or otherwise. Your mode of occupation while in the study is your business alone. You may, if you choose, compose your sermons in Latin or in French; if you employ your language, the tongue of the congregation, readily while in the pulpit, the other processes involved in the sermon concern yourself alone." Schleiermacher has expressed the opinion that persons of placid disposition may venture upon extemporaneous speech, while emotional natures would do better to fix both thought and its expression by previous writing. The old Zalansky says a blunt word: "A young preacher should sit out and sweat out his sermons; first write them, and when they have been thoroughly finished present them to the people. . . . Shame upon them who even make it their boast that they have not in many years devoted a sheet of paper to the writing of their sermons." It does not follow from this that sermons should smell of the lamp. *Artis est artem celare.*

The internal process of preparing the sermon must never be allowed to appear in the delivery. The sermon, even though a written one, must always be mentally constructed with a view to its being spoken, and not as if ^{The sermon to be mentally constructed.}

¹ The popularizing of preaching was never more strongly urged than at a time when the true Christian life of the people had been wholly lost sight of. The best discussion of unction, is given by Vinet, in his *Pastoral Theology*, pp. 214, 215.

it were an article to be read.¹ It must lie in the mind as a speech, and be continually upon our tongues; the imagination must always picture us, as was always Guthrie's method, as standing in the pulpit with the open Bible before us, and the congregation assembled in our presence. Only thus shall we be able to retain sufficient freshness of mind to prevent the sermon from becoming stale in the process of protracted preparation, and to cause it to be constantly new and fresh while we meditate upon it, so that the time of delivery may become the real natal hour of the sermon, and the hearer may be impressed that it comes freely and directly from the heart at that moment. It is self-evident that a sermon which must be read, as a whole, can produce no such effect. Rosenkranz says: "The unfortunate habit, begun in early life, of relying upon reading and writing, and the fact that people have not been sufficiently accustomed to think, form the reason why free speech, which can only arise from an assured state of the mind, is kept down, especially in the case of persons of liberal culture." But a school-boy-like and poorly memorized sermon, and also one that is so completely extemporized that the pangs of labour under which the speaker brings forth his thoughts may be observed, will produce a painful, and, even if joined with much facility of speech, a repulsive impression.

As a final direction, it must be observed that the various operations of invention, arrangement, and elaboration are not to be separately employed in a mechanical way, but each must be made to exert a determining, supplementing, and correcting influence over the others, if the sermon is to retain its vital colouring. The entire sermon must already be present in the moment of mental composition, as the plant exists in the germ. It is simply to be resolved before the mind into its elements, and be precipitated and clarified, as in some chemical process. The arrangement often leads to a more exact fixing of the theme, and the elaboration reacts upon the disposition, while the written word cannot be corrected until the spoken word has been heard. A sermon may be excellent in point of style, and yet read by the preacher to himself to better advantage than it can be heard by a congregation. It is, therefore, necessary that the preacher should not only think himself into the sermon, but also take a wise estimate of the effect it will produce upon the ear. Often the repeating of the sermon aloud, or at any rate its imaginary delivery in thought, instead of merely

¹ Gossner remarks that the Holy Ghost at Pentecost distributed tongues of fire, but not pens for writing. Bengel's motto was, "Think much, and write little;" and yet he conscientiously wrote down at least the plan.

thinking it over, will be very beneficial. Bishop Burnet was accustomed, when riding or walking, to speak upon a given text in a loud tone of voice, and without any preparation, by which practice he attained to such readiness that he became able to speak appropriately upon any subject without much previous thought. The sermon should be transfigured and spiritualized to its very centre down to the moment of delivery, in which it is thrown off as a ripened fruit from the mind of the preacher. If a sermon be delivered a second time, or many times, it should be improved for every new delivery. Thus only can there come the joy of creating with each repetition. To ride an old sermon to death is a sad business. "Dissatisfaction with old sermons," says Palmer, "should continue while life remains." Augustine was always dissatisfied with his sermons after they had been delivered. When shall the immorality of presenting in numberless churches a fossil sermon that has once, like a part in a play, been committed to memory, come to an end?

The rules with reference to delivery are generally of a negative character. Harms fancifully comprehends the whole under the three L's, "langsam, laut, lieblich"—slow, loud, pleasant. Canon Kingsley said: "Keep sacredly to the habit of breathing at every stop. Read and speak slow; and take care of the consonants, and the vowels will take care of themselves."¹ Upon the subject of gestures especially, in which much depends upon the speaker's individuality, it is possible only to indicate Gesticulation. precautions of the most general kind. Much depends upon the theme. The gesture should be the outgrowth of the thought and feeling. It is only effective when unconscious, like the breathing of a child. Be sure the gesticulation is imperfect, unnatural, if the speaker can remember afterward what it was. Herder had no gesticulation, and Schleiermacher next to none. The elder Edwards had almost none, even in his most overpowering discourses. The young preacher should guard against imitating some favourite gesticulator. Some use the mirror as a help in preparation. But a faithful friend, who directs attention upon our mistakes of emphasis and our faulty gestures, is the best kind of mirror within reach. Goethe's words, in *Faust*, will cover all our remaining ground:

If feeling does not prompt, in vain you strive;
If from the soul the language does not come,
By its own impulse, to impel the hearts
Of hearers, with communicated power,
In vain you strive—in vain you study earnestly.

¹ Letters and Memoirs of the Life of Charles Kingsley, p. 384. The entire letter addressed to Miss — is on Stammering, but will apply well to pulpit elocution.

Toil on forever; piece together fragments;
 Cook up your broken scraps of sentences,
 And blow, with puffing breath, a struggling light,
 Glimmering confusedly now, now cold in ashes;
 Startle the schoolboys with your metaphors;
 And if such food may suit your appetite,
 Win the vain wonder of applauding children!
 But never look to win the hearts of men,
 And mould the souls of many into one,
 By words which come seductive from the heart!

Be honest, if you would be eloquent;
 Be not a chiming fool with cap and bells;
 Reason and genuine feeling want no arts
 Of utterance—ask no toil of elocution;
 And when you are in earnest, do you need
 A search for words? O, these fine holiday phrases,
 In which you robe your worn-out commonplaces,
 These scraps of paper which you crimp and curl,
 And twist into a thousand idle shapes,
 These fligree ornaments, are good for nothing,
 Cost time and pains, please few, impose on no one;
 Are unrefreshing, as the wind that whistles,
 In autumn, 'mong the dry and wrinkled leaves.

SECTION XVI.

THE METHOD OF HOMILETICS.

Exercises which afford a preparation for preaching are: (1) The cultivation and quickening of the practical faculty in the general study of the Bible; (2) The preserving of particular thoughts in writing, which contain the germs of future themes; (3) Practice in delivery. Constant and devotional listening to sermons in the services of the Church, and also the reading of homiletical productions, whether old or new, aid greatly in the forming of the future pulpit speaker.

Exegesis should not be studied alone with a view to the pulpit. But practical exegesis should, nevertheless, always be enjoined with critical. The person who studies the Scriptures as a preacher should must often be struck by their flashes of light even when engaged upon the driest subjects. Such flashes indicate fruitful seasons. Every preacher should keep a notebook, upon which to enter the seedthoughts gained from the Scriptures, together with brief hints with regard to disposition and elaboration. In all his walks and most leisurely moments his eye should be on his pulpit.

The most useful scrapbooks for preachers are those which each man compiles for himself. Exegesis in preaching cannot be conducted on the same plan as surgical practice upon a skeleton. It is a skeleton, indeed, when a student is required to preach in the presence of his fellow students and a faculty of theologians, who are to personate the absent congregation. We suppose there is necessity for this in theological seminaries, but no student is expected to do full justice to himself under such circumstances. Young Rothe, in his student days, wrote this to his father: "Frankly stated, it appears to me that an experiment of this kind is a questionable matter. It is surely a repulsive thought that a Christian congregation should sit like a sort of wig-block upon which a young bungler is to try his sermon; and yet in another direction such an experiment can, in view of the entire nature of the sermon, be undertaken nowhere but in the congregation, and it must, therefore, be carried through in that way." A sermon may be read, or recited, or gone through somehow, before an audience of critics, but it cannot be delivered in the highest sense. Might it be proper in like manner to pray by way of test? or to exhort, or to censure or comfort, all by way of practice?

The pulpit always before the mind.

But there ought to be practice in delivery? Yes, and the more the better, provided it is rightly done. The school should aim to promote this end, and do this work. Student associations for practice in speaking will also render valuable aid. But when it is required that a sermon should be preached by way of practice—and this should come to pass in the last year of the course—let it be undertaken with the help of God, and with full allowances for all the disadvantages of the hour.

Many preachers attempt to display the whole of their theology in their first sermon; many others endeavour to concentrate in it all the feeling of their hearts. A wise restraint is highly needed at this point. Persons who have not yet passed beyond the period of theological conflict should beware of troubling the congregation with their doubts, or with the questions of the schools in general. Let them select themes which they are able to discuss, which have become transparent and concrete to their minds, and which they are competent to manage. Herder's paternal counsel has a general application here: "O friend, friend, do not hasten into the pulpit while too young or too thoughtless. You are not without other exercises which, though conducted in private, will forward you further on your way. If you insist on preaching, at least clothe yourself in modesty from head to foot.

Defects of first sermons.

Nothing is more attractive in a youthful speaker, and especially a pulpit speaker, than this."

Many, however, are restrained from entering the pulpit by excessive timidity, and by the fear of breaking down. Such difficulties, which have their origin as frequently in selfish pride as in a really sacred awe respecting the character of the office, can only be overcome in a moral way. The true *παρρησία* is a gift of grace. The best young preachers, however, have always been most alarmed. Pliny says: "Quod M. Cicero de stilo, ego de metu sentio. Timor est emendator acerrimus. Hoc ipsum, quod nos recitatuos cogitamus, emendat; quod auditorium ingredimus, emendat; quod pollemus, horrescimus, circumspicimus, emendat." Luther preached his first sermon in the convent of the Augustine monks before venturing to present himself before the public. Spenser says that when he entered the pulpit for the first time he felt as though he were being led to the place of execution. Moeves testifies that he trembled far more while preaching his first sermon than when listening to the thunder of his first battle.

Criticism may follow the sermon of the young preacher, but it should not be allowed to intimidate him beforehand. It is, moreover, a fact that he only is able to feel and hear himself into the real spirit of a sermon who gladly and frequently listens to the sermons of other men. One of the faults of our surfeited age consists in its unwillingness to hear other than distinguished orators. Something may be learned from every sermon, even though it be a poor one. But there is no objection to our becoming acquainted with what is best and most perfect whenever opportunity is afforded. In this direction the rich sermon literature of our English theology is of great assistance. The reading of a sermon is not, of course, equivalent to hearing it, but it possesses advantages of its own. Criticism may be applied with much less restraint in this case than when listening during the hour of worship in the church. The reading of sermons should be elevated into a study to a much greater extent than is actually the case. Artists are directed to examine works of art, and poets are obliged to read the works of other poets. Why should not a similar rule apply to sermons? To construct anew a sermon that has been read by a master in the pulpit, and to search out its effective points, penetrate into the mystery of its profound connexion with the Christian life, and compare its method with that of another, constitutes a valuable exercise for young ministers of the Gospel, and one upon which teachers of homiletics should lay greater stress. Such critical readings, moreover, afford the surest defence against the danger of

slavishly imitating so-called "sermon skeletons," in which undertaking it generally happens that the imitators copy precisely their faults and excesses. Better study a great sermon than any skeleton. But do not steal either, or from either.

SECTION XVII.

THE HISTORY OF HOMILETICS.

I. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN SERMON.

Schuler, *Gesch. der Veränderungen des Geschmacks im Predigen*, Halle, 1792-94, 3 vols.; and *ibid.*, Beiträge zur *Gesch. d. Veränd. des Geschmacks im Predigen*, Halle, 1799; Ammon, *Gesch. d. Homiletik*, etc., Göttingen, 1804, Part I. (the first period from Huse to Luther, with historical introduction to the history of homiletics, from the rise of Christianity down to the beginning of the fifteenth century); Schmidt, *Kurzer Abriss d. Gesch. d. geistl. Beredsamkeit u. Homiletik*, Jena, 1790; Schuderoff, *Vers. einer Kritik d. Homiletik*, Gotha, 1797; Lentz, *Gesch. d. christl. Homiletik*, Brunsw., 1839; Paniel, *Pragm. Gesch. d. christl. Beredsamkeit u. d. Homiletik*, Leips., 1839; Schenck, *Gesch. d. deutsch-Protest. Kanzelberedsamkeit von Luther bis auf d. neuesten Zeiten*, Berl., 1841; Doering, *Die deutschen Kanzelredner des 16ten u. 19ten Jahrhunderts*, Neustadt a. d. Oder, 1830; Leopold, *Predigtamt im Urchristenthum*, etc., Lüneburg, 1846; Marbach, *Gesch. d. deutschen Predigt vor Luther*, Berl., 1873; Beste, *Die bedeutendsten Kanzelredner d. ältern Lutherischen Kirche, von Luther bis Spener* (2 vols.), Leips., 1856-58; Al. Vinet, *Histoire de la prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix septième siècle*, Paris, 1830; Sack, *Gesch. d. Predigt in d. deutschen evangel. Kirche*, Heidelberg, 1886; Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Predigt i. d. evangel. Kirche Deutschlands von Luther bis Spener*, etc., Gotha, 1872.

For English and American bibliography, see below.

The earliest preaching was a *κήρυγμα*, a declaration, a heralding, and the formal homily was not developed until a system of Christian worship had been constructed, although it did not entirely supersede free discourse even then. Either homilies or free discourses were handed down by Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Emisa, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephraem Syrus, Macarius, Amphilochius, and John Chrysostom. These were not always free from the influence of the ancient rhetoric learned from heathen schools. In the Latin Church the discourses of Zeno of Verona, Ambrose, Gaudentius, Augustine, Leo I., and others, are worthy of note.

Preaching declined in the Middle Ages. In the Greek Church John of Damascus and Photius delivered addresses in honour of the Virgin Mary and of images; but the Trullan Council (692) had already directed the clergy to make use of old and approved homilies. In the Western Church recourse was likewise had at first to collections, postils, i. e., post illa scil. verba Domini sive Scripturae Sacrae, the earliest of which were undertaken by Paul Warnefried and Alcuin, and followed by the similar collections of Raban Maur, Haymo of Halberstadt, and others. These collections were designed to serve as models for

imitation in the vernacular. But this design was gradually laid aside as the growth of the hierarchy and of externality in the worship became more pronounced. The power of Christian oratory was henceforth less apparent in the church than in the open air, frequently in the public streets. The preaching in convents was conducted in the Latin language. St. Bernard (Doctor mellifluus), and also the great scholastic Thomas Aquinas, attained to special eminence in this regard. The Begging Friars, from the thirteenth century, gave a new impetus to preaching. According to the historians, Berthold of Regensburg (died 1272), a Franciscan monk, preached to sixty thousand people.

Among the Mystics special importance attaches to Master Eckart, The Mystic Heinrich Suso, and particularly to John Tauler. John preachers. Melicz, the forerunner of Huss, and the latter reformer himself, likewise brought a beneficial influence to bear upon the work of preaching. Chancellor Gerson preached in both Latin and French, and the great Florentine, Girolamo Savonarola, was especially powerful of speech. The fifteenth century brought with it some strange contrasts, the comical being closely connected with the serious. This reflection will serve to explain the burlesque mode of preaching followed by Gabriel Barletta, Olivier Maillard, Michael Menot, and, to some extent, by the excellent Geiler of Kaisersberg. The Brothers of the Common Life, on the other hand, contributed toward the promotion of Protestant preaching.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century, however, was pre-eminently a regeneration of the Christian sermon as based on the Preaching by word of God, Luther himself being distinguished above the Reformers. all others, although Zwingli does not need, upon the whole, to take a much lower place. The personal traits and situation of these men were very different. Calvin was also peculiar, and most of the remaining reformers, as Œcolampadius, Bullinger, and Haller, were good preachers. The time, however, when men attained to eminence in such labours soon came to an end. Luther's "postils" were followed by others, of which still others availed themselves with more or less benefit. Of writers of postils we may mention Anton Corvinus, Brentz, Avenarius (Habermann), Chemnitz, Osiander (Peasant Postils), Matthesius (Mountain Postils), and Dietrich (Children's and Home Postils).

Much insipidity prevailed at the close of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth, and it was especially common to introduce disputes into the pulpit, and to chastise heretics. But worthy and edifying preachers were not wanting, of whom we name especially Arndt (died 1627), the author of the treatise on True Chris-

tianity, Herberger (died 1627), Andrea, and others. The structure of the sermon was now subjected to critical treatment, and all manner of artificial divisions were introduced; for example, the five different *usus*: (1) didascalicus; (2) elencticus; (3) paracleticus; (4) epanorthoticus; (5) paedenticus. In the end there were, literally, a hundred different methods, and all imaginable fancies Fanciful divisions. with regard to theme, exordium, and division. The want of taste reached its culmination—not, however, in a pedantic form so much as in a mere disposition to drift—in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany, in the person of the eccentric preacher, Ulric Megerle (Abraham de St. Clara, court preacher at Vienna, died 1709), who displayed many excellent qualities, but carried the effort to popularize his sermons to the extreme of triviality, and indulged his scurrilous method until his name became proverbial.

A very different state of things existed in France, where both the Reformed and the Catholic Churches were served by the most celebrated of their pulpit orators at this time. We may mention, of those belonging to the former Church, Mestrezal The French pulpit. (died 1657), du Bosc (died 1692), Claude (died 1687), and especially Saurin, who preached at the Hague, and died 1730. Of Roman Catholic preachers we may name: Mascaron (died 1703), and pre-eminently, Fléchier (died 1710), Bossuet (died 1704), Bourdaloue (died 1710), and Massillon. The fame of these preachers is based upon their classic style, Chrysostom being their model, more than upon the depth and consistency of their Christian sentiments. Fénelon (died 1715), on the other hand, was distinguished for his fervour. After the Huguenots, expelled under Louis XIV., had settled in Germany, the French style, as represented in Ancillon, Abadie, Jacquelot, Lenfant, and especially in Saurin, came to be regarded as a model also in that country. To this must be added the English model, found in the perspicuous and moderate Tillotson, who died 1694.

The preaching now became more mild in its doctrinal character, and gave greater attention to moral questions, besides making use of greater elegancies of style, its leading representatives being found in the Swiss preachers, Osterwald and Werenfels. The pietism of Spener and Francke led, in Germany, to a re- Sermons of the Pietists. newed recognition of the profound conditions upon which the life of the Christian sermon depends. But it was impossible that its influence should conduce to give it an artistic form. Spener's style was heavy. Wolfianism, too, was not favourable to the easy movement of discourse. The mania for definition and demonstration became highly ridiculous, in many instances of even

this kind of labour. Rambach (died 1735) represents, in Germany, the transition from the pietistic to the philosophical method followed by Reinbeck, who died in 1741. Modern pulpit oratory, in that country, had its origin with Mosheim (died 1755), who was termed the German Bourdaloue, and whose model was Tillotson. He was followed by Cramer (died 1788), the elder and the younger Sack, Jerusalem, Spalding, Zollikofer, Resewitz, Teller, Bartels, and others. The reflective and moralizing elements constituted the predominant quality in most works emanating from these, in some instances, very celebrated preachers. They also gave increasing expression to the utilitarian theory. Under such influence sermons came to be degraded not only into dry disquisitions upon morality, but even into popular lectures on agriculture, hygiene, and similarly inferior topics. The more strictly evangelical method was not left without representatives, however, who continually asserted its claims in the face of such aberrations. In Würtemberg, Rieger (died 1743) was considered a model, and in Prussia the "divine orator" Willamovius became an ideal for the imitation of Herder.

Herder and Lavater apprehended the task of sacred oratory anew, and came into decided contrast, not only with the more strictly evangelical, but also with the rationalistic, method of preaching, which had its origin in Kantianism, and whose representatives appear in the persons of Löffler (died 1816) and others. Both Herder and Lavater were rather guided by their own genius than by the methods of any school. Reinhard (died 1812) became the founder of such a school, and the representative of a strictly logical method. His sermons, collected in thirty-five volumes (1793-1813), were long regarded as models. They were characterized by richness of thought, especially upon moral questions, clearness and definiteness of expression, force and dignity of style. Their deficiencies are, a farfetched and indirect treatment of the text, and, coupled with a degree of religious warmth, a certain dryness and prosaic rationalism. The method of Zollikofer and Reinhard found supporters among both rationalists and supranaturalists, and, in fact, occupies a theological position in which the contrast between their different principles has not yet been thoroughly overcome.

The more eminent preachers who, while retaining more or less of personal freedom and individuality, followed in the track of these earlier models, were Marezoll, Ribbeck, Hanstein, Ehrenberg, Eylert, Klefeker, Ammon, Bretschneider, Tzschirner, Schuderoff, Röhr, Zimmermann, Schmalz, Böckel, Alt, the Strasburgers Hafner and Blessig, the Swiss Müslin, Stolz, Häfele, Heer, Fäsi, and others.

The oratory of many of these men attained to a higher elevation than that of their models.

Schleiermacher (died 1834) introduced a new life into the method of preaching,¹ as, indeed, he did into theology generally. The prevalent moralizing method predominates ^{Schleiermacher.} in his earlier sermons, the First Collection. But the specifically Christian element comes into greater prominence in his later efforts, though in the manner which was peculiar to himself. His dialectic method has been frequently imitated to the injury of his followers. His sermons deserve rather to be studied than imitated. The sermons of Claus Harms, of Kiel—Sermons and United Postils—are constructed with a larger recognition of the condition and needs of the people, and are genuine models of Christian addresses in popular form, although it is necessary to distinguish between ^{Claus Harms.} the earlier (1808–11) and the later (1824–27). Harms concedes that “much rationalistic sin still attaches” to the former. But this cannot be said of the latter class, or of his “Christological Sermons” (1821), since the controversy that called forth his Theses gave to Harms a place among the most advanced defenders of Lutheran orthodoxy. It is also necessary to separate between an earlier and a later period in the case of Dräseke, whose affectation of originality often destroys the profound impression otherwise produced, although a noble enthusiasm, akin to that of Herder, exhales from his sermons.

Originality, carried to the verge of extravagance, and sometimes of insipidity, attains its highest point in the sermons of F. A. Krummacher. Therein’s sermons are characterized by great rhetorical talent and perfection of style. It may be stated, as a general fact, that the renewed infusion of life into theology restored life and individuality to preaching as well. A long list of names might be furnished of persons who are distinguished by logical keenness, or depth of thought, by intensity or elevation of feeling, or by the power of evangelical conviction and the fire of a newly awakened zeal, which, in some instances, assumes forms of every variety and with every degree of colour. It will be sufficient to recall the names of the more or less venerated persons without dwelling upon the different tendencies they represent—for example, Menken,

¹ Schweizer, Schleiermacher’s *Wirksamkeit als Prediger*, Halle, 1834; Rhenius, Magdeb., 1837; Rienäcker, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1831, No. 2, pp. 240–54; Sack, *ibid.*, pp. 350–85; Lücke, *Erinnerungen an Schleiermacher*, *ibid.*, 1834, No. 3, p. 745, *sqq.*; concerning Schleiermacher’s political sermons, see Wehrenpfening in the *Prot. Kirchen-Zeitung* for September, 1859; Baur, *Schleiermacher als Prediger in d. Zeit von Deutschland’s Erniedrigung und Erhebung*, Leips., 1871.

Emmerich, Hossbach, Jonas, Sydow, de Wette, Al. Schweizer, Grün-eisen, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Strauss, Harless, Jul. Müller, Tob. Beck, Arndt, the two Hofackers, Krummacher, Ahlfeld, Schenkel, Rust, Palmer, Ehrenfeuchter, Ebrard, Steinmeyer, Conrad, Gerock, Hoffmann, Kohlbrügge, Sander, Mallet, Bernet, Büchsel, Kögel, Harms (of Hermannsburg), Langbein, Petri, Müllensiefen, Kapff, Bey-schlag, Rothe, Brückner, Kahnis, W. Baur, and others.

Modern rationalism is represented, though with various modifica-tions, by Schwarz of Gotha, H. Lang of Zurich, and Hausrath of Carlsruhe.

The sermons of the French pulpit orators, Adolph Monod, Alex-ander Vinet, Grandpierre, Bersier, and Pressensé, and, as represent-ing freethinking tendencies, Colani, Coquerel, father and son, deserve to be studied.

Among Roman Catholics, in addition to those already mentioned, the names of Sailer, Mutschelle, Boos, Brand, Förster, and Kälin deserve to be noted. Werner, of Vienna; Lacordaire; Father Hyacinthe, now practically separated in all but name from the Romish Church, and bearing the name of Loyson; Ventura, of Rome, Gavazzi, and the preachers of Protestant doctrines in Italy, have each, in his day, arrested attention.

For the American and the Englishman their models must be the successful preachers in the English language. In modern times none have equalled the masters in English theology as the makers of sermons. In the earlier English period may be mentioned Far-indon, Atterbury, South, Tillotson, Charnock, Baxter, Hall, Taylor, Beveridge, and Howe, while in the more recent we may mention the Wesleys, Whitefield, Heber, Simeon, Robert Hall, Robertson, Spurgeon, Punshon, Kingsley, Dean Stanley, Farrar, and Liddon.

II. HISTORY OF THE THEORY OF PREACHING.

Christ preached with authority, and not as the scribes. The apostles proclaimed in Christ's stead, "Be ye reconciled to God." No human instruction was needed for their guidance; the Spirit taught them what they ought to say. "It is, therefore," as Beyer says, "a leading duty of theological science to thoroughly deter-mine the nature of apostolic preaching in order to provide a stand-ard for Christian preaching in general." After the Church had been founded, however, and conditions of human arrangement had been introduced, the art of preaching was developed by the side of theological science. Origen laid down the proposition, and secured its recognition, that the didactic sermon is a work of art. The teachers of Christianity,

Art of preach-
ing a part of
theological sci-
ence.

moreover, were generally the pupils of heathen rhetoricians, such as Libanius and Themistius, and the theory was accordingly developed on the ground of the old time rhetoric, much in the same way as the ancient Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies were at first applied to the science of Christian theology. Augustine, starting with the recognition of the authority of rhetoric, gave instructions respecting the proper mode of presenting the doctrines contained in the Scriptures. In his Christian Doctrine he called attention to invention and expression in the sermon, Augustine. and followed Cicero in many respects, though with an intelligent apprehension of the real task of Christian oratory. He was succeeded by Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and Raban Maur, in the latter's Clerical Institutes. Alanus, of the Island (died 1203), wrote a Summary of the Preacher's Art, and Humbert the Roman, a Dominican (died 1277), wrote on the Learning of Speakers. The homiletical views of Thomas Aquinas were collected from the writings of himself and others under the title of Treatise for Preachers, upon which followed Leonard of Udine's (died 1470) Tractate on the Fundamentals for Preachers (Ulm, 1478), and Nicholas Barianus of Milan's Sixty-Seven Questions on the Matter of Preaching, which appeared in Boulogne in 1511.

Reuchlin published a work upon the same subject, bearing the title of Book of Treasures in the Preacher's Art (Pforzheim, 1504). The Curate's Manual of the pastor Surgant of Basle, which immediately preceded the Reformation, and discussed the method of preaching in its details, is especially deserving of mention.

Luther was more practical than theoretical in everything, and we obtain only scattered hints from his works, the most valuable of which, in this respect, is Table Talk. This was collected for the first time by Porta, pastor at Eisleben, toward the close of the sixteenth century, and subsequently by Walch. Luther made the discriminating demand that the preacher should be both a dialectician and a rhetorician, but he also recommended that such Luther and a mode of preaching be adopted as would edify even Melanchthon. servants. In 1519 Melanchthon published his Rhetoric, and in 1535 he wrote his Office of Speakers. The Ecclesiastes of Erasmus was also extensively used. Directions for the art of preaching were given, among Protestants, by Hyperius, on the Function of Sacred Assemblies, or the Popular Interpretation of the Scriptures (1553); by Weller, a pupil of Luther, on the Mode and Reason of Address (Norimb., 1582); by Hemming, a pupil of Melanchthon, on Pastoral Instruction, and How the Flock of Christ should be Fed with Sound Doctrine; by Osiander, on the Reason of Address (Tub., 1582); by

Andreas, on the Method of Address (Tub., 1595); and by Panerattus (1571). We find similar directions in *The Speaker*, by Rebban (1623), and the works of Hunnius, Hülsemann, Schleupner, Förster, the elder Carpzov, and Zalansky, the Lutheran pastor at Prague; Müller, in his *Ecclesiastical Orator* (Rostock, 1670, 4to), Baier, a pupil of Arndt, in his *Compendium of Homiletical Theology* (1677), and Leyser, in his *Course of Homiletics* (Viteb., 1701).

Among Reformed theologians we may mention Gaussen, on the Reason of Address (1678), and the Hollanders van Til (died 1713), Vitranga (died 1722), and Hollenbeck, in the latter's *Best Kind of Address* (1668; 2d ed., 1770). We may also recall Fordyce, an Englishman, who wrote on the *Art of Preaching* (1745).

After Spener had, in *Pious Desires*, directed attention toward a truly awakening and edifying mode of preaching, his exposition speedily led to the publishing of textbooks written in harmony with his views, which, in their turn, called forth the opposition of the old-school writers. Thus Löscher wrote his *Homiletical Breviary* (Viteb., 1720) in reply to Lange's *Sacred Oratory* (Francof., 1707). There was also a supply of insipid guides to flowery preaching, an example of which is furnished in the *Elegancies or Flowers of Orations*, written by Christian Weiss, rector at Zittau, whom others followed in a similar direction. Hallbauer, of Jena, on the other hand, became noteworthy at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the writing of his *Necessary Instruction in Wisdom in Edifying Preaching*. The Wolfian school produced Rambach, who wrote the *Elucidation on Homiletic Precepts* (Giessen, 1736), Reinbeck, the author of the *Outline of a Method of Edifying Preaching*, and Baumgarten, the author of *Directions on Edifying Preaching* (Frankf., 1752). This school carried the mania for definitions in the pulpit to an extreme, and was opposed by G. F. Meier of Halle, himself a Wolfian, in his *Thoughts by a Philosophical Preacher* (1762). Teller (1741), Kortholdt (1748), Simonetti (1754), Förtsch (1757), and others, issued additional works in this department about the middle of the century. The theories of Mosheim, in his *Advice on Edifying Preaching* (1771); of Teller, in his *Outlines of Homiletical Lectures* (Helmstedt, 1763); of Gruner (Halle, 1763); Bahrdr (1773); Steinbart (2d ed., Züllichau, 1784); Marezoll, *On the Destination of the Preacher* (Leips., 1793); Schmidt, *Guide for Popular Pulpit Oratory* (3 vols., Jena, 1795-1800); Thym (Halle, 1800), and Thiess (1801); all bear the stamp, in various degrees, of this same tendency with regard to preaching.

This, too, was the period to produce the largest number of journals, magazines, archives, sketches of sermons, and the like. "For," as Palmer observes, "no mercantile house has sent out into the world a larger number of commercial travelers, intended to traffic with the article 'sketches of sermons,' than has the firm 'Rationalism & Co.'"¹ The conclusion of the old, and more especially rhetorical, theory, is formed by the work of Schott, the scientific complement to Reinhard, which, in its own way, is not without value.

Theremin directed attention more especially to the inward source whence oratory has its rise, and a majority of the works, mentioned below, of recent times, have likewise treated homiletics in connexion with the ideas respecting the nature of religion, Christianity, the Church and its worship, as they have been brought out by philosophy and recent theology, and also in relation with the religious conceptions of art. The first among Roman Catholics, subsequent to the Reformation, to construct an Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, was Valerius of Verona (1574). He was followed by Alexander (1701); Gisbert, in his *Idea and Practice of Christian Eloquence* (1728); Roman Catholic writers. Fénelon, in his *Dialogues on Eloquence in General*, and that of the Pulpit in Particular (1788); and Maury, in his *Principles of Pulpit and Forensic Eloquence* (1789). Of German Roman Catholics, those deserving of mention are Ignatius Wurz (1769, 2 vols.), Rudolf Graser (died 1787), Brand, and Zarbl.

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¹*Homiletik*, p. 38.

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SECTION XVIII.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY (IN THE LIMITED MEANING OF THE TERM).

American Presbyterian Review, Vol. III, 323.

While Liturgics and Homiletics are concerned with the functions of the clergyman in the sphere of public worship, *Pastoral Theology* in its limited meaning has to do with the direction of the life of the Christian society and of individuals, or, in other words, with pastoral care and the cure of souls. Here, again, it is possible to distinguish between functions whose exercise is largely governed by official restrictions, and others which admit of a greater personal freedom. The former serve to display the faithfulness of the pastor, and the latter his love and devotion. The rules which apply to the former may be grounded in Church government, but those which control the latter must be derived from Christian Ethics. In the case of either it is requisite

that experience and practice should complete what the science is able to present only in its most general outlines.

The term is not definitely fixed.¹ Many embrace the whole of Practical Theology within its scope, but incorrectly.

Catechetics is most nearly allied to it of all the branches hitherto considered, being the common basis

The term Pastoral Theology indefinite.

of the entire body of ecclesiastical functions; while Homiletics and Liturgics are not to be regarded as Pastoral sciences. Harms correctly distinguished the preacher from the pastor. Only what has respect to the latter is Pastoral Theology. But to what extent is Pastoral Theology included in the domain of science? When Rosenkranz asserts² that there

Is Pastoral Theology a science.

can be no Pastoral Theology in the evangelical Church because there are no special Ethics for the clergyman, and because the care of souls cannot be comprehended under a system of rules, and when he even terms it "a beginning of priestcraft," and charges it with amounting simply to "a guide to hypocrisy," and to "a system of belittling tricks which destroy the life of a true devotion," or "a low desire for the display of priestly greatness," his mind is evidently fixed upon the abuse of Pastoral Theology. There is certainly no special system of Ethics for the clergy; but a circle of special duties belonging to his calling exists for the minister as for any other man—duties devolved on him by reason of his office, or by a proper estimate of the position to which God has assigned him.

The function of Pastoral Theology is to determine what may be justly required of the minister, and what he must accept, as belonging within the sphere of his calling. This reaches over into Ecclesiastical Law. But matters which the clergyman in the exercise of his independent choice imposes on himself also need to be more specially and thoroughly discussed than is possible in the field of Ethics, where only the general principles which bear upon such matters are set forth. The chapter on *good judgment*, or, if it be preferred, on *wisdom*, i. e., genuine moral skill in conducting matters with reference to known ends, or in laying hold upon the appropriate means, covers a very broad field, which admits of being described in conformity with ethical principles, even though it cannot be comprehended within abstract rules. Mere book-learning will not, of course, be sufficient for that end; the individual judgment is required to

Pastoral duties best learned from experience.

¹ On the word *pastor*, see Vinet, *Pastoral Theol.*, Int., p. 1.

² Preface to the first edition of the *Encyklopädie*, p. xxxi, and second edition, p. 352. On the other hand, compare Schleiermacher, § § 299–308; Harms, III, p. 26–27, and especially Vinet, *Theol. Past.*, p. 236, *egg*.

perform most of the work. But the judgment may be directed and quickened, and in this the experience of other ministers becomes a valuable aid, though it cannot by any means be regarded as absolutely regulative.

A collection of clerical anecdotes is, however, not yet a Pastoral Theology. Cases are never exactly parallel to each other, and a method which was adapted to the circumstances of a particular time and place will not be appropriate to a different time and place. But it is meritorious to point out *how* experience may be utilized, even to the student. If the name of science be denied to this loving apostolical service, which the gray-haired veteran in the office renders to inexperienced youth, we shall not delay to argue the question. We personally believe that at this point the wisdom of the professional chair reaches its limit, and that Pastoral Theology may be learned to better advantage at the hands of a guide who has been tested in the spiritual office than in the lecture-room. It will perhaps be necessary, after all, to admit, with Palmer, that Pastoral Theology, as such, is not a science, and that its substantial difference from Practical Theology consists in that fact. It contains *consilia* rather than *pæcepta*, and "its partially casuistical nature prevents its incorporation with any well-constructed organism." Theological science is required, nevertheless, to mark out in their broad outlines the paths over which the Pastoral life must move.¹ This becomes so much the more necessary at the close of the course of theological study, because so many students fail to find the bridge which leads over from the school into actual life. Pastoral Theology is required to build that bridge, and to furnish the future shepherd with staff and ring or confer upon him his spiritual investiture.

If it be now required that the field of pastoral duty belonging to the minister be outlined in so far as it may be theoretically determined in advance, it will be necessary to distribute his functions over three distinct departments, in each of which a further distinction may be made between the predominantly official and the free individual action, although the one reaches over into the other, as in the following scheme:

¹ "A better Pastoral Theology will be produced only when the Christian and the systematic interests shall mutually recognize and support each other."—Schweizer.

1. THE RELATION OF THE PASTOR TO THE CONGREGATION AS A WHOLE.

a. *The pastor as the ordained head of the congregation.*

As presbyter, *κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, the pastor is placed at the head of the congregation, and to him, therefore, belongs the guidance (*κυβέρνησις*) of the Church, and the administration of Church order and discipline, in which work he must have the co-operation of the Church, subject to the provisions of the laws in force in his particular communion. Here we enter upon the department of Ecclesiastical Law. But where the laws do not come to his assistance, the free impulses of love will lead him to let his light shine as he walks before his people and to approve himself as a faithful shepherd of the flock. Especially will he rejoice in every thing that is good which springs up among his people, even though it be not prescribed by superior authority; and, while he will take his stand in opposition to the unhealthful manifestations of a misled piety he will gladly co-operate in every work which gives shape to religious life, and will assist in preparing the way for such work.

The pastor as the head of the congregation.

b. *The pastor in his personal relation to his people.*

The Christian minister in charge of a congregation has duties to perform as important as preaching. He is the shepherd of his flock, and should know his people in their wants, cares, burdens, and griefs. It is his duty to show a reasonable personal interest in them; he, of all men, should rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Hoppin lays down the principle that the "minister should become personally acquainted with every one of his people." This is not in every case practicable, especially in large cities, but at least he "should strive to know something of their varieties of character, their peculiarities of disposition, their mental maladies and speculative opinions, as well as their external history and circumstances."¹ Such thorough acquaintance with the people is secured by means of pastoral visitation, which can never be neglected without injury to the minister's usefulness. Shedd reminds us that the minister is apt to be deficient on the one or the other side of this double character of preacher and pastor, but advises him to make it his aim to "perfect himself in both respects."²

c. *The minister as related to the administration of charities within the territory of his congregation.*

How far should ministering to the necessities of the poor (*δια-*

¹ Office and Work of the Christian Ministry. By Jas. M. Hoppin. Pp. 533, 534.

² Pastoral Theology, p. 390.

κοινὰ τῆς τροπῆς) be placed in the hands of him who is charged with the ministry of the word? (Compare Acts vi.) The mechanical duties may more readily be performed by other persons which was the original work of the diaconate; but he will not be able to withdraw from the work of general supervision. In cases, moreover, in which he is relieved from the keeping of accounts, he will show himself so much the more efficiently a father to the poor from choice.

2. THE RELATION OF THE PASTOR TO THE FAMILY.

This, too, is partly official, and determined by his position in the Church, and partly independent. The relations of the minister to the family assume an official form most frequently in connection with special events, which belong properly to this section, and only

Marriage. in part to the departments of Liturgics and Homiletics. The solemnizing of marriage, for instance, is a public ecclesiastical ceremony. Baptism, more than other ser-

Baptism. vices connected with the family, passes beyond the limits of the home circle, and becomes a public service of the Church. If baptism be administered at the house, the ceremony should not degenerate into a mere sentimental family festival, but should confer upon the Christian home the higher consecration of a temple. In the case of a death the sympathy of the

Death. congregation is also largely enlisted; but members of the family are as a rule affected more than others, and the position of the minister thus leads him not only into the Church and to the grave, but also to the house of mourning and into the circle of the bereaved. The address delivered should be primarily adapted to the condition of the latter company; for which reason more extended funeral sermons should only be preached when demanded by the extraordinary nature of the case.¹ The more nearly perfect the development of piety in a family, the less inclination will there be to avoid the clergyman until a *casus mortis* shall demand his services in an official capacity; free intercourse with the clergyman will develop itself naturally, whose influence will tend to crowd out of sight more and more the distinction between *clerus naturalis* and *positivus*. When, on the other hand, the Christian home is yet upon a low level of piety, even the official visits of a clergyman will be productive of good; and in case such visits should not be formally

¹ Palmer, *Homiletik*, p. 389, has adduced an illustration, which shows in a pointed way how contrary to good taste it is to select far-fetched texts for funeral sermons: "And the king said unto Barzillai, . . . Who desires to hear about Barzillai now?"

required, a faithful pastor will know how to secure admission to such homes, not for the purpose of asserting his official character, but in order to aid the family in attaining to that freedom of action which is needed in all the occurrences of life by exciting its love and confidence.

3. THE PASTOR'S RELATION TO THE MASSES OUTSIDE OF ALL CHURCHES.

The problem of reaching the masses is very simple, if ministers have the disposition to preach the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men. As the masses, so called, constitute in every country the bulk of the population, it is as easy to find them as it is to find the sun or the sea; and they can be reached by a sincere Christian sympathy, even if at the first they repel our attempts to do them good.

Professor Phelps, of Andover, quotes as one of the sayings of his honored father: "The man who belongs nowhere belongs to me, and I must give account of him;" and Payson showed his readiness to serve all men by adopting as his motto: "The man who wants to see me is the man whom I want to see." All things are not possible to the minister, but the recognition of the fact that the people of all classes and conditions, dwelling in one neighborhood, are a *community* should be unmistakably made by every pastor and Church.

It may even be said in a certain sense that the aim of Pastoral Theology should be to render the specific office of pastor more and more unnecessary; for if the co-operation of the congregation is required in the public worship, it is far more necessary here. Such co-operation must of course be conceived of as analogous in character to the work of the pastor, and not as counteracting the latter in a separatist spirit. In this field, as everywhere, one extreme leads to the other. Any overstraining of the idea of *office* can only lead to evil consequences in one way or another. A distinction exists between the shepherd and the sheep in the economy of nature, but not in the spiritual field. The shepherd must not forget that he is himself a sheep belonging to the great flock, and that *One* alone is the Good Shepherd. And even he is designated in Scripture as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." There are endless modifications, however, with reference to what has now been said. The duties of a rural pastor will differ from those of the city pastor, and further differences arise from the contrast of conditions in farming villages as compared with those of manufacturing towns,

those of inland towns with those of large commercial cities. And, finally, there are also special fields of labor, such as those occupied by the chaplains of hospitals, prisons, orphanages, and of troops in garrison or in the field, all of which require a special theory, and all of which likewise require a suitable man, endowed with all the necessary qualities for his position.

SECTION XIX.

PRACTICAL SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

A true insight into the conditions of the different spheres of life, and a scientific apprehension of their character, are necessary to the clergyman, because his duties everywhere reach over into the various relations of life. He will therefore need to become acquainted with various forms of knowledge which lie outside of the different departments of strictly theological science, and hence outside of Pastoral Theology as well, but which nevertheless involve a practical character. Among such forms we reckon *Pedagogics*, the theory of education, the theory of public charities, psychical, and, to some extent, also physical, therapeutics.

These matters certainly lie beyond the range of studies prescribed for the theologian, as such, and remarks like the above cannot, therefore, be intended to urge the incorporation of such branches with the theological course.¹ But it is important, in view of the practical nature of the future calling, that the conditions among which that calling must be exercised should at least be known. If the clergyman should be required to share in the supervision of Christian schools, and to express his judgment upon school matters in general, it will be necessary that he should be acquainted with the principles involved; and an additional argument arises from the fact that catechetics stand

The pastor
should be a
practical man.

¹ It has been wittily observed that they constitute "Pontius in the Credo" (comp. Graf, *Prakt. Theol.*, p. 174). Very well; but a hint which prevents the inquirer from being sent from Pontius to Pilate, and gives him the necessary information at once, can do no harm. Our idea does not require that lectures should be delivered upon all such topics; many things may be preserved for the future *ad notam*. Harms asks his hearers (*Pastor*, p. 16): "Can you estimate architectural plans correctly? Can you draft a lease? Do you know what amount of clover seed should be sown to the acre? Can you deal roughly with lazy artisans employed upon your house at the expense of the Church?" We are entirely agreed with Schweizer that Theology proper has no answer to give to questions of this kind; but such questions are not so much out of place as may at first sight be supposed, and constitute interrogation points which in their appropriate sphere serve to show the way beyond the borders of a different territory.

connected with pedagogics. If he is to render substantial aid in the department of public charities he will not find questions relating to pauperism, now so frequently discussed, to be wholly foreign to his position. It will be necessary that he should learn to know the sources of poverty which lie in existing social conditions, if he is to aid in bringing it to an end; and for this reason a course in Political Economy, for instance, might be recommended to the theologian, in so far as it relates to the amelioration of pauperism. The clergyman will also need to understand the nature of the forms of business if he would be competent to estimate their influence over the physical, social, and moral welfare of the people. The opinion of religious teachers respecting the mighty progress of industrial enterprises in our day, for instance, is not an unimportant matter, for the latter not infrequently come into conflict with the Christian life, in appearance, at least, as appears from the low degree to which interest in the Church has sunken in a majority of manufacturing towns, the neglect of the Sabbath, and of Christian schools, and the exclusive attention given to business, the fashions, luxury, and recreations. Can any thing be accomplished with reference to such matters by merely protesting against the spirit of the age, while unable to resist its progress? And is not the cultivated clergyman compelled to learn the character of the time, with its requirements and its needs, if he would successfully deal with its excrescences and perverted tendencies? Will he not be compelled to devise methods of relief for breadless sufferers who complain that they lack remunerative employment? But all this can be accomplished only when he has obtained an insight into the conditions of the time.

SECTION XX.

THE METHOD OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

The Seminary and Vicariate.

L. Hüffell, über die Errichtung praktischer Institute zur Ausbildung der angehenden evangel. Geistlichen; Eine Vorarbeit für die bevorstehende badnische Generalsynode und zugleich allen Regierungen gewidmet, denen das Wohl der protestantischen Kirche am Herzen liegt. Karlsruhe, 1831; Hupfeld a. a. O. S. 52-55; Derselbe: "Ist die Bildung, welche Theologen auf der Universität erhalten, auch ausreichend für ihren Seelsorgerberuf?" in den Annalen der gesammten Theologie und christl. Kirche, Jahrg., 1838; Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit; one of the best exhibitions of practical pastoral life extant in English. See also J. W. Alexander's Thoughts on Preaching, p. 125, et seq.

The student will not be able to do more in the period devoted to academical instruction than to secure a clear understanding of the task of Pastoral Theology in its general outlines, and to cultivate a sympathy for its work. The appropriate school for this, and all

other practical accomplishments, will be found either in the seminary or in the period of candidature which opens the way to the exercise of official functions. A practical school affording valuable aid in the work of preparation during the years of candidacy, is found in frequent intercourse with people belonging to different classes in society, and particularly in associating with experienced clergymen, in observing the signs of the times, in aiding to carry forward the objects of the numerous associations for Christian work; and a further special aid will be found in the reading of the biographies of eminent pastors.

Aids to a preparation for the pastorate.

To provide a bare sketch of Pastoral Theology is all that theory can accomplish; and it is therefore a question what shall be done to furnish a thorough practical training supplementary to that of the schools? Medical men have their hospitals and their clinics; should not something similar be provided for theologians? The proposition is not devoid of difficult considerations. At this point we come to consider the practical or professional seminary which may exist under diverse conditions, either as forming a part of the university, or as entirely distinct from it. It might be asked whether the monastic aspect which seminary training may assume does not tend to unfit rather than to qualify for actual life; whether theory does not in this, as in other respects, predominate over practice. Every thing will depend upon the spirit which pervades the different seminaries.

What shall be done for practical training?

The testimonies of persons who are familiar with such institutions are in their favor. But it is certain that even the seminary can produce no ready made preacher and pastor. It merely serves to lead over from the college or university into practical life; and lectures upon practical branches of study, which are often entirely too inadequate as delivered at the university, are certainly in place here. But who is to lead the seminary student to the bedside of the sick, or to the dwellings of the poor? Who will furnish him with opportunities for intercourse with farmers, or for studying life in its manifold conditions? Such considerations have led some minds in Europe to discuss the idea of founding seminaries in rural regions which should not be placed under the direction of professors, but of experienced and practical pastors. Such seminaries for Protestant clergyman would become a kind of model and metropolitan pastorates, from which surrounding villages and dependent churches might receive spiritual service, and to which the preachers might return, bringing new experiences, as bees bring honey to their cells. But it is to be questioned whether such a scheme could be carried practically into effect.

Value and limitations of the seminary.

Every candidate for the ministry should consider it a duty to visit clergymen in their fields of labor, and to be made acquainted with the duties of his station, though it should be at first merely as a non-participating observer. The preaching of a trial sermon, or the conduct of a catechization will be sufficient to entitle the youthful clergyman to enter a Christian home in the company of the resident pastor, or to visit the sick. Journeys of limited extent, and simple excursions, even, may likewise yield fruit, when it is sought after; and upon this, as other points, reading must be employed to take the place of personal observation when the latter is deficient. The reading of good popular authors will create an interest for the life and manners of the people, their needs, prejudices, and modes of thought; but it is necessary to guard against the forming of false ideals regarding the life of the people, and also concerning the life of the shepherd of the people. Least of all should one give way to the idyllic dreams of former days in an age like ours, which drives them even from the mind of the dreamer himself. The biographies of faithful pastors which describe their joys and sorrows, their lives, labors, and aspirations, are of greater value than the romantically tinged and imaginary pictures of model clergymen. The former constitute the true legends of saints for the evangelical theologian.

SECTION XXI.

THE HISTORY OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

The earliest pastoral instructions are those which were given by Christ to his Apostles (Matt. x), and those which they, in their turn, addressed to their pupils, especially through the pastoral epistles. Scattered elements are to be found in the early teachers of the Church, and in their works. When the care of souls became a priestly and hierarchical function, chiefly through the institution of auricular confession, the instructions provided for the use of confessors took on a similar character. The Reformation urged the importance of the pastoral work in addition to the work of preaching, with special emphasis. Zwingli wrote his Shepherd according to the Image of Christ and the Word of God, and many of Luther's letters afford rich materials for the use of pastoral learners. The literary and more or less systematic treatment of the subject begins with the *Pastorale* of Erasmus Sarcerius (1558), which was followed by the *Pastor* of Nicol. Hemming (1566) and the *Pastorale Lutheri* compiled by Conrad Porta (1582). The guides to pastoral work which

Association
with experi-
enced pastors.

The first in-
structions from
Christ.

First system-
atic treatise.

appeared at a later day were again of a casuistical character (comp. Quenstedt, *Ethica Pastoralis*, 1678). Gottfried Olearius brought out a direct Pastoral Theology in his *Collegium Pastorale*, etc., which was written by him at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Leipsic, 1718). Spener's *Theologische Bedenken*¹ unquestionably originated in the recognition, according to the true spirit of Protestantism, of a priesthood which is common to all Christians; but the later Pietism led the way back into the casuistical discussion of clerical ethics, and thereby introduced many inappropriate elements into the practical administration. The *Sammlungen* by Steinmetz, abbot of Klosterbergen, and the *Sammlungen zur Pastoraltheologie* by Philip David Burk (1771-78) furnish a beautiful testimony in favor of the better Pietism and its tendencies, especially as displayed in its Wurtembergian representatives. Rationalistic Pastoral Theology took ground in opposition to the Pietistic treatment, making of the clergyman a philanthropic educator of the people, and restricting his field of labor principally to the banishing of prejudices and the elevating of social conditions, and, in the loftiest theories, to the improvement of the schools for the people (Sebaldus Nothanker, by Nicolai). Modern Pastoral Theology is based on more correct views respecting the nature of religion and the spiritual office, and must, therefore, be conceded to have divested itself of much of what Rosenkranz stigmatizes as savouring of priestcraft.

English literature abounds in practical treatises upon the duties of the pastor, although the discussions of pastoral theology on its theoretical side are not very many. Probably the one work which has made the deepest impression is Richard Baxter's *Gildas Salvianus, or Reformed Pastor* (1656). It was prepared by a most successful pastor for a conference of pastors, and is still a model of its kind. Doddridge advised the reviewing "of the practical part of it every three or four years," and John Wesley made the reading of it one of the duties of his lay preachers. Bishop Burnet wrote *A Discourse on the Pastoral Care*, and John Fletcher of Madeley, *The Portrait of St. Paul*. Among modern works may be named *The Ministry of the Gospel*, by Francis Wayland; *Office and Work of the Christian Ministry*, by Francis M. Hoppin; *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology*, by William G. T. Shedd; and *The Christian Pastorate*, by D. P. Kidder. The *Yale Lectures on Preaching* contain, both directly and incidentally, valuable suggestions for the right ordering of the pastorate.²

¹ Comp. the collection for the times made by Hennicke, Halle, 1838.

² For the English Literature of this subject, see M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, vol. vii, p. 787.

SECTION XXII.

THE FURTHER CULTIVATION OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES.

The study of theology can never be exhausted,¹ more than that of any other science, and hence constant progress in its development is required. The germs of knowledge imparted by the schools are to be thoroughly elaborated, and especially in the years subsequent to graduation. Much, therefore, depends on a faithful improvement of the years of candidacy; but intercourse with the science is never to cease, even after the pastorate has been reached. Theological science can only retain its vitality, however, so long as it is sustained by theological views which have been tried and approved in the conflict of life. Much has been said with reference to the tendency of clergyman to deteriorate as students. There was a time in Germany and Switzerland when more good bee keepers than Church-guardians, more capable florists and cattle raisers than capable trainers of human beings, were to be found among the clergy. They were more skilful in the plant nursery than in the village school, and more at home in their cattle stalls than in the sheepfold of Christ. But the Church derives no greater benefit from one sided philologists and critics, nor from authors in the department of belles-lettres, or even of theology or ethics, if such employments cause the interests of the congregation to be neglected. A pastor who has not yet completed his studies in this regard should prefer not to be a pastor. His studies, in one word, ought not to be separated from his practical life so as to assume the appearance of *ἀλλότρητα*, but ought rather to be enlisted in the service of the practical life.

This does not imply that he should read only devotional works; at no time is he to remain unacquainted with the progress of theological science, because his entire efficiency must rise and fall with the Church, and Theology is the finger on the dial of the latter. But let him not study merely as a scholar or an amateur, but as a pastor, who has an eye to his congregation, and also to the Church, of which the congregation forms simply a part. Let him carry his people in his heart, and cause them to profit by all which he secures, and let him know how to obtain new seed for the field he has to cultivate from among the finest

Some wasteful occupations.

All study for the profit of the people.

¹ I have always been unable to regard the period of the university course otherwise than as a time of sowing and collecting materials, and have believed that the collecting must precede the digesting.—Rothe (*Studienjahre*, in *Nippold*, i, p. 70).

fruits that science affords. The best means for preserving the vitality of scientific pursuits among clergymen are found, aside from societies for reading, in the conferences of preachers and pastors, and in the more extended ministerial associations which have been springing up in increasing number in recent years. The object for which such associations have been established differs from that of the synods. The latter are directly engaged in the service of the Church, the former in that of the clergy; the latter fall within the department of Church government, the former in that of Church ministrations, to which they contribute a further incitement. The more thoroughly the two elements interpenetrate each other, the better it will be. The school affords training that fits for life, and life in turn becomes a school; and thus it should ever be with each one. Life ripens through conflict, and character, disposition, without which, beyond dispute, there can be no real *theological science*, are likewise steeled and purified by the heat of conflict.¹

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¹ The pastor needs to possess a real creative faculty, a certain poetic element (*ποιητικόν τι*). This creative faculty is primarily related to the sermon, of course, but afterward also to the other departments of clerical labor, to instruction and pastoral care. The clergyman needs to understand the requirements in either field, and must know how to meet them all. If, therefore, he does not carry about with him an adequate fund, he can be, in his capacity as clergyman, only a sorry comforter, a chatterer, or a silent dog. Subordinate, unproductive, and otherwise contracted characters are usually able to make themselves useful in all offices, in some form, at least, but they are not qualified for the spiritual office. To be required, and yet not able to produce, is the most terrible torture conceivable by man.—Vilmar, p. 80.

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- Chr. A. v. Eschenmayer, Grundlinien zu einem allgem. kanon. Rechte. Tüb., 1825.
- W. T. Krug, Das Kirchenrecht nach den Grundsätzen der Vernunft und im Lichte des Christenthums dargestellt. Lpz., 1826.
- J. G. Pahl, Das öffentl. Recht der evangel.-luther. Kirche in Deutschland kritisch dargestellt. Tüb., 1827.
- † C. A. v. Droste-Hülshoff, Grundsätze des gemeinen Kirchenrechts der Katholiken und Evangelischen. Münster, 1832–35. 2 vols.
- C. Hase, De jure ecclesiastico commentarii historici. Lips., 1828, 1832.
- * K. Fr. Eichhorn, Grundsätze des Kirchenrechts der kathol. und evangel. Religionspartei in Deutschland. Gött., 1831–33. 2 vols.
- * H. C. M. Rettig, Die freie protestant. Kirche oder die kirchlichen Verfassungsgrundsätze des Evangeliums. Giessen, 1832.
- J. A. v. Grollmann, Grundsätze des allgem. kathol. und protestantischen Kirchenrechts. 2d ed. Frankf. a. M., 1843.
- † E. W. Klee, Das Recht der einen allgemeinen Kirche. Magdeb., 1839, 1841. 2 vols.
- F. J. Stahl, Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protest. Erl., 1840. 2d ed., ibid., 1862.
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- * Ch. J. F. Bunsen, Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft. Hamb., 1845. Eng. ed., Lond., 1847.
- H. Thiele, Die Kirche Christi in ihrer Gestaltung auf Erden. Zürich, 1844.
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- * G. V. Lechler, Geschichte der Presbyterial- und Synodalverfassung seit der Reformation. (A prize essay.) Leyden, 1854.
- C. Trummer, Aphorismen über das christliche Kirchenrecht. Frankf., 1859.
- † G. Philipps, Kirchenrecht. Regensb., 1848–64. 6 vols.
- † J. F. Schulte, Catholisches Kirchenrecht. I. 1–3. II. 1, 2. Giessen, 1860–67.
- J. A. Ginzel, Handbuch des neuesten in Oesterreich geltenden Kirchenrechts. Wien, 1857–62. 2 vols.
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- Fr. Bluhme, System des in Deutschland geltenden Kirchenrechts. Bonn, 1858.
- Th. Harnack, Die Kirche, ihr Amt, ihr Regiment. Grundlegende Sätze mit durchgehender Bezugnahme auf die symbolischen Bücher der lutherischen Kirche. Nürnberg, 1862.
- C. F. Rosshirt, Beiträge zum Kirchenrecht. Heidelb., 1863.
- Encyklopädie des Kirchenrechts. Heidelb., 1865.
- R. W. Dove, Sammlung der wichtigsten neuen Kirchenordnungen des evangel. Deutschlands. Tüb., 1865.

F. Brandes, *Die Verfassung der Kirche nach evangelischen Grundsätzen*. Elberfeld, 1867. 2 vols.

O. Mejer, *Grundlagen des lutherischen Kirchenregiments*. Rostock, 1864.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

I. *Pastoral Office.*

Alfred Barrett, *Pastoral Addresses: Adapted for Retirement and the Closet*. 2 vols.. 3d ed., 16mo, pp. 384.

Richard Baxter, *The Reformed Pastor: Showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work*. 8vo. N. Y., 1860. New ed., 12mo, pp. xvi, 311. Lond.

John Henry Blunt, *Directorium Pastorale. The Principles and Practices of Pastoral Work in the Church of England*. 8vo, pp. 456. Lond., 1865.

— The *Acquirements and Principal Obligations and Duties of the Parish Priest: being a Course of Lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge to the Students in Divinity*. 12mo, pp. 394. Lond., 1869.

Chas. Bridges, *The Christian Ministry; with an Inquiry into the Causes of its Inefficiency*. 8vo. N. Y., 1868.

John Brown, *The Christian Pastor's Manual. A Selection of Tracts on the Duties, Difficulties, and Encouragements of the Christian Ministry*. 12mo. Phila., 1837.

Henry F. Burder, *Mental Discipline; or, Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual and Moral Habits. Addressed Particularly to Students in Theology*. 12mo. N. Y., 1830.

J. W. Burgon, *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, Addressed chiefly to Candidates for Holy Orders; or to Those who have Recently Undertaken the Care of Souls*. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 470. Lond., 1864.

Gilbert Burnet, *a Discourse on Pastoral Care*. 32mo. Lond., 1849.

Geo. Campbell, *Lectures on Systematic Theology, Pulpit Eloquence, and Pastors' Character*. 8vo. Lond., 1840.

J. S. Cannon, *Lectures on Pastoral Theology*. N. Y., 1853.

St. John Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood. In Six Books. Translated by B. H. Cowper*. 12mo, pp. 239. Lond., 1866.

Adam Clarke, *A Letter to a Preacher on his Entrance into the Work of the Ministry*. 18mo. Lond., 1868.

A. F. Douglass, *The Pastor and his People: Discussions on Ministerial Life and Character*. 12mo. Lond., 1868.

C. J. Ellicott, *Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures. Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Church Homiletical Society. Edited by C. J. Ellicott*. 12mo. N. Y.

R. W. Evans, *The Bishopric of Souls*. 4th ed., 12mo. Lond., 1866.

P. Fairbairn, *Pastoral Theology. A Treatise on the Office and Duties of the Christian Pastor*. 12mo, pp. 386. Edinb., 1865.

Micaiah Hill, *The Principles of the Pastoral Function in the Church*. 12mo, pp. 456. Lond., 1855.

James M. Hoppin, *The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry*. 8vo, pp. 620. N. Y., 1869.

Alvah Hovey, *The Christian Pastor, his Work, and the Needful Preparation: a Discourse, etc.* 18mo. Boston, 1857.

Heman Humphrey, *Thirty-four Letters to a Son in the Ministry*. 12mo. Amherst, 1842.

John Angel James, *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times*. 12mo. N. Y., 1849.

Daniel P. Kidder, *The Christian Pastorate: its Character, Responsibilities, and Duties*. 12mo, pp. 569. N. Y., 1871.

Wm. Meade, *Lectures on the Pastoral Office: Delivered to the Students of the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va.* 8vo, pp. 241. N. Y., 1849.

- Thomas Murphy, *Pastoral Theology; the Pastor in the Various Duties of his Office*. 8vo, pp. 509. Phila.
- Ashton Oxenden, *The Pastoral Office: its Duties, Difficulties, Privileges, and Prospects*. 12mo. Lond., 1864.
- Edwards A. Park, *The Preacher and Pastor*, by Fénelon, Herbert, Baxter, and Campbell. Edited and Accompanied by an Introductory Essay. 12mo. N. Y., 1849.
- Joseph Parker, *Ad Clerum; Advices to a Young Preacher*. 16mo, pp. 266. Boston, 1871.
- Pastoral Letters from the House of Bishops to the Clergy and Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. 12mo. Phila., 1845.
- W. S. Plumer, *Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology*. 12mo, pp. 381. N. Y., 1874.
- Enoch Pond, *The Young Pastor's Guide; or, Lectures on Pastoral Duties*. 16mo, pp. 377. Bangor, 1844.
- William G. T. Shedd, *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology*. 8th ed., 8vo, pp. 429. N. Y., 1870.
- George Smith, *The Doctrine of the Christian Pastorate*. 8vo, pp. 123. Lond., 1851.
- Edward Spooner, *Pastor and People; or, Incidents in the Every-Day Life of a Clergyman*. 16mo, pp. 260. N. Y., 1865.
- James Stewart Wilson, *The Life, Education, and Wider Culture of the Christian Ministry: its Sources, Methods, and Aims*. Lectures delivered at Aberdeen, etc. 8vo, pp. 284. Lond., 1882.
- Henry Thompson, *Pastoralia. A Manual of Helps for Parochial Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland*. 2d ed., 12mo, pp. 263. Lond., 1832.
- Tracts on Ministerial Duties. 5th ed., 8vo, pp. 443. Oxford, 1843.
- J. J. Van Oosterzee, *Practical Theology*. N. Y., 1879.
- A. Vinet, *Pastoral Theology*. 12mo, pp. 387. N. Y., 1854.
- Francis Wayland, *Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel*. 16mo, pp. 210. Boston, 1863.
- William Wisner, *Incidents in the Life of a Pastor*. 12mo, pp. 316. N. Y., 1851.

II. *Ecclesiastical Law.*

- L. Coleman, *Manual on Prelacy and Ritualism*. Phila., 1867.
- W. J. Henry and W. L. Harris, *Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence*. 8vo, pp. 511. Cin., 1879.
- Charles Hodge, *Discussions in Church Polity*. From Contributions to the Princeton Review. 8vo, pp. xi, 532. N. Y., 1878.
- Murray Hoffman, *The Ritual Law of the Church; with its Application to the Communion and Baptismal Offices*. N. Y., 1872.
- *Ecclesiastical Law in the State of New York*. N. Y., 1868.
- Sandford Hunt, *Laws Relating to Religious Corporations. A Compilation of the Statutes of the Several States in Relation to the Incorporation and Maintenance of Religious Societies*. N. Y., 1876.
- James W. Joyce, *The Civil Power and its Relations to the Church; Considered with Special Reference to the Court of Final Ecclesiastical Appeal in England*. 8vo, pp. xii, 240. Lond., 1875.
- William Strong, *Two Lectures upon the Relation of Civil Law to Ecclesiastical Polity Property, and Discipline*. 12mo, pp. 141. N. Y., 1875.
- R. H. Tyler, *American Ecclesiastical Law: the Law of Religious Societies, Church Government and Creeds, Disturbing Religious Meetings, and the Law of Burial Grounds in the United States*. 8vo. Albany, 1866.
- F. Vinton, *Commentary on the General Canon Law and the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*. N. Y., 1870.

APPENDIX.

I.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

The following titles, chiefly of English and American works, upon the relations of Religion and Science, may be useful to theological students. The list, though large, does not profess to be complete.

- Ackland, T. S. *The Story of Creation as told by Theology and Science.* 16mo. London.
- Agassiz, Louis. *Contributions to the Natural History of U. S. of America.* (An essay on classification. Vol. I, pp. 232. Boston, 1857.
- *Methods of Study in Natural History.* Pp. 313. Boston, 1871.
- *The Structure of Animal Life.* 8vo, pp. 128. New York, 1870. (The last lecture is entitled: Evidence of an Intelligent and Constantly Creative Mind in the Plans and Variations of Structure.)
- Anniversary Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History.* 1830–1880. Boston. (Contains a Critique of Darwinism by Prof. Hyatt.) 4to, pp. 635.
- Annual of Scientific Discovery.* Edited by Spencer F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; formerly by David A. Wells. New York and London, 1860–62. (Gives frequent notices of the discussions of the antiquity of man, origin of life, etc.)
- Argyll, The Duke of. *Primeval Man. An Examination of some Recent Speculations.* Pp. 200. New York, 1869.
- Bain, Alexander. *Mind and Body, Theories of their Relations.* 12mo. New York.
- Bascom, John. *Science, Philosophy, and Religion.* 12mo, pp. 311. New York, 1871.
- Bastian, H. C. *Evolution, and the Origin of Life.* New York, 1880.
- *The Beginnings of Life.* Being some Account of the Nature, Modes of Origin, and Transformations of Lower Organisms. With Numerous Illustrations. 2 vols., 12mo. New York, 1872.
- Beale, Lionel S. *Protoplasm; or, Life, Matter, and Mind.* 12mo, pp. 160. 2d ed. London, 1870. (A scientific refutation of Huxley's protoplasmic theory.)
- Birks, T. R. *The Difficulties of Belief in Connection with the Creation and Fall.* 12mo. Cambridge, 1855.
- *The Scripture Doctrine of Creation, with Reference to Religious Nihilism and Modern Theories of Development.* 16mo. New York, 1875.
- Brace, Charles L. *The Races of the Old World. A Manual of Ethnology.* 12mo, pp. 540. New York, 1863. (Discusses the geological question of the antiquity of man.)
- Bruntin, T. Landon. *The Bible and Science.* London, 1881. 12mo, pp. 415. (Aims to show the agreement of evolution with the Pentateuch.)
- Büchner, Louis. *Force and Matter. Empirico-Philosophical Studies, intelligibly rendered.* Edited by J. Frederick Collingwood. 12mo, pp. 374. London, 1870.

- Büchner, L. *Man in the Past, Present, and Future. A Popular Account of the Results of Recent Scientific Research as regards the Origin, Position, and Prospects of the Human Race.* 8vo. London, 1872. (Atheistic.)
- Cabell, J. L. *The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind.* 12mo, New York, 1860.
- Calderwood, Henry. *The Relations of Science and Religion. The Morse Lecture, 1880.* 12mo, pp. xiii, 323. New York, 1881.
- Chadbourne, P. A. *Instinct: its Office in the Animal Kingdom, and its Relation to the Higher Powers of Man.* 16mo, pp. 307. New York, 1872. (Argues that man has an instinctive belief in the existence of God.)
- Chapin, James H. *The Creation and the Early Developments of Society.* 12mo, pp. 274. New York, 1880.
- Christianity and its Antagonisms: Evangelical Alliance, Conf. of 1873. Division III. 8vo. New York, 1874.
- Christlieb, Theodor. *The Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity. A Paper read before the Evangelical Alliance, 1873.* 18mo, pp. 89. New York, 1874. (Discusses scientific unbelief.)
- Church and Science (The). *The Debate between; or, the Ancient Hebraic Idea of the Six Days of Creation; with an Essay on the Literary Character of Tayler Lewis.* Andover, 1860.
- Claims of the Bible and of Science: Correspondence between a Layman and the Rev. F. D. Maurice on some Questions arising out of the Controversy respecting the Pentateuch. 12mo. London, 1863.
- Clark, Edson L. *Fundamental Questions: Chiefly Relating to the Book of Genesis and the Hebrew Scriptures.* 12mo, pp. vi, 217.
- Clark, Henry James. *Mind in Nature; or, the Origin of Life and the mode of Development of Animals. With over Two Hundred Illustrations.* 8vo. New York, 1865.
- Cook, Joseph. *Biology.* 15th ed., 12mo, pp. 325. Boston, 1878. (Wholly popular in its treatment of the subject.)
- Creation, Vestiges of. 12mo. New York.
- Dabney, R. L. *The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered.* 8vo. Edinburgh.
- Dana, James D. *Manual of Geology; with Special Reference to American Geological History.* 8vo, pp. 814. Philadelphia and London, 1863. (Discusses the Antiquity and Unity of the human race.) 2d ed., pp. 828. New York, 1875.
- Darwin, Charles. *The Descent of Man, and Selection in relation to Sex.* 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 409, 436. New York, 1875.
- *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* 6th ed., pp. xx, 458. London, 1873.
- *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.* 2 vols., pp. 494, 568. New York, 1875.
- Dawkins, W. B. *Early Man in Britain, and his Place in the Tertiary Period.* Pp. xxiv, 587.
- Dawson, J. W. *Archæia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures.* 12mo, pp. 400. Montreal, 1860.
- *Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives. An Attempt to Illustrate the Character and Condition of Prehistoric Men in Europe by those of the American Races.* 12mo. New York.
- *Nature and the Bible. Lectures delivered in Union Theological Seminary on the Morse Foundation.* New York, 1875. Pp. 257.

- Dawson, J. W. *The Chain of Life in Geological Time*. London, 1880. Pp. 272.
- *The Story of the Earth and Man*. 12mo, pp. 493. New York, 1878.
- Dick, Thomas. *Christian Philosophy; or, the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion*. Revised edition. Illustrated with upward of 50 Engravings, 12mo. New York, 1857.
- Draper, John William. *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*. New York, 1875. Pp. 378.
- Duns, John. *Biblical Natural Science*. Being the Explanation of all References in Holy Scriptures to Geology, Botany, Zoölogy, and Physical Geography. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 1152. London, 1864.
- Elam, Charles. *Winds of Doctrine. An Examination of Modern Theories of Atomatism and Evolution*. Pp. 163. London, 1877.
- Farrar, Adam Storey. *Science in Theology. Sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford*. 12mo, pp. 250. Am. ed. Philadelphia, 1860.
- Figuiet, Louis. *Primitive Man*. Revised Translation. Illustrated with Thirty Scenes of Primitive Life, etc. 8vo. New York, 1870.
- *The To-morrow of Death; or, the Future Life According to Science*, translated by S. R. Crocker. 16mo, pp. 395. Boston, 1872.
- *The World before the Deluge*. Edited by H. W. Bristow. 12mo, pp. 518. New York, 1872.
- Fiske, John. *Darwinism, and other Essays*. 12mo, pp. viii, 283. London, 1879.
- *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution*. 2 vols., pp. 465, 523. Boston, 1875.
- Fly, E. M. *The Bible True; or, the Cosmogony of Moses compared with the Facts of Science*. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1871.
- Fowle, T. W. *The Reconciliation of Religion and Science*. Being Essays on Immortality, Inspiration, Miracles, and the Being of Christ. 8vo, pp. 404. London, 1873.
- Fraser, William. *Blending Lights; or, the Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History to the Bible*. 12mo. New York, 1874.
- Geikie, Cunningham. *Hours with the Bible; or, the Scriptures in the Light of Modern Discovery from the Creation to the Patriarchs*. (Discusses the geological age of the world and the antiquity of man.) New York, 1881. (Vol. II is from Moses to Judges.)
- Geikie, James. *The Great Ice Age and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man*. Pp. xxv, 545. New York, 1874.
- Gibson, Stanley. *Religion and Science: their Relations to each other at the Present Day*. Three Essays on the Grounds of Religious Belief. 8vo. London, 1882.
- Glog, Paton J. *The Primeval World. A Treatise on the Relations of Geology to Theology*. 12mo, pp. 194. Edinburgh, 1859.
- Gray, Asa. *Darwiniana. Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism*. 12mo, pp. 396. New York, 1876. (Aims to show that natural selection is not inconsistent with natural theology.)
- *Natural Science and Religion. Lectures to the Theological School of Yale College*, 1880. 12mo, pp. 111.
- Haeckel, Ernst. *The History of Creation; or, the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants from Natural Causes*. (A popular exposition of the doctrine of Evolution.) Translated by E. Ray Lancaster. 2 vols., pp. 408, 374. London, 1876.
- Harcourt, L. V. *The Doctrine of the Deluge, Vindicating the Scriptural Account from the Doubts which have been recently cast upon it by Geological Speculations*. 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1838.

- Harris, John. *Man Primeval; or, the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being.* 12mo. Boston, 1870.
- The Pre-Adamite Earth. *Contributions to Theological Science.* 5th ed., 12mo. pp. 300. Boston, 1857.
- Heard, J. B. *The Tripartite Nature of Man: Spirit, Soul, and Body.* 12mo, pp. xxiv, 374. Edinburgh, 1870.
- Hedge, Frederic Henry. *The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition.* 12mo, pp. 233. Boston, 1870.
- Henslow, George. *The Theory of Evolution and the Application of the Principles of Evolution to Religion.* Pp. 220. London, 1873.
- Hill, Thomas. *Geometry and Faith. A Supplement to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise.* 3d ed. greatly enlarged. 12mo, pp. 109. Boston and New York, 1882.
- Hitchcock, Edward. *Religious Truth Illustrated from Science, in Addresses and Sermons upon Special Occasions.* 12mo. Boston, 1857.
- *The Religion of Geology and its Connected Sciences.* 12mo, pp. 511. Boston, 1851.
- Hodge, Charles. *What is Darwinism?* 12mo, pp. 178. New York, 1874. (Argues that Darwinism is Atheistic.)
- Homo versus Darwin.* A Judicial Examination of Statements recently Published by Mr. Darwin regarding "The Descent of Man." 12mo. Philadelphia, 1872.
- Huxley, Thomas H. *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature.* 12mo, pp. 184. New York, 1862.
- *Critiques and Addresses.* Pp. 350. London, 1873.
- *Lay Sermons, etc.* London and New York, 1872.
- *The Origin of Species; or, the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature.* Pp. 150. New York, 1872.
- *The Theory of Evolution.* Lectures delivered in New York. *New York Tribune Extra No. 36.* *Popular Science Monthly,* 1876 and 1877.
- Janet, Paul. *The Materialism of the Present Day: a Critique of Dr. Büchner's System.* From the French. 12mo, pp. 202. London and New York, 1866.
- Jevons, W. Stanley. *The Principles of Science. A Treatise on Logic and Scientific Method.* 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 463, 480. London and New York, 1874. (Argues that Science as well as Religion rests on probable evidence; and that there is no necessary antagonism between Science and Theology.)
- Kurtz, John Henry. *The Bible and Astronomy; an Exposition of the Biblical Cosmology, and its Relations to Natural Science.* 12mo. Philadelphia, 1861.
- Laidlaw, John. *The Bible Doctrine of Man. The Seventh Series of Cunningham Lectures.* 8vo, pp. 397. Edinburgh and New York, 1879. (Discusses Evolution.)
- Lange, F. A. *History of Materialism. With a Criticism of its Present Importance.* 3 vols., 8vo. Boston, 1880.
- Le Conte, Joseph. *Religion and Science. A Series of Sunday Lectures on the Relation of Natural and Revealed Religion; or, the Truths Revealed in Nature and Scripture.* Pp. 324. New York, 1874.
- Lenormant, François. *The Beginnings of History, according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples.* From the 2d French ed. 12mo, pp. 588. New York, 1882.
- Leslie, J. P. *Man's Origin and Destiny Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences.* (Argues the consistency of evolution with theism, but rejects revelation.) Boston, 1881. 12mo, pp. 442.

- Lewes, George H. *The Physical Basis of Mind. Forming the Second Series.* 8vo. Boston, 1880.
- *Problems of Life and Mind.* 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 434, 487. Boston, 1874-5.
- Lewis, Tayler. *The Bible and Science; or, the World Problem.* 12mo. Schenectady, 1856.
- *The Six Days of Creation; or, the Scriptural Cosmogony.* 12mo, pp. 416. New ed., 1879.
- Lubbock, Sir John. *Prehistoric Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages.* 8vo, pp. 640. New York, 1872.
- *The Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man. Mental and Social Condition of Savages.* 8vo, pp. viii, 380. New York, 1870.
- Lyell, Sir Charles. *Principles of Geology; or, the Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants, considered as Illustrative of Geology.* 2 vols., pp. 671, 652. New York, 1873. (Furnishes, in his "Uniformitarian" theory, the ground for Darwinism.)
- *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation.* 8vo, pp. 526. Philadelphia, 1863. Revised edition, pp. xix, 572. London, 1873.
- *The Student's Elements of Geology.* Pp. 624. London, 1871.
- Macdonald, Donald. *The Creation and Fall. A Defense of the First Three Chapters of Genesis.* 8vo. Edinburgh.
- M'Causland, Dominick. *Adam and the Adamites; or, the Harmony of the Scriptures and Ethnology.* 12mo, pp. 324. London, 1868.
- *Sermons in Stones; or, Scripture confirmed by Geology.* 16mo. London, 1870.
- M'Cosh, James. *The Development Hypothesis. Is it Sufficient?* 12mo, 104. New York, 1876.
- Martineau, James. *Modern Materialism and its Relations to Theology and Religion. With an Introduction by H. W. Bellows.* 18mo, pp. 211. New York, 1877.
- Maudsley, Henry. *The Physiology and Pathology of Mind. From the London edition.* 8vo, pp. 442. 1867. (Resolves Psychology into Physiology, and holds that mind is the highest form of force.)
- Mill, John Stuart. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Deductive.* 8vo, pp. 600. New York, 1867. (Argues that we can give no account of the permanent causes in nature.)
- Miller, Hugh. *The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearing on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed.* 12mo, pp. 511. Boston, 1870.
- Mivart, St. George. *Lessons from Nature as Manifested in Mind and Matter.* 12mo, pp. viii, 462. New York, 1876. (Anti-Darwinian.)
- *Man and Apes. An Exposition of Structural Resemblances and Differences bearing upon questions of Affinity and Origin.* 12mo, pp. 200. London, 1874.
- *The Genesis of Species.* 12mo, pp. 296. London, 1871. (An argument against Darwin for a Special Creation.)
- Molloy, Gerald. *Geology and Revelation; or, the Ancient History of the Earth Considered in the light of Geological Facts and Revealed Religion.* 12mo, pp. 380. New York, 1870.
- Müller, Max. *Chips from a German Workship.* 5 vols., 12mo. New York, 1876. (The essays in Vol. IV are chiefly on the science of Language.)
- Murphy, Joseph John. *Habit and Intelligence in their Connexion with the Laws of Matter and Force.* 2 vols., pp. 349, 240.
- *The Scientific Basis of Faith.* 8vo. London, 1873

- Nott, Josiah, and Gliddon, George R. *Types of Mankind ; or, Ethnological Researches*. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1854.
- *Indigenous Races of the Earth ; or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry Including other valuable contributions*. Royal 8vo. Philadelphia, 1857.
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- Owen, Richard. *Paleontology ; or, a Systematic Survey of Extinct Animals and their Geological Relations*. 2d ed., pp. 463. Edinburgh, 1861.
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- Pendleton, N. W. *Science a Witness for the Bible*. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1860.
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- Phin, John. *The Chemical History of the Six Days of Creation*. 12mo. New York, 1870.
- Poole, R. S. *The Genesis of the Earth and of Man ; or, the History of Creation and the Antiquity and Races of Mankind*. 12mo. London, 1860.
- Pratt, John H. *Scripture and Science not at Variance*. With Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis. 7 ed., revised and corrected. 12mo. London, 1872.
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- Quarry, John. *Genesis and its Authorship*. Two Dissertations. 8vo, pp. 635. London and Edinburgh, 1866. (Argues that revelation was not designed to teach any system of science.)
- Ragg, Thomas. *Creation's Testimony to its God*. The Accordance of Science, Philosophy, and Revelation. A Manual of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. 12mo. London, 1867.
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- Recent Scientific Conclusions, (Thoughts on,) and their Relation to Religion*. 12mo. London, 1872.
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- Sandys, R. H. *In the Beginning. Remarks on certain Modern Views of the Creation.* 2d ed., crown 8vo. London, 1880.
- Saville, B. W. *The Truth of the Bible. Evidence from the Mosaic and other Records of Creation; the Origin and Antiquity of Man; the Science of Scripture; and from the Archæology of Different Nations of the Earth.* 8vo. London, 1870.
- Schmidt, Oscar. *The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism.* Pp. 334. London, 1875.
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- Shields, Charles W. *Religion and Science in their Relations to Philosophy.* 8vo. New York, 1875.
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- Smyth, Thomas. *The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science.* 12mo. New York, 1850.
- Smyth, William W. *The Bible and the Doctrine of Evolution. Being a Complete Synthesis of their Truth, and giving a Sure Scientific Basis for the Doctrines of Scripture.* 12mo. London, 1873.
- Southall, James T. *The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology.* 8vo, pp. 606. Philadelphia, 1875.
- Spencer, Herbert. *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy.* 12mo, pp. 503. New York, 1864. (The fifth chapter attempts a reconciliation of Religion and Science.
- *The Principles of Biology.* 2 vols., pp. 492, 569. New York, 1871.
- St. Clair, George. *Darwinism and Design; or, Creation by Evolution.* Pp. 359. London, 1873.
- Stirling, James H. *As Regards Protoplasm. In relation to Prof. Huxley's Essay on the Physical Basis of Life.* 18mo, pp. 71. New Haven, 1870.
- Thompson, Joseph P. *Man in Genesis and in Geology; or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation tested by Scientific Theories of his Origin and Antiquity.* 12mo, pp. 149. New York, 1870.
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- Tyndall, Professor John. *Fragments of Science for Unscientific People. A Series of Detached Essays, Lectures, and Reviews.* New York. 12mo, pp. 422. 1871. (The second essay discusses prayer and natural law; the sixth, the scope and limit of scientific materialism.)
- Venn, J. *On some of the Characteristics of Belief, Scientific and Religious.* (Hulsean Lectures for 1869.) 8vo. London, 1870.
- Wallace, Alfred Russell. *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection.* 2d ed., pp. 384. New York, 1869.

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- *The Malay Archipelago.* Pp. 638. New York, 1869.
- Warring, Charles B. *The Mosaic Account of Creation, etc.; or, New Witnesses to the Oneness of Genesis and Science.* 16mo, pp. 292. New York, 1875.
- Warrington, George. *The Week of Creation; or, the Cosmogony of Genesis, considered in its Relation to Modern Science.* 12mo. London, 1870.
- Whewell, Wm. *History of the Inductive Sciences.* 3d ed., 2 vols., pp. 566, 646. New York, 1870.
- *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences.* 2 vols., pp. 586, 523. London, 1840.
- Whitney, M. Dwight. *Language and the Study of Language.* 12mo, pp. 505. New York, 1868.
- *Oriental and Linguistic Studies.* First and second series. 12mo, pp. 416, 431. New York, 1873, 1874.
- Wight, George. *Geology and Genesis. A Reconciliation of the two Records. Commendatory Note by W. L. Alexander.* 12mo. London, 1867.
- Williams, Charles. *The First Week of Time; or, Scripture in Harmony with Science.* 12mo. London, 1863.
- Wilson, Daniel. *Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of Civilization in the Old and the New World.* 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1865.
- Winchell, Alexander. *Pre-Adamites; or, a Demonstration of the Existence of Man before Adam.* 8vo, pp. xxvi, 500. Chicago and London, 1880.
- *Reconciliation of Science and Religion.* 12mo, xvi, 403. New York and Cincinnati, 1877. (Argues that there is no contradiction between evolution and direct creation.)
- *Sketches of Creation. A Popular View of some of the Grand Conclusions of the Sciences in Reference to the History of Matter and of Life. With Illustrations.* 12mo, pp. xii, 459. New York, 1870.
- *The Doctrine of Evolution. Its Data, its Principles, its Speculation, and its Theistic Bearings.* 12mo, pp. 148. New York, 1874.
- Wiseman, (Cardinal,) Nicholas. *Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion.* 8vo, pp. xii, 404. London, 1837.
- Wright, G. Frederic. *Studies in Science and Religion.* 16mo, pp. 406. Andover, 1882. (The seventh essay discusses the Bible and Science.)
- *The Logic of Christian Evidences.* 12mo, xiv, 312. Andover, 1880.
- Wythe, Rev. Joseph H. *The Agreement of Science and Revelation.* 12mo, pp. 290. Philadelphia and London, 1872.
- Yorke, J. F. *Notes on Evolution and Christianity.* 8vo, pp. 296. London, 1882.
- Young, J. R. *Modern Skepticism Viewed in Relation to Modern Science.* 12mo. London, 1865.
- See also J. W. Dawson's address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal. 1875; John L. Leconte's address before the same, Salem, 1875; Huxley's article on Biology in ninth edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Professor Clerk Maxwell's article on Atoms in same; Edward S. Morse's paper before American Association in *Popular Science Review*, 1876; Goldwin Smith's article on Ascent of Man, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1877; M. A. Wilder's article on Natural Law and Spiritual Agency, in the *New Englander* for October, 1874.
- For an account of recent German works on Theology and Science, Darwinism, etc., see *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1877, pp. 386 and 387, and July, 1877, pp. 577-584.

II.

HISTORIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The histories of the Churches in the United States are of so much importance to the theological student that we offer here a list of those most accessible. As many of the denominational publishing houses, from which they are generally issued, are not well known, the location of each has also been stated.

GENERAL.

- Baird, Robert. Religion in America; or, An Account of the Origin, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States. With Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations. 8vo, pp. xvii, 696. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.
- Religious Denominations of the United States. Their past History, Present Condition, and Doctrines, Accurately set forth in Fifty-three Articles by Clergymen and Lay Authors Connected with the Respective Persuasions. 8vo. Philadelphia: C. Desilver & Sons. 1871.
- Rupp, I. Daniel. History of the Religious Denominations in the United States. 8vo, pp. vi, 734. Philadelphia: J. Y. Humphreys. 1844.
- Sprague, William B. Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, with Historical Introductions. 10 vols., 8vo. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1859-69.

BAPTIST.

- Anderson, Geo. W. The Baptists in the United States. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1420 Chestnut Street.
- Backus, Isaac. A History of New England; from 1629 to 1804. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists. 2d ed., with Notes by David Weston. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. x, 538; ix, 584. Newton, Mass. 1871.
- Bailey, G. S. The Trials and Victories of Religious Liberty in America. A Centennial Memorial, 1776-1876. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.
- Barrows, C. E. Development of Baptist Principles in Rhode Island. 18mo, pp. 104. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.
- Benedict, David. General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 970. New York: L. Colby. 1848.
- Bitting, C. C. Religious Liberty and the Baptists. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.
- Cramp, J. M. Baptist History. From the Foundation of the Christian Church to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. 12mo, pp. 598. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1869.
- Crowell, W. Literature of the American Baptists During the Last Fifty Years. Missionary Jubilee Volume. New York. 1865.
- Curry, J. L. M. Struggles and Triumphs of Virginia Baptists. A Memorial Discourse. 18mo, pp. 71. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.
- Hovey, Alvah. Progress of a Century. 18mo, pp. 70. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.
- Minutes of the General Conference of the Free-will Baptist Connection from 1829 to 1856. Pp. 444. Dover, N. H.

- Moss, Lemuel, Editor. *The Baptist and the National Centenary. A Record of Christian Work, 1776-1876.* 8vo, pp. 310. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1876.
- Stewart, J. D. *History of the Free-will Baptists for Half a Century.* 12mo, pp. 480. Dover, N. H., 1862.
- *The Centennial Record of Free-will Baptists, 1780-1880.* Pp. 266. Dover, N. H.
- Taylor, Geo. B. *The Baptists and Religious Liberty.* 18mo, pp. 36. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.
- Taylor, G. B. *Virginia Baptists.* 18mo, pp. 35. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.
- Williams, A. D. *Memorials of the Free Communion Baptists.* 8vo. Dover, N. H.: Free-will Baptist Printing Establishment. 1852.
- Williams, William R. *Lectures on Baptist History.* Philadelphia. 1877.
- Also various biographies of Free-will Baptist ministers, to wit: John Colby, pp. 316; William Burr, pp. 208; Clement Phinney, pp. 190; John Stevens, pp. 120; Martin Cheney, pp. 471; David Marks, pp. 516; George F. Day, pp. 431. Dover, N. H.: Free-will Baptist Publishing House.

CHRISTIAN.

- Summerbell, N. *History of the Christians.* Dayton, O.: Christian Publishing Association.

CONGREGATIONAL.

- Bacon, Leonard. *The Genesis of the New England Churches.* 8vo, pp. xvi, 485. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.
- *Historical Discourses on the Completion of Two Hundred Years, from Beginning of the First Church in New Haven, Conn.* 8vo. Boston: A. H. Maltby. 1849.
- Cambridge (Mass.) *Platform of (Congregational) Church Discipline, 1648. Confession of Faith, 1680. Platform of Ecclesiastical Government, by N. Emmons.* 12mo, pp. ii, 20-84. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, Beacon Street. 1855.
- Clark, Joseph S. *Historical Sketches of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, from 1620 to 1858; with an Appendix.* 12mo, pp. 344. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut; Prepared under the Direction of the General Association, to Commemorate the Completion of One Hundred and Fifty Years since its First Annual Assembly.* 8vo, pp. 578. New Haven: W. L. Kingsley. 1861.
- Dexter, Henry M. *Congregationalism: What it Is, Whence it Is, etc.* 8vo, pp. 338. 4th ed., Revised and Enlarged. 12mo. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. 1876.
- *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature. With a Biographical Index.* 4to, pp. xxxviii, 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.
- A Monograph. As to Roger Williams and his "Banishment" from the Massachusetts Plantation, with a Few Further Words Concerning the Baptists, the Quakers, and Religious Liberty. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Felt, Joseph B. *The Ecclesiastical History of New England; Comprising not only Religious, but also Moral and Other Relations.* 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 664, 721. Boston: Congregational Library Association. 1855.

- Government and Communion, Practiced by the Congregational Churches in the United States of America, which were Represented by Elders and Messengers in a National Council at Boston, A. D. 1865. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Mather, Cotton. *Magnalia Christi Americana*; or, Ecclesiastical History of New England, from 1620 to 1698. With Notes and Translations by Robbins and Robinson. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 626, 682. Hartford: S. Andrus & Son. 1853.
- Minutes of the National Councils of the Congregational Churches of the United States, from 1821, to 1883. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Morton, Nathaniel. *New England Memorial, with Gov. Bradford's History; an Appendix Containing the Views of the Pilgrims and Early Settlers on the Subject of Church Polity.* 8vo, pp. 536. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Palfrey, John G. *History of New England During the Stuart Dynasty.* 4 vols., 8vo, pp. xxxi, 636; xx, 640; xxii, 659; xxiv, 604. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1858-77.
- The Congregational Year-Book. 5 vols. 1854-59. New York. Also for Succeeding Years.
- Tracy, Joseph. *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield.* 12mo, pp. 433. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Tyler, Bennet. *Memoir of Asahel Nettleton, D.D.* 12mo, pp. 376. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.
- Udden, H. F. *The New England Theocracy; a History of the Congregationalists in New England to the Revivals of 1740.* Translated from the German by H. C. Conant. 12mo, pp. 303. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.
- Young, Alexander. *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1620 to 1628.* Boston, 1841.
- *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636.* Boston, 1846.

LUTHERAN.

- Bernheim, G. D. *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina.* 12mo, pp. 558. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store.
- Christian Book of Concord; or, Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Translated from the German and Edited by S. Henkel. 2d ed., 8vo. New Market, Va.: Henkel & Co. 1854.
- Hazellius, E. L. *History of the American Lutheran Church, from its Commencement in 1685 to the Year 1842.* Pp. 300. Zanesville, O., 1846.
- Jacobs, Henry E. *The Book of Concord; or, the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* With Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendixes, and Indexes. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 429, 424. Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick. 1833.
- Morris, J. G. *Bibliotheca Lutherana: List of Publications of Lutheran Ministers in the United States.* 12mo. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 42 North Ninth Street. 1876. (Contains notices of many local histories.)
- Schaffer, C. W. *Early History of the Lutheran Church in America to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.* 12mo, pp. 143. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication. 1857. New ed., 1868.
- Schmucker, S. S. *The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated.* 5th ed., 12mo, pp. x, 286. Philadelphia: E. W. Miller. 1852.

- Schmucker, S. S. *Retrospect of Lutheranism in the United States*. Baltimore: 1841.
- Stoever, M. L. *Memoir of the Life and Times of Henry M. Muhlenberg, D.D.* Pp. 120. Philadelphia, 1856.
- *Reminiscences of Lutheran Ministers*. *Evangelical Review*, v, 515; vi, 1, 261, 412, 542; vii, 63, 151, 377, 527; viii, 105, 186, 398, 501; ix, 1; xi, 202, 428, 585; xiii, 862, 561; xiv, 293; xv, 129, 428, 355; xvi, 470; xvii, 390, 485; xviii, 25, 232; xix, 89, 405, 622; xx, 381; xxi, 24, 171, 374.
- *Lutheran Church in the United States*. *Congregational Quarterly*, 1862.
- Strobel, P. A. *The Salzburgers and their Descendants: Being the History of a Colony of German Lutheran Protestants, who Emigrated to Georgia in 1734, and Settled at Ebenezer*. Pp. 308. Baltimore, 1855.

MENNONITE.

- Ellis, Franklin, and Samuel Evans. *History of Lancaster County, Pa., with Biographical Sketches of many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. Chap. xxvii. Churches of the Mennonites, Dunkers, Reformed Mennonites, River Brethren, and Amish.
- Funk, John F. *The Mennonite Church and her Accusers*. Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Co. 1878.
- Martin, E. K. *The Mennonites*. 8vo, pp. 17. Philadelphia: Everts & Peck. 1833.
- Musser, Daniel. *The Reformed Mennonite Church: its Rise and Progress, with its Doctrines and Principles*. Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Printing and Publishing Co. 1878.

METHODIST.

- Annals of Southern Methodism*. 1855, 1 vol., 12mo; 1857, 1 vol., 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Arnett, B. W. *The Budget: Containing the Annual Reports of the General Officers of the African M. E. Church, etc., with Facts and Figures, Historical Data of the Colored Methodist Church, etc., Together with Religious, Educational, and Political Information Pertaining to the Colored Race*. Pp. 136. Xenia, O.: Torchlight Printing Co. 1881. The same for 1883, pp. 154. Dayton, O.: Christian Publishing House Print.
- Asbury, Francis, *Journal of*. 12mo, 3 vols., pp. 524, 492, 502. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 805 Broadway. 1852.
- Banga, Nathan. *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. 4 vols., 12mo. New York: Methodist Book Concern.
- Bascom, Henry B., *Life of*. 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Bascom, H. B., Greene, A. L. P., Parsons, C. B. *Brief Appeal to Public Opinion in a Series of Exceptions to the Course and Action of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1844 to 1848*. 8vo, pp. 202. Louisville, Ky.: Morton and Griswold. 1848.
- Bassett, Ansel H. *A Concise History of the Methodist Protestant Church, from its Origin*. Introduction by William Collier. 12mo, pp. 424. Pittsburg: James Robinson. 1877.
- Bennett, ——. *Methodism in Virginia*. 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Bond, Thomas E. *The Economy of Methodism Illustrated and Defended: In a Series of Papers*. 8vo, pp. 391. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1852.

- Deems, Charles F. *Annals of Southern Methodism for 1856.* 12mo, pp 312. Nashville, Tenn.: Stevenson & Owen. New York: John A. Gray.
- Drew, Samuel. *Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D.* 12mo, pp. 381. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1837.
- Elliott, Charles. *History of the Great Secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Year 1845, Eventuating in the Organization of the New Church Entitled "Methodist Episcopal Church, South."* 8vo, pp. 1148. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1855.
- Emory, Robert. *Life of the Rev. John Emory. With an Appendix.* 8vo, pp. 380. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1841.
- Finley, J. B. *Sketches of Western Methodism.* Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1875.
- Formal Fraternity. *Proceedings of the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1872, 1874, and 1876, and of the Joint Commission of the Two Churches on Fraternal Relations at Cape May, N. J., Aug. 16-23, 1876.* 8vo, pp 87. New York: Methodist Book Concern. Nashville, Tenn.: A. H. Redford.
- Goss, C. C. *Statistical History of the First Century of American Methodism.* 16mo, pp. 188. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1866.
- History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Comprehending all the Official Proceedings of the General Conference, etc. 8vo, pp. 287. Nashville: Published by Order of Louisville Convention. William Cameron, Printer. 1845.
- Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for 1854, 1866, 1870, 1874, 1878, 1882.* Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Lednum, John. *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America. Containing Sketches of Methodist Itinerant Preachers from 1736 to 1785, etc., etc.* 12mo, pp. 434. Philadelphia: John Lednum. 1859.
- Lee, L. M. *Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse M. Lee.* 8vo, pp. 517. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- M'Clintock, J. *Biographical Sketches of Methodist Ministers.* Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern.
- M'Ferrin, John B. *Methodism in Tennessee.* 3 vols., 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Methodist Church Property Case.* Reported by R. Sutton. 8vo, pp. 372. Richmond and Louisville: John Early. 1851.
- Mood, F. A. *Methodism in Charleston.* Edited by T. O. Summers. 18mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Myers, Edward H. *The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844-1846. Comprising a Thirty Years' History of the Relations of the two Methodisms. With an Introduction by T. O. Summers.* 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Orwig, W. W. *History of the Evangelical Association, from its Origin to the Year 1845.* 12mo. Cleveland, O., Publishing House. Lauer & Yost, Agents.
- Paine, Robert. *Life and Times of William M'Kendree.* 2 vols., 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Redford, A. H. *History of Methodism in Kentucky.* 3d ed. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Sherman, David. *History of the Revisions of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* 12mo, pp. 422. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1874.

- Simpson, Matthew. *A Hundred Years of Methodism*. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1876.
- *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*. Revised ed., 4to, pp. 1081. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts. 1880.
- Stevens, Abel. *Centenary of American Methodism; with an Introduction by John M'Clintock*. 12mo, pp. 287. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1866.
- *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America*. 4 vols., 12mo, pp. 423, 511, 510, 522. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1867.
- *Life and Times of Nathan Bangs*. 12mo, pp. 426. New York: Methodist Book Concern.
- Summers, T. O. *Biographical Sketches of Itinerant Ministers, Pioneers Within the Bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*. 3d ed., pp. 176. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Thrall, H. S. *Methodism in Texas*. 12mo. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Travis, Joseph. *Autobiography of*. Edited by T. O. Summers. 12mo, pp. 331. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Wightman, Bishop. *Life of William Capers, Including an Autobiography*. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
- Wood, E. M. *Methodism and the Centennial of American Independence; with a Brief History of the Various Branches of Methodism, and Full Statistical Tables*. 12mo, pp. 412. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 1876.

MORAVIAN.

- Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions of*. Vol. I. Containing all the important and interesting papers published by the Society, from 1857 to 1876. 8vo. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office. E. G. Klose, Manager.
- Ritter, Abraham. *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia from its foundation in 1742*. 8vo, pp. 281. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office. 1857.
- Rondthaler, Edward. *Life of John Heckewelder*. Edited by B. H. Coates. 1847. 8vo, pp. 150. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office.
- Schweinitz, Edmund de. *The Moravian Manual, containing an account of the Moravian Church or Unitas Fratrum*. Second enlarged ed., with historical tables, extending from the foundation of the ancient Church to the present day. 8vo, pp. 208. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office.
- The Provincial Digest*. Supplementary to the Results of the General Synod of 1879. Ordered by the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the Province of the Moravians, held at Bethlehem, Pa., May 18–30, 1881. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office.
- The Text-Book for 1884*. English and German editions. Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publication Office.

PRESBYTERIAN.

- Alexander, Archibald. *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College. Together with an Account of the Revivals of Religion under their Ministry*. 12mo, pp. 279. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1834 Chestnut Street.
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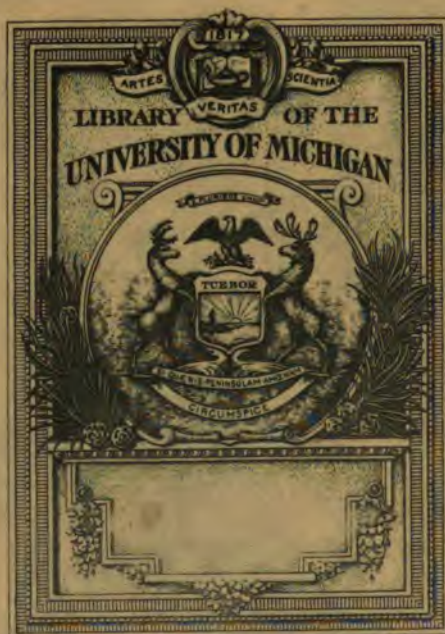
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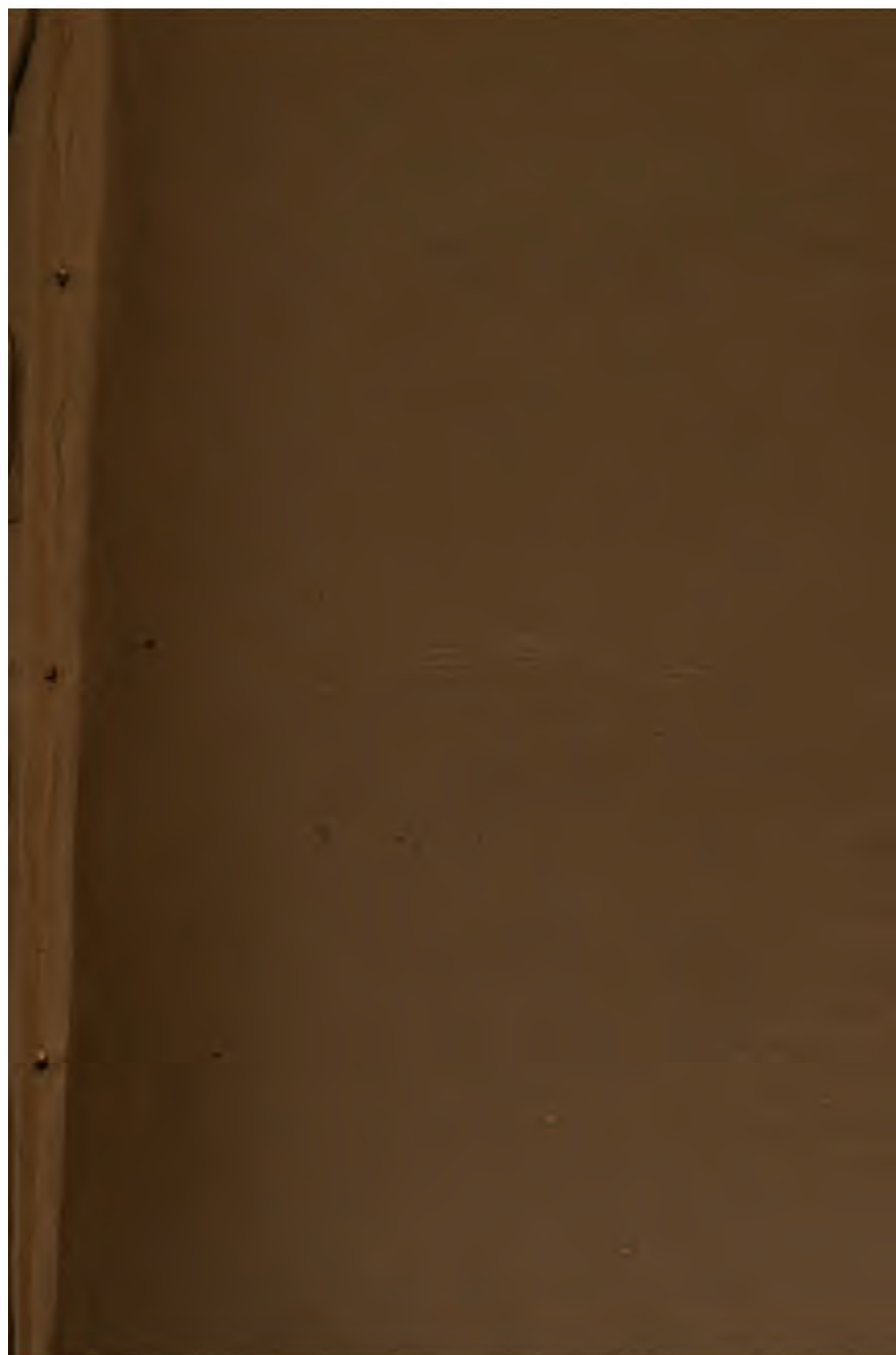
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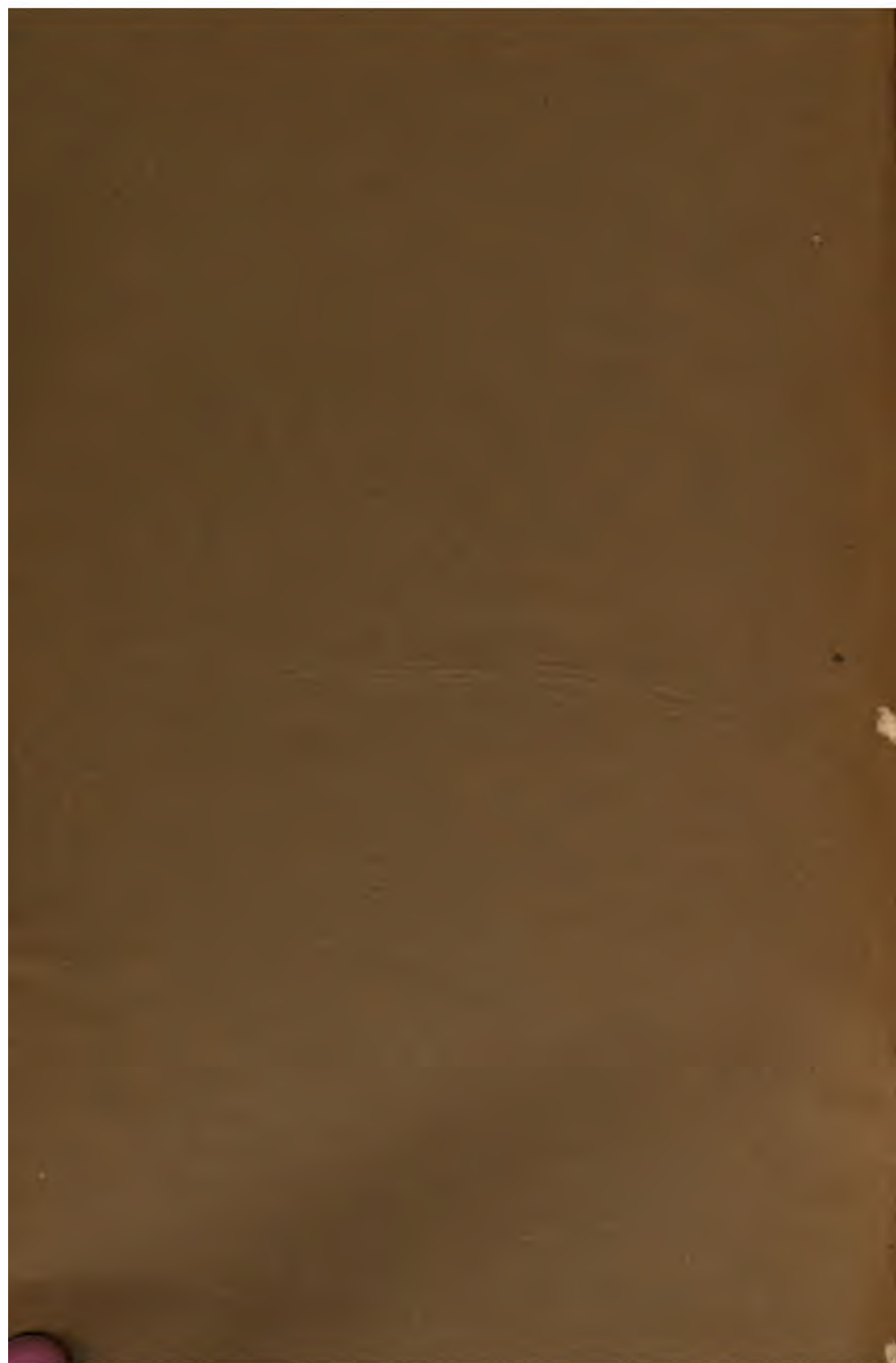
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VOL. IV.—CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

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BY

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is with much diffidence that I send forth upon its mission this work on Christian Archæology. I will let that veteran Christian archæologist, Dr. Piper, my much-revered instructor, speak of the *need* of some such book as this. In the Introductory Note, which he has had the great kindness to furnish, the scope and value of this Discipline are sketched in his own inimitable style. While the master speaks it behooves the pupil to keep silence.

The arrangement is a departure from the usual one. I have thought that by giving the Archæology of Christian Art the first place in the discussion, the results of this study could best be utilized in the illustration of the Constitution, Worship, and Life of the Church.

It only remains for me to express my sincerest appreciation of the kindly encouragement and aid which have been so freely given me both at home and abroad. It would be invidious to make distinctions, but to my associates in theological instruction, to friends who have helped me in making the requisite travels for personal study of monuments, to my most highly esteemed preceptor and guide in the Berlin University, and to those who have assisted in the proof-readings and indexing, I would express my especial obligations. If careful readers of the work would communicate to me any errors which they may discover, it would be regarded as a personal favour, as well as help to the attainment of truth.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, EVANSTON, ILL., *May* 15, 1888.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

AT the invitation of the esteemed author, I write a few words of introduction to this volume. It is with pleasure that I greet the first work on Christian Archæology which has appeared on American soil. With hearty good wishes I welcome it to a position of prominence, even before it has come into my hands. At the same time, I cannot be in doubt in regard to its character. The acquaintance I have with the method of the author's studies, his protracted connection with our University, his travels in the Old World and their purpose, give assurance of its solid worth. Since numerous plates and illustrations, as well as several maps, accompany the text, the work comes to have the character of an Art-Archæology, and will be helpful in theological instruction. Thus it appears that the book is designed for the Monumental section of ecclesiastical science.

I. The title itself is full of significance. In Classical Antiquities, where the word *ἀρχαιολογία* is in common use, it refers primarily to the historic life of a nation, as Roman, Jewish, etc. ; since the idea of life (*ὁ ἀρχαῖος βίος τῆς πόλεως*), as the essential content of Political Antiquities, occupies the foremost place. Only after several modifications, through the development of the "Archæology of Art" in connection with Classical Antiquities, has the present character of archæological science been determined. By further adding the Inscriptions (which as a whole are excluded from Classical Antiquities), we reach the Discipline which has too long been neglected in the department of theological inquiry. In view of the progress made in the corresponding philological fields of Archæology and Epigraphy, and of the pressing demands of theological science, it is evident that this neglect cannot much longer continue. In the United States, where an able Journal of Archæology has received support for several years, a commendable zeal already exists, so that the author's work does not appear prematurely there.

The work is devoted exclusively to the first six centuries, although the name Archæology does not, in itself, have reference only to what is ancient. But for this very reason we call attention to the

significance of this field of inquiry for the study of theology and for the service of the Church.

II. This significance lies, first of all, in the fact that it reveals a source of information which supplies a serious lack in our knowledge of Christian Antiquity: for the nearer we approach the beginnings of the Church the more meagre are the literary sources of evidence. These, for the most part, are all which have hitherto been taken into consideration. Here, accordingly, the contemporary monuments in stone, metal, and color, found by thousands in all parts of the world, especially in the countries around the Mediterranean, are of immense assistance. It is the work of the archæologist to make a critical examination of these, and to determine their historic value. The discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum affords an illustration from Classical Antiquities more complete than had been thought possible. When Paciaudi immediately thereafter visited Herculaneum and the Museum at Naples, he exclaimed, "O what treasures! what wonders!" He ventured to affirm that by the spending of a week in the Museum he had learned more than by ten years of previous study. In the domain of Church history nothing similar were possible, because through the excavation of Pompeii the entire domestic, civil, and religious life was revealed, whereas Church history is chiefly concerned with the latter. Subterranean discoveries pertaining to the ancient life of the Church have, however, been made for centuries, and with such rich results that a special theology of the Catacombs might be compiled from them. And even above ground, in recent years, numerous remains of ancient Christian architecture dating from the flourishing period of the early Church have been discovered, ruined cities of Central Syria which might be characterized as new Pompeiis.

But these objects and these discoveries are of service not to Historic Theology alone, but every branch of theological investigation has thereby been benefited, especially Biblical Interpretation and Dogmatics, since texts of Scripture and doctrinal opinions frequently furnish the fundamental thought expressed in these sculptures and paintings. Moreover, the iconographic expression, even when comprised in lines and colors, has a certain advantage over the written, especially in that frank unconsciousness which is often obscured by words.

Hence it is that however large a share the "holy building fathers" may have had in these ruined edifices, all were nevertheless intended for Christian worshippers and grew out of their needs, so that their faith and sentiments are therein expressed. It was as

true then as to-day, that in order to understand the religious life of a community it is necessary to visit their places of burial ; and fortunately innumerable cemeteries of ancient Christendom have been preserved to aid us in our theological investigations.

But all these remains should not exist merely for the purpose of forwarding the investigations of the scholar and the theologian. The religious community at large ought also to derive enjoyment and profit from them. There are no more memorable sites than these sacred places on the border-land between time and eternity, with their testimonies in word and symbol to the truth on which the ancient believers based their lives, and in which they died. They are inestimable gifts, intelligible without learned interpretation, refreshing to simple and unlettered Christians, and inspiring even to the youth of the Church. On this account, the founding of museums, especially the systematic arrangement and exhibition of copies (where originals are not to be had) for schools and congregations, has long been a thing to be desired. But this cannot be effected unless theologians do their duty and earnestly devote themselves to the work. For this purpose a volume like the present is an available help.

III. The appearance of this work in the United States is also of special significance. The monuments which are therein discussed direct our thoughts to Christian antiquity. But, without disparagement to the remains of a primitive civilization which are found on that continent, the governments and peoples of America belong to modern times. Christian Archæology cannot, therefore, be studied on American soil. The consciousness of this fact is, of course, there fully recognized. Hence among American scholars there is a natural impulse, stronger than that for ordinary professional purposes, to study their own first beginnings on this side of the sea. This is the impelling motive which leads to the old home, Europe, and the still older Asia. This powerful incentive readily determines the American scholar to undertake the voyage, and he reckons the journey short. This also leads the professional theologian, both for practical and scientific purposes, to the memorials of ecclesiastical antiquity to be found in the seats of primitive Christianity, where, above all, the theater of the events affords the best possible setting for their history. Thus measurably the past becomes the present. As a traveller in the tropics, while ascending a high mountain, passes within a few hours through all climatic conditions, even to polar cold ; so is it possible for the archæologist, as he examines the sites and memorials of historic developments, to enter into their spirit as an eye-witness, and so cause them again to

pass before him. Is he concerned with the apostolic times, it is certain that Paul's sermon on Mars Hill is nowhere read so intelligibly as on the spot where it was delivered, in sight of the Acropolis and its temples, and looking out over the land and sea. And from high ecclesiastical antiquity, which possesses no documents more precious than the letters to the Church in Smyrna, and those to the Churches in Lyons and Vienne concerning their martyrs, we may take as examples the stadium at Smyrna (whose site is perfectly recognisable) where Polycarp suffered, and at Lyons the crypt of St. Denis where the prisons of Pothinus and Blandina are shown. When authenticated, these places and a thousand others, next to those in the Holy Land, incite the theologian to make his pilgrimage.

If the poet sings of sacred Palestine,

"It was no strange desire,
When pilgrims numberless embarked
But at Thy sepulcher to pray,
And kiss with pious zeal
The earth Thy foot has trod,"

it is not to be wondered at that American theologians in great numbers leave their native shores to visit historic spots where they may view the mementoes of the past.

If, then, this work, next to the knowledge which it imparts, may also awaken among the writer's countrymen a still stronger desire—following the example of the highly esteemed author, who in the course of his investigations has several times crossed the ocean, and so gained the right to speak from personal observation—to undertake that pilgrimage, in order to reach the origins of the Church and to get a view of its primitive monuments, it will thereby render another valuable service.

DR. FERDINAND PIPER.

BERLIN UNIVERSITY, Jan. 15, 1888.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

ARCHÆOLOGY (*ἀρχαιολογία*)¹ is the science of antiquity. Its province is to ascertain the life of ancient peoples by the study of their monuments, customs, laws, institutions, etc. It is an auxiliary of general history.

Definition.

It may be divided into general and special archæology. General archæology considers those fundamental principles which must alike control in the study of the early life of all peoples. Special archæology has reference to the life and institutions of a particular people or age, or to a particular kind or class of evidence.

Divisions.

Christian archæology should be further limited to the systematic study of the art, constitution, government, discipline, worship, rites, and life of the early Christian Church.

Further limitation of the term.

It can be conveniently examined under the following fourfold division :

a. The archæology of Christian art.

Divisions of Christian archæology.

This examines Christian thought, life, doctrines, and institutions as they are found crystallized and expressed in monuments; monumental evidence being here used in distinction from documentary. It therefore includes the examination of the geography and chronology of Christian art monuments; the influences exerted upon Christian art by Judaism and heathenism ; the symbolism of Christian art ; the history and monuments of Christian painting and mosaics, of Christian sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry. It carefully studies the Christian burial monuments, also Christian inscriptions, coins, medals, seals, rings, diptychs, and furniture.² A

¹ The word *ἀρχαιολογία* seems to be the adequate Greek synonyme for the Latin *Antiquitates*. Hence some writers, notably Bingham, have preferred to use the latter term.

² Otto Jahn would rank numismatics among the sources of history, and regard epigraphics as an auxiliary of philology.

scientific treatment presupposes a correct estimate of monumental evidence, which is the result of a thorough knowledge of the autoptics,¹ criticism, and hermeneutics of Christian art monuments.²

b. Archæology of the constitution and government of the Christian Church.

This includes, 1.) The examination of the fundamental idea of the Christian Church as revealed in the New Testament Scriptures. 2.) The Church in its organized form. 3.) The offices and officers of the Church; the superior, including the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the inferior, including the subdeacons, deaconesses, catechists, acolytes, exorcists, etc. The government by councils, synods, etc. 4.) The Church discipline, which examines the conditions and methods of admission into the Church; the duties of the individual members to the organic body; the nature and extent of penalties, etc.

c. Archæology of Christian worship and rites.

This embraces, 1.) The means of public religious education and edification, including prayer, singing, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, etc.; in which all might participate. 2.) The sacraments, their nature, number, efficacy, candidates, ministrants, mode and place of celebration. 3.) The sacred times and seasons, as Sabbath, Easter, Christmas, Quadragesima, etc.

d. Archæology of Christian life.

This considers, 1.) The Christian family, its basis and significance. 2.) The opinion of the Church respecting the marriage relation, the treatment of slavery, household religion, etc. 3.) The relation of Christians to trades and business; what vocations were lawful, what forbidden. 4.) The relation of the Christian Church to charities; the care for the poor; the existence of orphanages, hospitals, etc. 5.) The social and literary position of the early Church. 6.) The care for the dead, Christian burial, prayers for the dead, etc.³

¹ This term is applied to the simple description of monuments; their material, extent, degree of preservation, style, place of discovery, etc.

² Kraus: *Ueber Begriff, Umfang, und Bedeutung der christlichen Archæologie*. Freiburg, 1879. s. 12.

³ v. Schultze: In Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, etc. 3 Bde. 1894. Vol. ii, ss. 236-272.

This is mainly after the analogy of classical archæology; and no valid reason can be urged why the archæology of the Christian Church should not have like logical division.

The two latest treatises upon Christian archæology are:

J. Mallet: *Cours Élémentaire d'Archéologie religieuse*. Paris, 1883.

Reusens: *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*. Aix-la-Chapelle, 1885.

The former defines archæology as the science of ancient monuments. "Archæology,

The study of Christian archæology properly dates from the sixteenth century. It was occasioned not only by the general revival of classical learning, but especially by the earnest controversies of the reformation period. The Protestant reformers had vigorously arraigned the Church for a wide departure from the primitive simplicity of worship, doctrine, and polity, and they believed that this charge could be best justified by a thorough examination of the life, the institutions, and the customs of the early Christian centuries. The Magdeburg centuriators¹ thus became the pioneers in special archæological studies; to justify the revolt against the mediæval Church was their chief aim.

To answer this arraignment of the centuriators, the adherents of Rome were in turn compelled to enter upon like fundamental studies. Cæsar Baronius († 1607), a priest of the Roman oratory, then a cardinal, after thirty years of most laborious investigation published his *Annales Ecclesiæ*, a work which has ever since been regarded as the well-furnished arsenal from which the Roman Catholic writers have derived their weapons of defense.²

While the thought, doctrines, usages and life of the early Christ-

in the sense in which we use it, includes the study of architecture, sculpture, painting—all, indeed, embraced under the term arts of design; also palæography, or the science of inscriptions and ancient writings: numismatics, or ancient coins and medals; glyptics, or engraving on precious stones; sphragistics, or the science of seals; ceramics, or a knowledge of pottery; and, finally, furniture—this last term not being confined to its ordinary meaning, but including every thing connected with Christian worship, as baptismal fonts, chairs, stalls, sacred vessels, crosses, chandeliers, censers, vestments, and liturgical ornaments." pp. 1, 2.

Canon Rousens says: "The study of antiquity can be divided into two parts: 1.) Sciences philological. 2.) Sciences historic. The first embraces the literary sources, the second the monumental. The word Christian archæology has chief reference to the latter, or monumental. It therefore, properly speaking, includes the study of the monuments of Christian worship, that is, church edifices, and church furniture in its broadest sense."

¹Matthias Flacius, a preacher of Magdeburg, an Illyrian by birth, associated with himself a number of learned Protestants, among whom were Matthew Judex, Holtzner, Andrew Corvinus, and Basil Faber, for the purpose of writing a history of the Church by centuries. Hence these writers are called centuriators. This work is learned, and exhibits much acuteness and great powers of generalization, but, as might be expected, is too often intensely partisan.

²While not himself an archæologist, in the strict sense of the term, Baronius nevertheless in certain sections of his *Annales* examines the archæological materials that are important to answer certain debated questions of the early Christian history. These were afterward collected and edited by Schulting: *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Ecclesiasticarum*, etc., 1601.

ians were characteristic, they can, however, best be studied in connection with Jewish and classical archæology. The first converts had been adherents of the then extant religious systems, Jewish and heathen. On their acceptance of the new faith prejudices were not immediately corrected, but long continued in the Church as modifying factors. The tenacity of the Jew for his venerated religion and its stately ritual caused serious embarrassment to the apostles and early Christian fathers. The heathen mythology left its deep impress upon the art of the early and mediæval Church.¹ The philosophic systems of Plato and Aristotle furnished a vigorous and exact terminology for the expression and defense of Christian doctrine,² while the corrupted Neo-Platonism of a later period was the fruitful source of dangerous heresies. The methods of investigation and the forms of expression that matured under the influence of classical antiquity greatly aided in the discussion and precise formulation of Christian thought. These philosophic systems were not merely negative in their relations to Christianity, but they contained positive elements of the good, the true, and the beautiful. They have remained unsurpassed for terseness and comprehensiveness, for beauty and variety.³ Thus Christian archæology receives important aid and illustration from the study of Jewish and classical archæology. These latter disciplines are, however, with respect to their content, almost the exact antipodes of each other. Aside from purely literary remains, nearly all the materials for classical archæology are to be found in works of architecture, sculpture, and epigraphy, while the Hebrews largely lacked the ability to produce works of a high order of excellence in formative art. Hence many of the ablest classical archæologists make the formative arts the centre and kernel of clas-

¹ Compare Piper: *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst von der ältesten Zeit bis in's sechzehnte Jahrhundert*. Weimar. Bd. i, 1847. Bd. ii, 1851. Fr. Münter: *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*. Altona, 1825. F. X. Kraus: *Die christliche Kunst in ihren frühesten Anfängen*. Leipzig, 1873.

² Besides the numerous histories of Christian doctrines, see especially Ueberweg: *History of Philosophy*, translated by Morris. 2d Part: *The Patristic and Scholastic Period*. Becker: *Das philosophische System Plato's in seiner Beziehung zum christlichen Dogma*. Freiburg, 1862. Ackermann: *The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy*. Edinburgh, 1861. Cocker: *Christianity and the Greek Philosophy*. New York, 1870.

³ Compare Kraus: *Lehrbuch der christlichen Geschichte*. Treves, 1872. Sepp: *Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung für das Christenthum*. Bd. iii, ss. 285-289. Döllinger: *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ*. Translated by N. Darnell. London, 1862. Piper: *Virgil als Theologe und Prophet in Evangel.-Kalender*, 1862.

sical archæology,¹ while writers on biblical archæology must necessarily regard these arts as constituting but a comparatively insignificant part of their investigations.²

The date from which (*terminus a quo*) this examination should begin is naturally when the first germs of the Christian Church appear, or when their existence can be well authenticated, even though the documents and monuments may have entirely disappeared.³ This limitation will, however, be determined by the main purpose which the investigator may have in mind. With respect to the other limiting period (*terminus ad quem*) widely different opinions have been entertained. In this case there is no natural terminus. Some have regarded the death of Gregory the Great, A. D. 604, a proper limit to Christian archæological inquiries.⁴ Others have extended it to the eleventh century, or to the age of Hildebrand;⁵ while still others would make the Reformation of the sixteenth century the line of separation between the old and the new.⁶ Some of the later writers on Christian art archæology would place no boundary to its appropriate study, regarding whatever is past as falling legitimately under the term archæological.⁷

While no strictly historic limit can be fixed, beyond which Christian archæological studies may not be continued, we shall confine our examinations to the period ending with the second Trullan Council at Constantinople, A. D. 692. Prior to this the Church had undergone most of its fundamental changes, and Christian art and institu-

¹ Stark: *Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst*. Leipzig, 1880, 1te Theil. Otto Jahn: *Ueber das Wesen und die wichtigsten Aufgaben der archæologischen Studien*. Winckelmann: *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. 2 vols., 4to, 1776.

² For discussion of causes, v. Bk. i, chap. ii.

³ Guericke: *Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archæologie*. 2te Aufl. Berlin, 1859, § 1.

⁴ Bingham: *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; or, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. 2 vols. 1867. Guericke: *Op. cit.* Rheinwald: *Die kirchliche Archæologie*. Berlin, 1830, § 3.

⁵ Augusti: *Handbuch der ch. Archæologie*. 3 Bde. Bd. i, s. 23. Augusti rather inclines at times to the sixteenth century as a better limit.

⁶ Baumgarten: *Vorlesungen über christlichen Alterthümer*.

⁷ Hagenbach: *Encyclopædia der theologischen Wissenschaften*. 6te Aufl., §77. Crooks & Hurst: *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology*, pp. 388, 389. Rosenkranz: *Encycl. der theol. Wissenschaften*, 1867, § 96. Piper: *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie*, 1867, § 17. Piper says: "Of course for the monuments of art the Reformation constitutes a distinct line of demarkation, occasioned by the revival of the study of classical literature, and by the changed conditions of life in which, besides Christianity, still other elements of culture made themselves effective. . . . But to this branch of theology (monumental) the close of the Middle Ages can by no means furnish a proper limit, since the Christian spirit can never cease to interest itself in monumental studies. To this extent only is this limitation reasonable, namely, that

tions had developed a type that remained essentially fixed for five hundred years. This comprehends the classic period of ancient Christian art and the formative period of Christian doctrines. In it are most clearly noted the teachings of primitive Christianity, and just to what extent art may be a helpful auxiliary of the Church or become a corrupting and misleading power. From the close of the seventh century begins a new period, in which the Græco-Roman element in the West yields to the Teutonic, and the Byzantine church life and art become stiff and immobile. The Church, by the controversy over image worship, was now sundered, and thenceforth two distinct historic streams flow side by side. There is no longer one undivided Church, but the Greek and the Latin-Germanic develop each its own distinctive character and life.

The more noted modern archæologists¹ substantially agree to limit the term Christian antiquity to that period during which Christianity moved chiefly within the compass and influence of Græco-Roman civilization. While the duration of this movement varied somewhat in Rome, in Gaul, and in the Orient,² it will be sufficiently exact for the purposes of our inquiry to limit the period to the Council in which the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches originated. In this limitation the Christian archæologists are in substantial harmony with the more recent historians³ of the Church, who regard the seventh cen-

Archæologists
and historians
in agreement.

at the period of the Reformation art activity is divided into the contrarieties of a Protestant and a Catholic art. But the products of art history do not connect with past history alone; the present has also matured in both communions the ripe fruits of a higher art endowment, and of a profounder insight into the sacred Scriptures. As such works exert over each other a powerful spiritual influence, a suggestion is thus furnished that in art may be found a ground not, indeed, of ecclesiastical union, but of real reconciliation." s. 52.

¹ v. especially De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*. I. Romæ, 1861, fol. *Roma Sotterranea*. I. Roma, 1864; II. Roma, 1867; III. Roma, 1877.

Garrucci: *Hagioglypta s. Picturæ et Sculpturæ sacræ antiq.*, etc. Paris, 1856. *Vetri ornati di Figure in Oro*, etc. Roma, 1857. *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, Prato, 1873, 3 vols. fol.

Le Blant: *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, 1869. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaul*, 1856-1865.

Martigny: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes*, 1877.

² It is well known that, while the death of Gregory the Great (A. D. 604) marks sufficiently the point of transition from the antique to the mediæval type of the Church in Italy, the Græco-Roman civilization was felt as a controlling power in Gaul for nearly a century later; so that our studies must be extended among the monuments of Gaul till near the close of the seventh century.

³ Neander, Gieseler, Baur, and others begin the second or mediæval period with the death of Gregory the Great; Niedner begins the second period with the middle, and Kurtz, Hase, Alzog, and others with the last quarter of the seventh century.

tury as the line of division between ancient Christianity and that of the Middle Ages; between the period during which the Church was influenced by and influenced in turn Græco-Roman thought, and that period during which she came more directly into contact with the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples.



CHAPTER II.

UTILITY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL STUDIES.

THE opinion has too commonly prevailed that archæology is a study of the merely strange and curious, and that it chiefly contributes to the gratification of the relic-hunter and antiquarian.¹ Doubtless there was some reason for this opinion when things ancient were examined in their isolation and for their own sake, rather than in connection with the organic development of a civilization of which they are the surest indexes. Since archæology is connected vitally with the past, and shows that any type of civilization is measurably influenced by a given environment, it ranks among the most practical of disciplines.

Vital connection of archæology with history of civilization.

The materials of an earlier civilization sustain relations somewhat similar to those of the organic remains that may have been collected by the paleontologist. So long as the latter are preserved in museums simply to gratify the curious they are of little value. But when by the application of clearly defined principles each bone and fragment becomes the means of constructing the entire skeleton of an animal of a far-off age, whose habits and *habitat* are thereby reproduced before the eyes—the ancient world being thus made real to the geologic investigator—paleontology becomes a vital science, and these otherwise dead organic remains are instinct with life.

Archæological objects like organic remains.

So with archæological objects of either heathen, Jewish, or Christian origin. Through the story which they have told many serious errors of ancient history have been corrected, the past of long-buried dynasties has been made to pulsate with a life before wholly unknown, the plans, occupations, and institutions of men have been revealed as clearly as though they were passing before our eyes.

¹ v. Crooks and Hurst: *Encyclopædia and Methodology*, p. 389. "By taking archæology out of its connection with the living development of the Church and making it an incense-breathing reliquary, we degrade it, as a science, into a mere hunt for bric-a-brac, and give it an un-Protestant varnish of idle curiosity and favoritism."

As by the study and interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics the history of that ancient people has been thoroughly reconstructed; as Assyrian history has received richest illustration and been entirely transformed by the discovery of art and epigraphic remains on the sites of buried cities;¹ as the Hellenic scholars already feel that the most thorough and elaborate treatises of Grote and Curtius no longer furnish adequate statements relative to many phases of Greek life and thought;² so, too, in the history of the Christian Church has archæology essentially aided in the correction of many misleading statements, and led to a fuller, juster, and more satisfactory knowledge of the early Christian centuries.

Among many that might be named, the following points may suffice to illustrate the utility of these studies:

1. Much erroneous chronology of the history of the first three centuries has been corrected, while the faithful study of the inscriptions, both classical and Christian, has been the means of casting an unlooked-for light upon the lives and writings of the early Christian fathers.³

2. Archæological studies have also corrected the false notions relative to a supposed hatred of, or aversion to art on the part of the early Christian fathers. The remains of the catacombs clearly teach that they, on the contrary, encouraged the cultivation and practice of the fine arts.⁴

3. They have been useful in perfecting the text of the Patristic writings. By them the spurious has been separated from the genuine, and falsifications have been detected and eliminated. By the use of the analytic method they have enabled the investigator to bring into a fair historic

¹ "It is hardly necessary to refer to their value as contributions to mythological, historical, and philological knowledge, as this is now universally recognized. They suddenly appear as apparitions of a departed past which at one time it was supposed would never be recovered. The history of the West had been told in glowing pages of the Greeks and Romans: that of the East, a hazy and ill-defined conception of thought, remained so, till rock and clay, leather and papyrus, had been compelled to reveal the secrets of the unknown and almost magical characters in which that history was written. Some errors in translation—as in all things—but the grand outlines and principal details remain, and nothing can mar the chief outlines and beauties of the history." S. Birch: *Records of the Past*.

² v. H. L. Hicks: *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, pp. xi, xii.

³ Piper: *Zur Geschichte der Kirchenväter aus epigraphischen Quellen* in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876.

⁴ de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, Introductory Chapter. *Inscriptiones Christiane* etc., Prolegomena.

succession what was before mixed, confusing, and uncertain. By likeness of alphabet, by similarity of expression, by comparing etymological and art characteristics as noticed in inscriptions and surviving art works, a juster and truer text has resulted.¹

4. The history of the early heresies has received important aid from the study of inscriptions both on burial monuments and on gems and seals. "Thus the new religions of mixed origin that flourished under the Roman Empire, the Mithraic, the later Egyptian, and the various forms of Gnosticism, cannot be properly studied without a constant reference to these genuine illustrations (the Abraxas gems, etc.) of their doctrines; since the only written documents concerning them have been transmitted to us by either ignorant or prejudiced adversaries, whose sole object was to heap as many foul charges as they could collect or devise upon the members of the rival sects."²

5. The peculiar nature of monumental evidence must not be overlooked. Inscriptions and art remains become unconscious witnesses to the facts of history, and to the extent of this unconsciousness is their value augmented. This becomes more manifest when we consider how large a part of the surviving literature of the first three Christian centuries is of the nature of apologetics. These writings were designed for the defence of the Christian system against the attacks of adversaries, or to correct erroneous doctrines of heretical sects. They contain, therefore, a strong personal element that is not most favorable to the revelation of the whole truth. Some of the most extended and valuable treatises are marked by evidences of strong passion which manifestly leads the writer to represent the opinions of opponents in the most unfavorable light, and to conceal the weak points of the apologist. Such weakness can hardly attach to monumental evidence, since this implies calmness as well as unconsciousness, and is, therefore, more of the nature of average judgments, and expresses more nearly the general public opinion. "The unimpeachable form of inscriptions"³ is a characterization of this species of evidence which has come to be generally accepted. A rude inscription with grammatical inaccuracies, a palm branch, a symbol scratched upon the soft plaster used to close a Christian tomb, a simple "depositus," or "in pace," may thus unconsciously

¹ *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1880, p. 470.

² King: *Antique Gems*, pp. xviii, xix.

³ Hatch: *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 16.

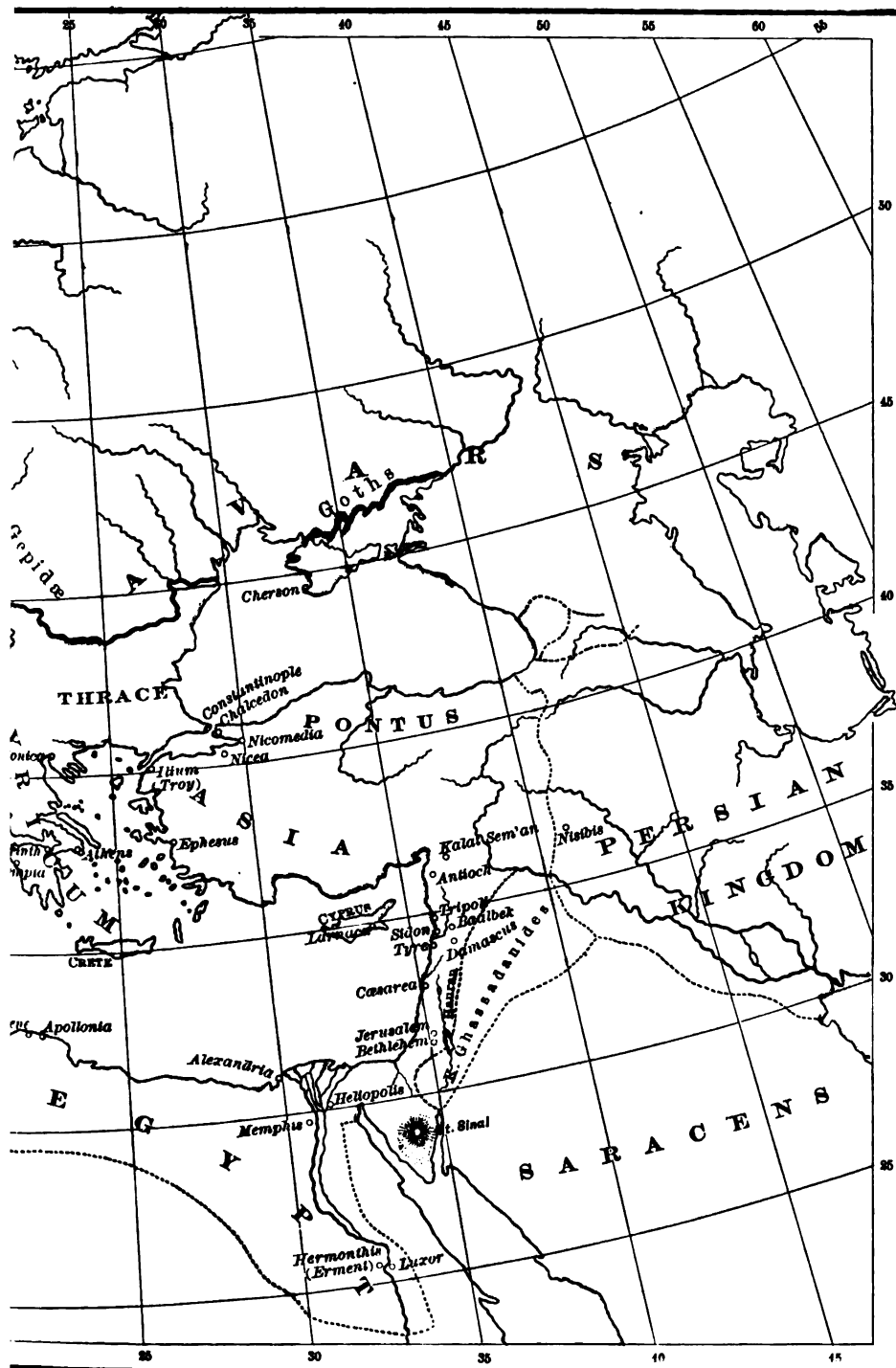
tell the story of the real thought and life of the early Church more truly and justly than the most elaborate treatise.¹

6. The attention of scholars is now more than ever before directed toward the first Christian centuries. In the estimate of earnest Christian investigators, the questions of supreme importance are: Who was Jesus of Nazareth? What were the doctrines which he inculcated? What was the genius of the kingdom which he established? What were the institutions that he ordained? What were the life, the customs, the accepted beliefs of the original Church before it was allied with earthly and governmental powers? What were the sources, nature, and intensity of the forces that vitiated the purity and simplicity of the first Church? What are the truths of absolute authority, because uttered and enforced by the Founder, or by his immediately inspired apostles? What is of mere human origin, or of prudential value, which may, therefore, be accepted or rejected according to the shifting environment of the Church? These are some of the pressing questions which Christian archæology is specially helpful to answer, because it regards the objects which it investigates as indexes of the life and will of the early Christian actors and of the real spirit of the Church.

¹ Stevens: *The Old Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*. London, 1865, 1867, 1868. "This absence of 'grammatical propriety,' and this presence of 'a most illiterate and unskillful artist' are doubly precious in the eyes of the speech-killer, even as much so as the 'accurate spelling' indulged in by the more wealthy and educated families of the deceased. They open out to us glimpses of the most ancient and widely spread and popular *Lingua Rustica*, in its various dialects, which, rather than the Book-Latin, of which it was independent, is the base of all the Romance tongues now flourishing in Europe, with all their various and old patois." Vol. ii, p. 394.

The quotations in the above passage are from Burgon's remarks on the great variety of monuments and inscriptions in the Roman catacombs.





BOOK FIRST.



THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ART MONUMENTS.

THE rapid propagation of Christianity during the first three centuries has long been the vexed problem of the deistic, the naturalistic, and the mythical schools. Solutions have been various, but each has proved inadequate. Only a religion of divine origin and sanction can explain the facts of the early Christian history. Absolutely unassisted by human philosophy or state patronage, stubbornly opposing the indulgence of passion, awakening no hope of temporal reward, in directest contradiction to the prevalent thought and life, a pronounced monotheism in the midst of a debased polytheism, it nevertheless gained disciples in every province of the Roman Empire and in the far-off regions beyond.

The wonderful history recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (Chapter II) represents that persons from widely separated countries were converted by the preaching of Peter on the day of Pentecost.

The rapid spread of the Gospel.

Doubtless many returned to their homes after the celebration of the great national feasts at Jerusalem, and others would naturally hasten to spread the tidings of salvation among their former associates. From each of these, as from a centre, the rapid propagation of the Gospel in distant parts went forward. By the sparks that were scattered abroad from this pentecostal baptism of fire a bright and unquenchable flame was kindled throughout the Roman world.

To the poor and the oppressed the Gospel must have been especially precious. The carpenter's son spoke comforting words to the enslaved, and dignified the honest toiler. He who in the agonies of the crucifixion said so tenderly to his favored disciple, "Behold thy mother" (John xix, 27), founded a religion that appealed with especial force to the heathen woman of the East. In these very countries where her

A message to the poor.

condition was most degraded, Christianity elevated her to be the peer of her husband. By virtue of a communion of spirit and a common hope it gave to marriage a new sanction, to maidenhood a new sacredness, to the whole life of woman a higher worth.¹

Few, indeed, of the official class were at first attracted toward the new religion; yet the testimony of records, as well as of the monuments, is conclusive that some of the refined and of the honorable early embraced the new faith. The mention during the apostolic times of Joseph of Arimathæa (Matt. xxvii, 57-60, *et. al.*); Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii, 6-12); Dionysius of Athens (Acts xvii, 34); and of Priscilla, Aquila, and Pudens, "dearly beloved in the Lord," in whose house at Rome Christian services were held (Rom. xvi, 3-5; 1 Tim. iv, 21); as well as the evidence of the interment of some members of the Flavian family of Domitian's reign in the cemeteries of Domitilla and Lucina at Rome, fully confirm the belief that the Gospel had already found faithful witnesses among the patrician classes and even in the imperial household.² The governor of Bithynia complained to Trajan that persons of every age and of both sexes embraced the pernicious faith.³

In the second century Tertullian boasted that in Carthage one tenth of the population were Christians, including some even of senatorial rank. "We are a people of but yesterday, yet we have entered all your places—cities, islands, fortifications, towns, market-places, yea, your camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum."⁴ This must be taken with caution, since at a still later date Origen says that the number of the Christians as compared to the whole population was very small. From a letter of Pope Cornelius it has been estimated that under Maximian the Church at Rome could not have numbered more than fifty thousand, or one twentieth of the population, and the total throughout the empire could not have been more than one twelfth to one tenth of the entire people, or approximately from eight millions to twelve millions.⁵ By the middle of the century

¹ Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*. Bd. iii, s. 587.

² de Rossi: *Bulletino Arch. Christ.* iii, 1865, p. 33, etc.; *Roma Sotterranea*, t. i. pp. 196, 319-321.

³ Pliny: l. x., ep. 97. "Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus," etc.

⁴ "Hæsterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus urbes, insulas," etc. *Apologeticus ad versus gentes*, cap. xxxvii.

⁵ Staudlin: *Univ. Gesch. der christ. Kirche*, 1833, s. 41, places the number of Christians at the crowning of Constantine at (la moitié) one half of the population of the empire. Matter: *Hist. de l'Église*, t. i, p. 120, puts it at one fifth. Gibbon: *Decline and Downfall*, etc., chap. xv, places it at one twentieth; Chastel: *Destructio*

the apologists of the Church were numerous, and were equal in learning and controversial power to their ablest opponents. While the foregoing statement of the zealous African is to be taken with caution, it nevertheless illustrates the earnestness and fidelity of the early Christians, and the marvelous propagative power of their religion. These results seem all the more remarkable in the entire absence of evidence of an organized association for the spread of the new faith into foreign parts. Rather did the rapid extension of the Gospel in the century of its origin result from the apostolic preaching, from the enthusiasm which this must have aroused among peoples impoverished in faith and longing for spiritual nourishment,¹ from the consistent and devoted lives of its individual professors, and from the simple testimony of the men and women, who had accepted the divine message, to its saving power. The words of Christ, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v, 14), were eminently true of the members of the early Christian community. Before the accession of Constantine the influence of Christianity had penetrated the thought, the principles, and the life of the empire. While the old systems showed a most remarkable tenacity of life, their hold on the nation was nevertheless becoming weaker and weaker.

The clear, discerning genius of Constantine saw in the new religion the sure promise of the future. With it he united his fortunes, and in legalizing he subjected it to perilous temptations not before experienced even in the times of fiercest persecution. From this time the Church took on a form of organization before unknown to it. The empire as a political machine was now transferred to the rule of Christ; its laws and its institutions were placed on a Christian foundation.² The recognition of Christianity as the established faith, the protection of its votaries, and the patronage of it by the government must be reckoned among the most powerful influences to win the mass of the population to the profession of Christianity. The new system could now count the emperor as its chief pontiff, and thus the religious sense of Rome remained true to its traditions.

From the fourth century the extension of Christianity must have

tion du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient, p. 36. at one fifteenth in the Western Empire, and one tenth in the Eastern; La Bastie: *Du Souv. pontif. des Emp.* (Acad. d. Inscr. tom. 12, p. 77), at one tenth.

¹ v. Reuss: *History of the New Testament*, 2d ed. (translated by Houghton), vol. ii, p. 446.

² Merivale: *Conversion of the Roman Empire*, London, 1864, p. 14.

been rapid indeed. The fear of persecution having been removed, multitudes who had before been intellectually convinced of its superiority, and multitudes more who were ever ready to be identified with a winning cause, swelled the number of the converts. From this time, therefore, the evidences are much strengthened through the preservation of burial monuments, by the building of churches and their richer adornment and furniture, by the imperial coins that contain Christian symbols, and by other remains of plastic and epigraphic art.

The expectation that these monuments may now be found as widely distributed as was the Church of the first four centuries is not, however, fulfilled. In this, as in every other period of history, the important and substantial monuments must have been few as compared with the total number. Only in the great marts of trade and in the cities of wealth and of power could the needed means for the erection of abiding monuments be found. Only these centers, therefore, generally furnish the materials for monumental study. The instances of chance preservation are necessarily few and widely separated. Even these must have been largely modified by climatic influences and by the civil and military fortunes of the different provinces. Within a limited belt of country on either shore of the Mediterranean were the chief centres of the civilization of the first six Christian centuries. The advantages of climate, of soil, and of easy intercommunication are the manifest reasons of this concentration. Moreover, the geologic and climatic conditions were most favorable to the erection and preservation of monuments. The dryness of the air, the almost complete immunity from frosts, the abundance of valuable quarries, the superiority of the beds of clay, and the excellence of the materials for the famous cements, contributed to the erection and preservation of many structures which are invaluable witnesses to the civilization of the times.

But the ruthlessness and cupidity of men have proved even more destructive than the forces of nature. The fearful invasions of the Teutonic tribes, and the inroads of the more savage Huns, blotted out from the Roman world many of her noblest monuments.¹ Nor must it be forgotten that the

¹ v. Bunsen: *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*. Bd. i, ss. 234. etc. "But the damage which the so-called barbarians caused to Rome consisted not so much in the destruction of buildings and public monuments as in the robbery of the public treasures and jewels."—s. 230. Yet it must be remembered that these very objects rather than imposing structures often supply the best materials for writing the history of civilization.

edicts of the Christian emperors resulted in the loss of the most noted monuments of pagan art. Statues of incomparable beauty, and temples of matchless grandeur were ruthlessly destroyed in Syria, Egypt, Italy, and Gaul. Invaluable materials for comparative studies were thus hopelessly lost. The edicts of persecution also resulted in the destruction of many Christian churches. To these must be added the still more sad effects of the wars of rival Christian sects and factions. The squabbles of the Green and the Red at Constantinople often resulted in conflagrations in which many beautiful churches were consumed.

In the wretched wars over image worship the best statuary and paintings of the early Christian world were irretrievably lost. The burial places of Rome were terribly devastated by the Lombards under their king, Astolpho, in A. D. 757, so that their abandonment was hastened, and the remains of martyred saints were gathered into the crypts of churches.¹ The iconoclastic fury of the Mohammedan invaders further despoiled the seats of Christian power of their finest works of art, while the Crusades completed the destruction of most that then survived. Only by the more kindly treatment of nature have some of the most precious records of the past been preserved. The buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the art remains that were hidden in the obscurity of the catacombs, furnish some of the most valuable monuments that continue to our age.

FIRST CENTURY. It has been questioned whether any well-authenticated Christian monuments of the first century survive. Nevertheless, some of the ablest Christian archæologists find satisfactory evidence that parts of some Roman catacombs are contemporary with the apostolic age. "Precisely in those cemeteries to which both history and tradition assign an apostolic origin, do I, in the light of the most exact archæological criticism, see the cradle as well of the Christian catacombs as of Christian art and epigraphy. I also there find monuments of persons who appear to belong to the time of the Flavii and of Trajan, as well as inscriptions that date from this same period. Since these things are so, a sound understanding, which alone can be a safe guide in all historical as well as archæological matters, must say to every one who is free from preconceived opinions, that such a mass of concurrent indications, monuments, and dates cannot possibly be the work of chance, that we accordingly therein may find a warrant for the truth of the origin of these monuments which we have maintained" (that is, the first century).² The sepulchres of the Vatican, certain

¹ de Rossi: *Rom. Sott.* t. i, p. 220.

² de Rossi: *Rom. Sott.*, i, p. 185.

inscriptions in the cemetery of Santa Lucina, on the Via Ostia, near the present church of San Paolo fuori le mura, the decorations of the entrance to Santa Domitilla, the Virgin with the Child and star, and portions of the cemetery of Santa Priscilla, are also believed by some archæologists to belong to the first century.¹ To this century have also been attributed certain portions of the walls of the house of Pudens, within whose area stands the present church of Santa Pudenziana, at Rome. The outer wall of this palace "can be seen behind the altar, with the large hall windows in it, of the first century."² In regard to the chronology of these and a few other monuments there is such difference of opinion that they become of somewhat doubtful evidential value.³

SECOND CENTURY. In the second century the zeal of modern archæological research has firmly placed a number of most interesting and valuable monuments. Rome, as before, furnishes most that has been preserved. The cemetery of Santa Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nuova, of Santa Domitilla (Nereus and Achilles) on the Via Ardeatina, of San Prætestato on the Via Appia, and of San Alessandro, on the Via Nomentana, also the ceiling decorations in San Gennaro dei Poveri at Naples are about all that with certainty can be referred to it. In the frescos of these cemeteries is noticed the beginning of that symbolie treatment of art which in the next

¹ Kraus: *Synchronistische Tabellen zur christlichen Kunstgeschichte*, 1880, ss. 4, 5. Schultze: *Die Katakomben*, 1882, s. 91. Ch. Lenormant, *Les Catacombes*, 1858, does not hesitate to place the paintings of Santa Domitilla in the first century. For like reasons, namely, the essential likeness of the art spirit of these to the wall decorations of Pompeii, and to the paintings in the pyramid of Caius Cestius, Raoul-Rochette and Welcker agree with Lenormant.

² J. H. Parker: *The House of Pudens in Rome. v. Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 42, 43. This is a most interesting fact, since we are led at once into the meeting-place of those converts to Christianity who were companions of Paul during his last imprisonment.

³ The chronology of these monuments is most thoroughly examined by de Rossi: *v. Rom. Sott.*, t. i, pp. 184-197. *Contra*, J. H. Parker: *The Archæology of Rome*, 1877, 12 vols. v. vol. iv, in which he treats of the Christian catacombs. He does not recognise any picture of a religious subject as of earlier date than the fourth century. It must be evident that his conclusions are not the result of careful inductive processes, but are somewhat hastily reached from almost exclusively one kind of evidence. On architectural questions Parker is an authority of the first order, but on questions relating to painting his opinion cannot be regarded as decisive. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 543, concludes that the pictures in Santa Domitilla cannot be earlier than the third century. Th. Mommsen, than whom there can be no more reliable authority on Latin inscriptions, would, largely on epigraphical grounds, refer the cemetery of Domitilla to about the middle of the second century; *v. Contemporary Review*, May, 1871.

century reached its climax. In the second century some archæologists have likewise placed the so-called Abraxas gems. The Abraxas gems. By some these are believed to have arisen among the Basilidian Gnostics, by others they are regarded as the product of the strange syncretism of Indian, Zoroastrian, Egyptian, Jewish, and Gnostic-Christian thought which was so prevalent in the second century. In some respects they resemble the early Egyptian Scarabean gems.¹ While comparatively few, these monuments are, nevertheless, most interesting and important for their artistic and doctrinal suggestions.

THIRD CENTURY.—By the third century Christianity had gained a firm foothold in nearly every province of the empire. The claims of the Christians for protection had more and more secured the attention of the government. The higher social position of the adherents of the Church further conciliated the favor of government. Clement, Origen, and others had already The Alexandrian school. given great dignity and fame to the theological school at Alexandria. Before the middle of the century Egypt had more than a score of bishops. In A. D. 258 Cyprian assembled in Carthage a synod of eighty-seven bishops, and a Latin translation of the Scriptures had already been made for the use of the West African churches. Gaul had been visited, and by the Progress in Gaul. third century influential bishoprics existed in Lyons, Vienne, and Marseilles. There is, also, strong evidence that by the middle of this century the Celtic Church had a vigorous life and organization. In Asia Minor and Greece were Asia Minor and Greece. seats of many influential bishoprics, presided over by a most thoroughly learned clergy—the forerunners of those great theologians who, in the following century, were to give form to Christian doctrine in the councils of Nice, Chalcedon, and Constantinople.

The monuments which survive from this century are, as might be presumed, more numerous, and are found in more widely extended districts; Rome is, however, still the seat of the most interesting and instructive. The subterranean burial places are much more extensive and rich in art remains than in the previous century. The incorporation of brotherhoods for the burial of the Burial brotherhoods. dead, and the special protection accorded to places of sepulture, encouraged the Christians to greater care for their ceme-

¹ Bellermann, J. J.: *Drei Programmen über die Abraxas-Gemmen*. Berlin, 1820. Kraus: *Op. cit.*, s. 7. Among the earlier expositors of these curious objects were Gottfried Wendelin, Beausobre, and others. Among the more recent are Matter, King, and others.

teries. We are informed¹ that Callixtus was intrusted with the direction of the clergy, and had supervision of the cemetery that bore his name. Doubtless this has reference to the fact that the Christian congregations of Rome took advantage of the legal provision² to care for property held by them in common, especially for such as was devoted to the cemeteries and to the charities of the Church, by the appointment of a legal representative. This led to the founding of the celebrated cemetery of San Calisto. Calisto, on the Via Appia, in which so many martyrs, bishops, and popes were interred; and it also accounts for the change of the burial-place of these high church officials from the Vatican to this cemetery.

At this time, also, are first met the so-called *Fabricæ* that St. Fabianus, in A. D. 238, ordered to be constructed. These appear to have been small buildings, placed near to, or over the entrance to the cemeteries; they were used as oratories and for the celebration of the eucharist. All these probably disappeared during the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, when the necessity for concealment of the entrances to these places of Christian sepulture was first felt. Notwithstanding these persecutions, and the still more sweeping edict of Diocletian, in A. D. 303, by which all Christian cemeteries were confiscated and all Christian churches were ordered to be razed to the ground, the catacomb of San Calisto has continued to our day, a marvellous museum for the study of Christian life and doctrines in the third century.

Recent excavations, conducted by the Abbé Delattre on a site called Damous-el-Karita, near the ancient Carthage, have revealed an open-air cemetery of very considerable dimensions. The importance of the discovery appears from the fact that only two or three other open-air cemeteries are known. Delattre considers the date of this *area* as the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century.³

The only remains of churches in Rome from this century are possibly portions of the subterranean San Clemente, a small part of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and of Santa Pudenziana.⁴ By some authorities the beauti-

¹ *Philosophumena*. This has been well-nigh demonstrated to be the work of Hippolytus, and not of Origen, as was thought by the Benedictines and others.

² Digest, iii, 4, 1, § 1, *de Collegiis*. "Quibus autem permissum est corpus collegi societatis," etc.

³ v. Delattre: *Archéologie chrétienne de Carthage.—Fouilles de la Basilique de Damous-el-Karita*. Lyon: 1886.

⁴ As we have before seen (p. 30), Mr. Parker refers portions of this Church to the first century.

ful statue of the Good Shepherd (Fig. 45), now in the Lateran Museum, a marble sarcophagus discovered in 1853 in the cemetery of San Pretestate at Rome, and the statue of St. Hippolytus,¹ also in the Lateran Museum, are placed in this century.

Sculpture.

From this century a large class of symbols, many allegorical pictures, and biblical scenes of symbolico-allegorical significance have also been preserved. A limited number of historical and liturgical representations are likewise believed to date from the latter part of it. Figures wrought in gilt upon glass vessels, found in the Roman catacombs and at Cologne, and a few gems of clearly recognised Christian origin, have been referred to this period.

Glass vessels and gems.

In Africa, on the site of the ancient Castellum Tingitanum, the modern Orleansville, are found the remains of the Church of St. Reparatus, some parts of which, from an inscription still extant, are by some believed to date from the year A. D. 252.² By some archæologists the churches found at Djemlia and at Announa in Algeria, at Ibrim in Nubia, and at Arment or Erment, the ancient Hermonthis, in Egypt, have been referred to the third century. The excavations on old sites in Asia Minor,³ in Syria, and in the Hauran, are bringing to light remains of old Christian churches whose age has not yet been fully determined, but

Architectural monuments.

¹ Much discussion has been had over this statue and the bronze statue of St. Peter in San Pietro Vaticano, at Rome. Many deny to both a Christian origin and character. But the Easter cycle, engraved upon the chair of the statue of St. Hippolytus, is a significant circumstance, and seems to furnish a strong argument for its Christian origin and genuineness. v. Salmon: *Chronology of Hippolytus*, in *Hermathena*, for 1873, pp. 82-85; also Döllinger: *Hippolytus und Callistus*, ss. 23-27.

² The inscription bears the year 285 of the Mauritanian era. If we are to follow some of the archæologists and epigraphists this era began thirty-three years before the Christian era (v. Prevost); according to others it began forty years after the Christian era (v. Henzen, on Nos. 5337, 5338, and 5859 of Orelli's *Inscript. lat.*). In the former case the date of the inscription would point to A. D. 252; in the latter, to A. D. 325. Fergusson: *Hist. of Arch.*, vol. i, pp. 403, 404; Mothes, O.: *Basilikenform*, s. 30; Kugler: *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 372, and others accept the earlier date. Schnaase: *Gesch. der bildende Künste*, 2te Aufl., Bd. iii, s. 3, note 4; Kraus: *Synchron. Tab.*, etc., s. 18, and others hold to the later date.

³ v. J. T. Wood: *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Boston, 1857, pp. 58, 59. He believes that he has discovered the tomb of St. Luke, that seems to belong to the last part of the third or to the early part of the fourth century. Near this was found what appeared to be a basilica, one of the earliest churches in Ephesus. v. pp. 99, 100. Many of the sarcophagi bear the well known monogram, A X O, of the fourth or fifth century. v. p. 120. Excavations on the sites of "the seven churches which are in Asia," promise well for the illustration of the history. Much has already been done, but comparative studies are still greatly needed.

which seem to date back as early as to the close of the third or to the early part of the fourth century.¹

FOURTH CENTURY.—The able reign of Diocletian was to close in disgrace and most cruel injustice. The fourth century opened with the last but most fearful trial by persecution to which the Church was to be subjected. Except in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where the co-regent was more lenient, the emperor's cruel edicts were most mercilessly executed. The imposing houses of worship were despoiled of their collections of sacred writings, of their costly decorations, and of the numerous vessels of gold and silver which were used in the administration of the sacraments. What treasures of art, what invaluable manuscript copies of the sacred Scriptures, what wealth of materials for the history of the early Church, which had been accumulated through the previous forty years of peace, were forever lost must remain a matter of mere conjecture. It is only certain that scarcely a church escaped this visitation.

In A. D. 311, Galerius issued his unlooked-for edict of toleration, which was followed, in A. D. 313, by the edict of the co-regents, Constantine and Licinius. By its provisions all confiscated church property was restored to the *Corpus Christianorum* at the expense of the imperial treasury,² and complete toleration of worship and belief was granted. By the defeat of Licinius in A. D. 323, Constantine became sole emperor. From this event dates a new period of monumental art as well as of church history.

From the last three quarters of the fourth century numerous in-

¹ "Recent researches in Africa have shown that when properly explored we shall certainly be able to carry the history of the Romanesque style in that country back to a date at least a century before his (Constantine's) time. In Syria and Asia Minor so many early examples have come to light that it seems probable that we may, before long, carry the history of Byzantine art back to a date nearly approaching that of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus." v. Fergusson: *History of Arch.*, vol. i, pp. 403, 404. Hübsch: *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, etc., Carlsruhe, 1863, fol., ss. xxiv, xxv, etc., believes that besides the so-called chapels of the catacombs, the churches San Alessandro, San Steffano, San Andrea in Barbara, the basilica in Orleansville, San Agostino in Spoleto, and the oldest part of the cathedral in Treves, are to be referred to the pre-Constantine period. Also v. Mothes, O.: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, Jena, 1884, 2 vols., 8vo, who holds to nearly like views. On the contrary, Schnaase, C.: *Gesch. d. bilden. Künste*, 2te, Aufl. 1869, Bd. iii, s. 37, claims that no churches which have been preserved to our day are older than the time of Constantine. Of nearly like opinion is Bunsen: *Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom.*, Bd. i, ss. 418, 419.

² For the account of large sums given to the African churches in A.D. 314, v. Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, x, 6, and *de Vit. Const.* iv, 28.

teresting monuments still survive. In all the chief cities churches were now built under imperial patronage, and ornamented and furnished with the utmost magnificence. The monuments are now more widely distributed and varied in character. From this time numismatics and epigraphy become important aids in the interpretation of Christian life and doctrine. To the fourth century can probably be referred the following basilicas at Rome: San Giovanni in Laterano, founded about A. D. 340; Santa Pudenziana, enlarged about A. D. 345 (?); San Pietro in Vaticano, about A. D. 350; San Paolo fuori le mura, about A. D. 386; San Clemente, rebuilt before A. D. 392.

Revival of
church build-
ings.

Architectural
monuments.

The catacombs were now less used for interment, and less frequented by visitors. During the last quarter of the century burial in subterranean recesses seems to have been almost discontinued. Basilicas, built over or near the entrances to the catacombs, supplied their place.¹ Portions of the catacombs of Naples probably belong to a very early date in this century. They are especially valuable for their paintings, and for the information which they furnish relative to the early practice of Christian burial.

Catacombs less
used.

Monuments in
Naples.

Slight remnants of the Neapolitan churches, San Gennaro dei Poveri, Santa Maria della Sanita, and Santa Maria della Vita, also survive.²

The catacombs of old Syracuse have awakened much careful inquiry as to their origin and age. Nearly one hundred inscriptions and several paintings have been discovered and described. The museum of Syracuse contains more than a hundred Christian lamps found in the catacomb of San Giovanni of that ancient city. The form, the orthography, and general contents of the inscriptions, as well as the symbols on the lamps, clearly indicate that they belong to the last half of the fourth century. A few may be of the time of Constantine.³

Catacombs of
Syracuse.

The records establish the belief that in the East a very large number of churches were built under the special patronage of Constantine, his family, and his immediate successors. Unfortunately, nearly all of these have perished. The basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, St. Mary's,

Many churches
have disap-
peared.

¹ Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, s. 98.

² Schultze: *Die Katakomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel*. Förster: *Mittel-u. Unter Italien*, ss. 414, 429.

³ Schultze: *Archäologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente*, ss. 134-139; de Rossi: *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1877. Tav. x, xi. *Contra* and in favor of a pre-Christian origin v. Quatremère de Quincy, Hirt, and Schubring.

remains to illustrate the character and style of these churches.¹ Some interesting Christian inscriptions have been found amidst the massive ruins of Baalbec. They seem to date from about the time of the founding of the Basilica of Theodosius, A.D. 379-395.²

The catacombs of Malta must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century. While Caruana³ holds that these are of pagan origin, and were transformed into a place for Christian burial during the period of Arabian dominion, in the latter part of the ninth century, his argument seems to be entirely unsatisfactory. The reference of these burial places to a Christian origin in the fourth or fifth century is much more consistent with the facts. They suggest nearly the same cycle of artistic and religious thought as the Roman catacombs, although the number of objects is comparatively small. Christian inscriptions of the fourth century, and well-preserved figures in sculpture, have been found at Tripoli in Asia Minor. One of these is a figure of Christ with the hammer, probably representing the carpenter's son.⁴

Traces of churches, probably from this century, have been found in Egypt and in the country bordering on the West Mediterranean in Africa;⁵ also a few other monuments of Christian origin have been recently excavated in these regions. Likewise in middle and southern France, at Arles, Marseilles, Narbonne, Toulouse, etc., Christian monuments dating from the fourth century have been discovered. Some beautiful sarcophagi with Christian symbols and biblical historic scenes, found in these cities, are from this time, while others more probably belong to the Merovingian period.⁶ Connected with

the churches of this century are found some beautiful mosaics, while the sculptured sarcophagi and a few mural paintings in the cemeteries fairly illustrate the condition of Christian art. The numerous inscriptions from the tombs, catacombs, and churches furnish interesting and valuable epigraphic material, and the coins of the emperors contain many rich suggestions.

FIFTH CENTURY.—The brief but earnest attempt of Julian to

¹ De Vogüé maintains that the present Church is the original structure. He argues this from the simplicity of the style, and the entire absence of features that are peculiar to the buildings of Justinian's day, as well as from the lack of references in literature to any changes.

² v. *Survey of Western Palestine*, special papers, 1881, pp. 135, 136.

³ Caruana: *Hypogeum Tal-Liebru, Malta*, Malta, 1884.

⁴ *Survey of Western Palestine*, pp. 152, 153.

⁵ Fergusson: *Op. Cit.*, vol. i, pp. 403, seq.

⁶ de Caumont: *Abécédairé d'Archéologie; Éra Gallo-Romaine*, pp. 350-352.

revive the decaying heathenism had proved utterly abortive. Himself a pervert from Christian teaching, his misdirected effort brought to him deepest sorrow and disappointment. Notwithstanding the tenacious life of pagan institutions, Christianity was now the accepted belief, and the Roman world was thoroughly pervaded with Christian thought. The Church had put on the strength of a long organized institution. The monuments are now greatly multiplied. While this was a century of waning political power and of general art decadence in the West, and the destructive incursions of the Teutonic hordes swept away many of the most noted and beautiful churches, enough survives to furnish highly valuable monumental evidence.

General decadence in the West.

In Rome this century is represented by Santa Sabina on the Via Aventina, built, as the mosaic inscription informs us, about A. D. 423 by Pope Celestine; and Santa Maria Maggiore, first built in A. D. 352, but rebuilt by Sixtus III. in A. D. 432. This is probably the earliest church of Rome that was dedicated to the Virgin. It contains some noteworthy original mosaics and sarcophagi which become valuable aids in the illustration of the Christian sculpture of the fifth century.

San Pietro in Vincoli, built by Eudoxia between A. D. 440 and 462, has well preserved the form and general appearance of the early Christian basilica.¹ In a very few instances the furniture of the churches still survives. The mosaics, altars, ambos, sarcophagi, etc., which still remain in these churches, are of inestimable value. Coins of both the Eastern and the Western Empire now are found. Numismatics now becomes of real confirmatory service, especially in correcting chronology. The number of Christian inscriptions is very greatly increased, and they assume more of a dogmatic character, thus clearly reflecting the strifes and controversies of the times.

Other churches of Rome.

During this century Ravenna² becomes a most interesting center

¹ For a full and generally reliable account of the basilicas of Rome v. Bunsen and Plattner: *Beschreibung Roms*. 5 Bde., with magnificent illustrations by Gutensohn and Knapp.

Hübsch: *Die altchristliche Kirchen*, 1863.

H. Gally Knight: *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*.

² For a careful scientific description of the Christian monuments of Ravenna, see among others, Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*. 1 Bd. fol., Berlin, 1842.

Richter, J. P.: *Die Mosaiken Ravennas*. Wien, 1878.

Rahn: *Ravenna, Eine kunstgeschichtliche Studie*. Leipzig, 1869.

Berti: *Sull' antico duomo di Ravenna*. Ravenna, 1880.

Müntz: *Lost Mosaics of Ravenna*, in *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 115-120.

of Christian monuments which greatly aid in understanding the condition and progress of Christian art in nearly every department. Among the most interesting buildings which survive are the Baptistery, *Baptisterium Ecclesiæ Ursianæ*, probably first erected in the fourth century, but restored in A. D. 451 by Archbishop Nero; San Francesco, from about the middle of the century; San Giovanni Evangelista, a votive three-apsed church, built by Galla Placidia in A. D. 420; SS. Nazario e Celso, the place of sepulture of Galla Placidia, which was erected before A. D. 450, and is well preserved and most instructive; Santa Maria in Cosmedin, an Arian baptistery, very like in form and mosaics to *Baptisterium Ecclesiæ Ursianæ*. These churches are rich in sarcophagi, altars, ambos, and mosaics.

In the Byzantine Empire very considerable archæological material from the fifth century has survived. In Egypt and West Africa many interesting objects have recently been discovered on the sites of old monasteries which prove of invaluable aid to the history of monasticism.

In southern and middle France is found a large number of interesting monuments, especially sarcophagi, which probably belong to the fifth century.¹ Roman Judea and Samaria, called Palestine, in the fifth century *Palestina Prima*, had thirty-three episcopal towns. The expectation that a region so permeated with Christian influence would furnish many monuments of its former prosperity is largely disappointed, since the number of churches and other objects connected with Christian history hitherto brought to light is comparatively small. What treasures more extensive systematic excavations in the old centers of Christian activity may yet reveal can only be conjectured. From the rich finds at Troy, Olympia, Larnica, Pompeii, etc., we may hope that equally valuable results may repay the Christian explorer in Palestine.

Remains of many Christian churches and other antiquities are found at various points in Syria. Their chronology has not been fully determined; yet some able archæologists place them as early as the fourth century.² They promise much

¹ v. de Caumont: *Op. Cit.*, *Architecture Religieuse*, pp. 48-56.

Laborde: *Plata cviii.*

And very excellent and thorough, Le Blant: *Étude sur les Sarcophages chrétiens antique de la Ville d'Arles*. Paris, 1878. 1 vol. 4to, with numerous plates.

Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule. 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1856-65.

His *Épigraphie chrétienne* is a most convenient and instructive manual.

² "We are transported into the midst of a Christian society; we are surprised at its life. It is not the concealed life of the catacombs, nor a humiliating, timid, and suffering existence that is generally represented here; but a life generous, opulent,

for the illustration of Christian architecture in a period hitherto enveloped in much obscurity. Especially the trans-Jordanic region must hereafter become a most inviting field to the Christian archæologist.¹

During the excavations at Olympia, in Greece, a Byzantine church was discovered, also many Christian graves. This church was built on what Pausanias describes as the Olympia. "workshop of Phidias." Its entire plan as well as the rich details seem to indicate a marked revival of art in the Byzantine Empire during the first half of the fifth century.²

The archæological remains found on numerous sites in Italy, Albania, Hungary, etc., which aid to illustrate the history of the fifth century, cannot be further described. They are interesting and important.³

SIXTH CENTURY. Numerous monuments still survive from the sixth century. Notwithstanding the general decadence of art and the fearful political upheavals, several imposing churches are believed to have been built in Rome during this century. The older parts of San Lorenzo and of Santa Balbina Sixth century churches in Rome. are generally referred to this period. In Ravenna portions of the churches of San Apollinare Nuovo, Santa Maria della

artistic, in grand houses . . . and magnificent churches, flanked with towers and surrounded with elegant tombs. . . . The choice of (Scripture) texts indicates an epoch near to the triumph of the Church; there prevails an accent of victory. . . . The date of the Roman epoch is given not only by the style of the architecture, but by inscriptions of considerable number which form an almost continuous chain from the first to the fourth century."—De Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale; Architecture Civile et Religieuse*, vol. i, pp. 7, 8.

W. Waddington, who accompanied De Vogüé on his tour of discovery, has given the archæology, the history, and the inscriptions of this interesting region under the title of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*. 1870.

¹ "That the Christians were in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries spread through the whole country, the survey abundantly testifies; from the deserts of Beersheba to the slopes of Hermon we have come across innumerable churches which cannot be dated later than that period. The nomenclature of the country bears witness to the existence of flourishing communities, charitable convents, and holy Christian sites, in every part; and the titles given to many ruins show the fate they finally underwent in perishing by fire." v. C. R. Conder: *Survey of Western Palestine*.

Special Papers: *Christian and Jewish Traditions*, p. 232.

v. also, Merrill: *East of the Jordan*.

² v. Curtius, Hirschfeld, etc.: *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, Bd. ii, ss. 6 and 18. For description of Church v. Bd. iii, ss. 29–32. For plans, etc., v. Bd. iii, Taf. xxxvi.

³ v. especially Garrucci: *Isoria dell' Arte cristiana*. Prato, 1875–79. 5 vols. fol. Vol. i, Text; vol. ii. Burial monuments, plates, and explanations; vol. iii, Monuments other than burial; vol. iv, Mosaics in catacombs and elsewhere; vol. v, Sarcophagi in cemeteries. Magnificently executed, and a latest authority from the Catholic standpoint, yet extreme in his theory of Christian symbolism.

Rotonda (the burial chapel of Theodoric), San Apollinare in Classe, and the most interesting and instructive of all, San Vitale, are yet preserved. Though it has been much tampered with, the dome of the small baptistery of San Giovanni in fonte, in Naples, contains some very rich mosaics of the latter half of this century. In Constantinople St. Sophia is the most magnificent monument. Traces of two other churches are still seen in this capital. Some of the original portions of St. George in Thessalonica, the modern Salonica, survive, with some of the richest mosaics of the century.¹ St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, must also be referred to this century. A few other churches of this period which retain some parts of their original structure are found scattered over the old empire, both east and west. Numerous sites furnish individual objects of great interest. In Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Hungary, Egypt, Numidia, Cyrene, Carthage, Spain, and southern France explorations are yielding rich results which happily illustrate the stage of art advancement and the condition of religious and ecclesiastical thought of the early Christian centuries.

The archæological societies of Germany and Great Britain have been most diligent and zealous in the discovery and description of much that has enriched the materials for writing the history of the christianization of the original dwellers in those lands. Especially along the borders of the Rhine and its immediate tributaries these archæological researches have been abundantly rewarded, while in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland unexpected treasures have been discovered.²

Some beautifully illuminated manuscripts from the sixth century have also been preserved, which show the complete subjection of art to ecclesiastical service, especially in the Greek Church. A regular series of illustrations of the Book of Genesis,³ in ten plates, is found in a manuscript preserved in Vienna. Also in the *Codex Syriacus*, now in the Laurentian library of Florence, are plates from

¹ Texiere & Pullan: *Byzantine Architecture*, Plates xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, and pp. 136-141. These authors also hold that St. Sophia of Thessalonica also belongs to this century.

² Invaluable materials have been collected in the art journals of Germany, as the *Zeitschrift für christl. Archæologie und Kunst*, the *Organ für christl. Kunst*, the *Christliche Kunstblatt*, etc., and in the proceedings of the local art and archæological societies. The Christian inscriptions found in the British Islands have been collected and edited by Huebner: *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*. Berlin and London, 1876.

³ v. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, vol. iii. These have been described by Daniel de Nessel, v. also d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 49, 50, and plate xix.

the sixth century,¹ in which the life of Christ and the events of the Church to the day of Pentecost are pictured. In the *Codex Vaticanus* are eleven plates devoted to Old Testament scenes. A series of paintings illustrating the book of Joshua² and thirty-six pictures, in gold and colors, of ecclesiastical vessels, etc., are in the Vatican library.

The number of art monuments belonging to the first six centuries of the Christian era is very great. They furnish illustrations of nearly every branch of Christian art, and become the silent and unconscious witnesses to the life, the belief, and the social condition of the early Church. Many have been arranged in museums for purposes of convenient study, and the zeal of investigators seems never to abate. While it is very difficult to give these monuments a classification according to chronological order, and different archæologists differ widely in opinion with regard to their age, they must, nevertheless, be regarded as invaluable auxiliaries to the complete understanding of the history of the Christian Church.³

¹ Some refer this manuscript to the fourth century. v. d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 52, 53, plate xxvii. Others assign it to a later date than the sixth century.

² d'Agincourt: t. ii, pp. 53, 54, plate xxxviii. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, vol. iii.

These interesting manuscripts are more fully described under chapter iv.

³ An immense amount of materials has been accumulated in the transactions of learned societies, and in the journals that are especially devoted to Christian archæology. Probably the foremost among the latter are the *Bullettino Archeologia cristiana* of Rome, which has been the special organ of de Rossi and his learned and enthusiastic associates, and the *Revue Archæologique*, which has been conducted with marked ability for many years.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO ART DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES.

It has been common with one class of writers to represent the early Christian Church as indifferent or even hostile to the fine arts. By some the teaching of the Christian fathers has been declared antagonistic to art; by others this view has been controverted.¹ Much of this contrariety of opinion is plainly attributable to a failure to notice the varying condition and the ever shifting environment of the Church of the first three centuries. Three questions need to be considered: 1. The Jewish origin of the first Christian converts, and the peculiarity of the Semitic imagination. 2. The diverse opinions held by the Jews and the Greeks with respect to the nature and revelation of God. 3. The growing influence of Christianity through the conversion of cultivated and wealthy pagans, and its final adoption as the state religion.

1. Christ and his first apostles were Jews. For nearly a generation after the ascension many of the adherents to the new faith were of Jewish origin, felt the obligation of the Jewish law, and loved the Jewish ritual. In their earlier history the Hebrews had been a pastoral people. Prior to the time of the kings their intercourse with other nations had been very limited. These circumstances were unfavorable to art origination and culture. After their return from the Babylonian captivity, the custom of carefully refraining from intermarriage with the surrounding peoples made their isolation still more complete. From this time Judaism assumed an exclusiveness before entirely unknown. While a nominal dependency of Persia, the Jews had been content to purchase peace and quietude by prompt payment of tribute money. Their influence seemed so insignificant that the Jews of Palestine were scarcely thought worthy of mention by the Greek historians of Alexander's time. Those who had been transported to the newly founded African metropolis furnish a partial exception to this exclusiveness; nevertheless their attempt to harmonize the Hebrew Scriptures with the current Greek thought

¹ Dorner: *Lehre von der Person Christi*, i, s. 290, note.

awakened in the minds of the Jews of Palestine a hatred scarcely less bitter than was felt toward the Samaritans themselves. "The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Seleucus and the establishment of the capitol at Antioch brought Judea into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies."¹ From this time the condition of the Jewish people became deplorable in the extreme.

Depressed condition of Jewish people.

It was one continuous struggle for existence from without, a state of fierce contentions and rivalries within. Even the patriotism of the Maccabean princes proved only the brilliant flicker of an expiring national life. True, the Jews were no insignificant factor in the society and business of many of the cities of the empire. In Alexandria and in Rome a separate quarter was assigned to them.² Hellenizing influences had, indeed, been marked and powerful. Nevertheless, they remained essentially isolated in religion and in social customs;³ while the partial syncretism of thought and style which sometimes resulted must be regarded as unfavorable to a healthy art development. From the time of their return from Babylon to the days of Christ, therefore, their conditions, social, financial, commercial, and religious, were least favorable to the successful cultivation of the fine arts.

Their condition unfavorable to art culture.

While the second commandment evidently acted as a check to the encouragement of painting and sculpture, its prohibition of art representation cannot be regarded as absolute.⁴ It must apply mainly to images which tempt to idolatry. The subsequent history of the Hebrews and their divinely instituted ritual justify this opinion. The injunction to Moses "to destroy the altars of the people, to break their images,

The second commandment not prohibitory of art.

¹ Milman: *History of the Jews*. 4th edition, London, 1866, vol. i, pp. 450, 451.

² For their numbers and influence in Cicero's day. *v. pro Flacco*, 28; in the reigns of Julius and Augustus, *v. Suetonius, Caesar*, 84; *Tiberius*, 36; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvii, 11, 1; xviii, 3, 5.

³ On their social standing at Rome *v. Hausrath: Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2te Aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 71-81.

For the epigraphic evidence of the constitution of the Jewish society at Rome *v. Schürer's* valuable monograph, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*. Leipzig, 1879.

⁴ "It may, perhaps, be admitted that the prohibition expressed in our verse [Exod. xx, 4] has exerted a retarding influence upon the progress and development of the plastic arts among the Hebrews, as a like interdiction in the Koran has produced a similar effect among the Arab tribes; for plastic art, in its beginnings, equally stands in the service of religion, and advances by the stimulus it affords. But it is an incomprehensible mistake if it is believed that plastic arts in general, sculpture and painting, are forbidden in our text."—Kalisch: *Historical and Critical Commentary of the Old Testament*.

and cut down their groves" (Exod. xxiv, 13), and the sweeping prohibition, "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (ver. 17), are coupled with the reason, "For thou shalt worship no other god, for the Lord whose name is Jealous is a jealous God" (ver. 14). It was, therefore, "images of gods" and not every species of art representation whose making was here forbidden. The preparation of the tabernacle and of its furniture were of divine appointment and after a divinely given pattern (Exod. xxv, 9). The artificers of the work, Bezalel and Oholiab, were called and inspired of God (Exod. xxxv, 30, 31, and xxxvi, 1). This was the prevalent opinion among the Jews in the time of Christ (Heb. viii, 5). Yet on the furniture of the tabernacle were representations of vegetable forms, as the almond-shaped bowls of the candlesticks (Exod. xxv, 33), and the pomegranates and bells of gold on the hem of the priest's ephod (Exod. xxviii, 33, 34); also of animal forms, as the golden cherubim (Exod. xxv, 18-20), and the embroidered cherubs upon the particolored veil dividing "between the holy place and the most holy" (Exod. xxvi, 31-33).

Four and a half centuries later, when the government had taken on the form of an hereditary monarchy, David essayed to build a resting-place for the ark of God. The scriptural account conveys the impression that this temple, built by Solomon, was after a pattern revealed by God to David (1 Chron. xxviii, 6, 10, 12, 19, and 2 Chron. vi, 10; *per contra*, 1 Kings v, 6; 2 Chron. ii, 3, 7; 1 Kings vi, 2; 2 Chron. vi, 2). The connection of the choice of the site with the terrible punishment of the sin of taking the census of Israel gave to this temple a most solemn interest. This threshing-floor of the fallen Jebusite king, where first was given the vision of the coming pestilence, became the center of the national worship for more than a thousand years, and to-day is held in equal veneration by the conquering sons of Ishmael. The temple hereon erected was far more than an architectural display. It supplied the framework of the history of the kingdom of Judah. It was the center of the whole religious life of Israel.¹ Slight as is our knowledge of the details, it is plain that "its general arrangements were taken from those of the tabernacle."² Such was the Jewish opinion to a very late period of their national history. Its form and size were similar to those of the tabernacle.³ It is certain that the introduction of vegetable and animal forms into the structure and furniture of the temple of Solomon was still more free than in

¹ Stanley: *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, 2d series, p. 150.

² Ewald: *Hist. of Israel*, vol. iii, p. 247.

³ Fergusson: *v.* article "Temple," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

the case of the tabernacle. Besides the golden cherubim were now found the twelve oxen or bulls of brass, supporting the great brazen laver, while the lesser lavers rested upon forms of cherubs, lions, and bulls. In addition to almonds and pomegranates lilies are now found, or, as some understand the text, the great laver itself was in the form of a flower of the lily.

These arrangements plainly show that the second commandment could not have been sweeping in its denunciation of the arts of form, or else there is in both the tabernacle and temple a like wide departure from the spirit of the law. The latter alternative opinion can hardly comport with the manifest claims of each structure to a divine origin. While we must, therefore, doubt the exclusiveness of the prohibition expressed in the second commandment with reference to the use of art forms in the sacred edifices and ritual of the Jews,¹ there can be as little doubt that this law greatly discouraged the cultivation of the arts of form. Wherever religion, which is the chief inspiration and patron of high art, is hostile or indifferent, the cultivation of art must languish and the character of its products become indifferent.

Vegetable and animal forms.

The commandment nevertheless a hindrance to art patronage.

We must, however, find the solution of the slender products of this people in sculpture, painting, and architecture chiefly in the peculiar character of the Semitic imagination. This has been noticed by students of general art history, as well as by writers on Hebrew poetry and music.²

The peculiarity of the Semitic imagination.

This people was not wanting in imagination or in art susceptibility. Few came nigher to the heart of nature, none were more sensitive to her subtler beauties.³ But the Semitic imagination was wild and restless; it was strong, daring, and impetuous. It had a

¹ "Even the principle of the second commandment, that Jehovah is not to be worshipped by images, which is often appealed to as containing the most characteristic peculiarity of Mosaism, cannot, in the light of history, be viewed as having had so fundamental a place in the religion of early Israel. The state worship of the golden calves led to no quarrel between Elisha and the dynasty of Jehu; and this one fact is sufficient to show that, even in a time of notable revival, the living power of the religion was not felt to lie in the principle that Jehovah cannot be represented by images."—W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 62, 63.

² Hotho: *Geschichte d. ch. Malerei*. Stuttgart, 1867. 1ten Abschn., 1te cap., ss. 24. seq. Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, 2te Aufl. Dusseldorf, 1866-78. Bd. i, 3te Bd. cap. 3, ss. 232. seq.

Bp. Lowth: *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*. London, 1847. Lect. 13, et al.

³ Comp. Psn. viii, 3, 4; xix, 1, 4, 5; civ, 1, 2, 24; Isa. xl, 22; Hos. v, 7; Sirach xliii, 1, 9, 11, 12; Matt. vi, 28, 29; 1 Cor. xv, 41, etc.

direct and manifest influence upon the logical faculty.¹ It gave tone and hue to much of their sacred literature. This inquietude causes every figurative representation that flits before the mind to be quickly supplanted by another. Either the first is inadequate for the metaphorical purpose, and the second is summoned to complete it; or through the manifoldness of its appearance it brings to mind yet something else that is closely related to the subject in hand, which thus becomes blended with the first picture of the fancy, only to obscure and weaken the sharpness of its outline.² Hebrew poetry furnishes numerous illustrations of this principle, and the writings of the Prophets confirm it.³ Take the passage in 1 Kings xiv, 15, as an example of the restlessness and impetuosity of the Hebrew imagination. Israel is here represented as a person who is to receive chastisement at the hand of the Lord. Its infliction causes him to reel, which effort suggests the slender reed shaken by the resistless blast. This new object to which the attention is directed is now the recipient of a further action—the rooting out of the land—thus calling up the promised inheritance. The further effect of the chastisement is not only the removal to another place, but the scattering beyond the river, and the dissolution of this personified Israel into its individual members.⁴ The picture of the blessings of Christ's kingdom as given in Isa. xxxii, 2, is another example of the same restlessness of fancy. The primal notion of safety and nourishment is plain and simple; but the imagination rushes from “a hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the storm” to “rivers of waters in a dry place,” and thence to “a great rock in a weary land.” Here is unity of thought, but we attempt in vain to reproduce by arts that appeal to the eye the diverse objects here presented. Of Isa. xiv, 4, 27, an enthusiastic admirer and commentator of the Hebrew poetry has written, “How forcible is this imagery, how diversified, how sublime! How elevated the diction, the figures, the sentiments! The Jewish nation, the cedars of Lebanon, the ghosts of the departed kings, the Babylonish monarch, the travelers who find the corpse, and, last of all,

¹ *e. g.*, the curious and repeated involutions of the argument in the Epistle to the Romans; thus greatly adding to the difficulties of its exegesis. This was noticed by Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.*, iii, 7, § 2) who attributes the irregularities of Paul's style to the impetuosity of the spirit within him.

² Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 236.

³ *v.* 1 Kings xiv, 15; Psa. xviii; Isa. xiv, 4, 27; xxxii, 2; xxxviii, 11, 14, and numerous other passages.

⁴ *v.* Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*

JEHOVAH himself, are the characters that support this lyric drama."¹ While the imagery is poetic, it is incapable of representation by painting or sculpture. This restless impetuosity of imagination is found not only in warnings and prophecies of destruction, but in depicting peaceful scenes, holy triumphs, pastoral simplicity, and even in historic narration.

It is a well accepted principle of formative art that it requires a measure of fixedness and repose. This limits the im- Accepted art principle. agination to a single and well defined subject. A painting implies limitation in time and place; a statue is the crystallization of one leading thought; high architecture obeys the laws of symmetry and proportion. These arts demand unity, sharpness of outline, and obedience to well settled principles of execution. We have only to refer to the above-mentioned products of the Jewish imagination, or recall some of the invocations to praise, or the description of God's majestic ways in nature, as found in the Book of Job, the Psalms, or the Prophets, to be convinced that the Semitic imagination was too restlessly nervous, or too daring in its flights, to obey the canons imposed on sculpture, painting, and architecture.

Like results are reached from the study of the Solomonic temple and the sculptured and pictorial forms which were Confirmation from examples of the formative arts. admitted into the ornamentation of its furniture. The outline of this sacred building was that of a mere box, destitute of artistic proportions or elegance.² The beautiful symmetry, the harmony of color, and the perfection of details, met in the Greek temple of the golden age, are in marked contrast with the baldness of form and the barbaric splendor of Solomon's temple. Even more striking is the difference between the The Jewish temple. few artistic forms which were allowed in the one and those adorning the temple of a Zeus or of an Athene. The figures

¹ Bp. Lowth: *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. 13.

² Dean Milman seems to convey an erroneous impression of the architectural peculiarities of Solomon's temple when he says, "Yet in some respects, if the measurements are correct, the temple must rather have resembled the form of a simple Gothic church."—*Hist of the Jews*, Book vii. It is difficult to trace any likeness in these two widely separated and very diverse styles of architecture. Indeed, we could hardly find a stronger contrast than exists between Solomon's temple and a Gothic church. More correct is his statement, p. 311: "The temple itself was rather a monument of the wealth than of the architectural skill and science of the people." Dean Stanley's estimate is certainly justified by the best results of modern investigation: "The outside view must, if we can trust the numbers, have been, according to modern notions, strangely out of proportion."—*The Jewish Church*, London, 1875, vol. i, p. 174.

of the cherubim which overshadowed the mercy-seat were of olive-
Examples of wood, overlaid with gold (1 Kings vi, 23-28). These
sculpture. figures were colossal, but were wanting in symmetry, while their lack of adjustment to the containing space manifested an indifference to artistic harmony. In the descriptions of the seraphim in the vision of Isaiah (Isa. vi), and of the cherubim in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. xli), all is wild and involved. In these forms is noticed an absence of unity and proportion, an impatience of boundary and definition. They transcend the limits of the human, and are allied to the mysterious and the supernatural.

This idiosyncrasy, so unfavorable to arts which appeal to the eye, is not incompatible with high excellence in poetry and music. Nevertheless, a like diversity may be traced in the poetry of the Jews and of the Greeks. This is manifest from a careful comparison of passages from the Hebrew bards with those taken from Homer, where like objects are described, or like poetic images are involved. Homer treats each element of the figure consecutively and exhaustively; the Hebrew bard flits from point to point in rapid succession. Homer gives many elements of one view; the Hebrew presents single elements of many views.¹

2. The relations of the divine to the human as conceived by the Semitic mind were very different from those recognized by the Hellenic peoples. The monotheism of the Hebrews was peculiar.
The Hebrew monotheism. Their Jehovah was not merely the one living and true God, but he was at the same time the illimitable and unfathomable Mystery, the Unapproachable, whom no form can contain, no symbol may adequately represent. The assurance given to Moses, "Thou canst not see my face, for no man shall see me and live" (Exod. xxxiii, 20), inspired in the worshiper a pervading awe. The infinity of the attributes of One whom "the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain" (2 Chron. ii, 18), "the

¹ Of the Hebrew lyric poetry, as an exhibition of the Hebrew imagination, Lotze says:

"Here the mind dwells upon its communion with God, and extols with all the power of the most passionate expression, as proof of divine omnipotence, every deep-felt individual feature of cosmic beauty. For among the divine attributes it is certainly omnipotence which, above all, is felt, and gives a coloring to æsthetic imagination; we do, indeed, meet with innumerable pictures of nature which, taken separately, have often that inimitable beauty and charm which civilization, entangled by a thousand unessential accessories of thought, finds it so difficult to attain; but these pictures are not utilized for the development of a progressive course of thought, but merely juxtaposed as though to magnify from different but corresponding sides the omnipresent influence of that divine activity which they depict." *v. Microcosmus*, translation, New York, 1885, vol. ii, p. 403.

King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God" (1 Tim. i, 17), made the fitting representation of Jehovah through form or symbol inconceivable and self-contradictory. Of all the Oriental peoples the Jews most abhorred the degradation of Deity to the plane of nature. In their conception the forces of nature were only the agents and instruments of God which he used to accomplish his will. These views of God and nature tended to drive the Jew back upon himself, and to encourage the study and development of a subjective life. Lacking, therefore, a religious sanction and encouragement, art among the Jews could have but a partial development, since all history and philosophy are accordant in teaching that art has achieved its grandest triumphs when inspired by the truths of religion, while religion has found in art its closest handmaid and successful interpreter.

Unfavorable to representative art.

How different was the thought of pagan Greece and Rome! While in their early history both these peoples were eminently religious, their conceptions of the divine were nevertheless indistinct and shifting. The most devout Greeks could affirm without public offence that Hesiod and Homer were the authors of their mythology. Their opinion of the deities was fixed neither by law nor by the authority of a divinely instituted priesthood. The priests were not a favoured class, but were generally chosen from year to year to minister to the people and communicate the will of the gods. Nature was not merely an instrument by which the one infinite Ruler accomplishes his purposes, but was apportioned to a multitude of divinities whose domain was limited and defined. Natural forces were personified, and these personifications were the products of the popular fancy, or were traditions which were invested with no supreme authority. It has been said that the Greeks idealized nature. In comparison with the low materialistic tendencies of many Oriental peoples this claim is fairly just. Certainly their religion was for the most part bright and cheerful. It turned toward the outward. The deep subjective element of the Hebrew faith was feeble in both the heathen Greek and Roman. While the earlier Greek religion had been characterized by freedom of thought, and the Roman, on the contrary, was to the last degree prescribed, these religions nevertheless agree in the common quality of externality. Paul's masterly summary was descriptive of all pagan systems alike; "They worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator" (Rom. i, 25). To the Greek there was no holy God; all divinities were alike subject to the weakness of change, and to the sway of

The Greek mythology.

Externality of the heathen religions.

passion. "Instead of holiness, beauty took the supreme place."¹ Loyalty to the family and to the state was to the Roman the highest ideal of piety. To represent their gods in beautiful and perfected forms seemed appropriate to peoples whose conceptions of deity shifted with their own varying history. Hence their relation to the formative arts must have been widely different from that of the Hebrews. While to the Jew the divine worship and the house of worship must be only symbolic of the mysterious power and presence of Jehovah; while, therefore, proportions and outlines need not be subject to strict law or definition, but might defy the principles which govern mere finite existence; the worship, the statues, and the temples of the Greeks had a clearness and a distinctness which were entirely consonant with the nature of gods who were merely a projection of finite thought, and the embodiment of what was best and highest in humanity. By a method of limitation and degradation of their divinities to an image or statue, the Greeks used the arts of form as didactic means of a religious education. Thus as minister and illustrator of religion formative art among the Greeks found its richest themes and its highest inspiration, while among the Hebrews its isolation from religious thought and religious service resulted in an imperfect development and a languishing life.

We have a most conspicuous illustration and proof of this Jewish indifference to the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture in the person of St. Paul. Born in Tarsus, the seat of advanced Greek culture, where objects of exquisite taste adorned the markets and public squares, he must have enjoyed abundant opportunity for the study of the formative arts of the period. Yet, in the account of his missionary visit to Athens is found no single expression of friendly interest in the matchless works with which that noted city still abounded, not one intimation of æsthetic pleasure awakened by their study.² Rather did he see in these richest and grandest pro-

¹ Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*. Translation, revised edition 1879. P. 33.

² "Any sense of the dignity and beauty of pagan art was impossible to one who had been trained in the school of the rabbis. There was nothing in his education (we might add, in his people) which enabled him to admire the simple grandeur of the Propylæa, the severe beauty of the Parthenon, the massive proportions of the Theseum, the exquisite elegance of the Temple of the Wingless Victory. From the nude grace and sinewy strength of the youthful processions portrayed on frieze or entablature, he would have turned away with something of impatience, if not of disgust."—Farrar: *Life of St. Paul*. London, 1882. Vol. i, p. 527.

Results of these differences to art culture.

St. Paul an illustration of Semitic indifference to the fine arts.

Farrar's statement.

ducts of the human imagination, in statues of matchless beauty, in altars of faultless form, in temples of incomparable proportions, naught but the plainest proofs of a mournful departure from the one true God, and unmistakable evidences of the degradation and helplessness of the heathen world.

3. While the Gospel must be first preached at Jerusalem, and while by their monotheistic faith and Messianic hopes the Jewish people formed the proper point of union between the old and the new, the spirit of universalism taught by Jesus could not be limited by the prevalent exclusiveness. His was a Universalism of the Gospel. system of truth and salvation for the race. When Paul and Barnabas said, "Lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (Acts xiii, 46), the grandeur of the Gospel mission was first made manifest. Most gladly did the poor and the oppressed of heathendom hear the proclamation of deliverance from their spiritual bondage.

The estimated number of converts to Christianity at the close of the first century is 500,000; at the close of the second 2,000,000; at the close of the third 7,000,000 to 10,000,000. Number and character of converts. Even at the close of the first century, probably the majority of Christians had been gathered from heathen peoples. The Gentile element rapidly increased. By the middle of the second century Jewish influence and tendencies had well-nigh disappeared. After the second century, with the exception of some isolated communities, the Church consisted essentially of converts who must have been thoroughly familiar with pagan art.

It is impossible to believe that families of high station, that had been entirely favorable to the patronage of the fine arts, could, on embracing Christianity, immediately change their tastes and practice, especially since nothing inimical to the cultivation of art is found in the teachings of Christ or in the writings of his apostles.

Every chief city in the Roman Empire had become a museum into which had been gathered the treasures which the Greeks had produced during a long period of art activity and origination. Powerful art influences. Temples, altars, shrines; vale, grove, and mountain; public squares, market-places, the halls of justice, private houses—contained objects which familiarized the looker-on with the thought that the divine may be represented in visible form. The pagan moralists regarded these images as most helpful means of instruction, and a most healthful stimulus of the faith of the worshipper.

Like the Christian apologists for images in a later century, the priests of paganism taught that the people could thus be brought near the person of the divinity. Art works regarded helpful by the heathen moralists. While some of the more thoughtful, as Seneca, rejected this view,

the majority taught that the gods were truly present in the images. The untutored multitude believed that their deities had as many different personalities as there were representations. Herein the faith of the adherents to the old religions was strikingly like that of the Christians during the most flourishing periods of image worship.¹

Thus had art been made the illustrator and teacher of religion. They had become so closely joined that the protests of some of the Christian fathers against its practice and encouragement sounded harsh and discordant to the pagan moralists. But the accessions to the Church of families of wealth and high social position, the cessation of the fierce struggle of heathendom for re-establishment, and the removal of the dangers that threatened the lapse of Christianity into heathen idolatry, furnished new conditions for the cultivation and patronage of the fine arts. The inherent love of the beautiful found means of rational gratification; the new religion breathed into the old forms a quickening spirit, and originated a treatment peculiarly Christian. The decadence everywhere observed in the pagan world from the blight of faith was measurably arrested by the vital union of the true and the beautiful in Christianity. The changed relations of the Christian to the Jewish Church, the juster view of the nature of God and his government of the material universe, and the recognition of Christianity as an important factor in the civilization of the empire, favored the alliance of the Church with art, which thus received a truer inspiration.²

Some, however, who had been converted from the pagan system were, at first, scarcely less pronounced against the use of art forms in the places of worship than the Jewish Christians themselves.³ This seeming hostility of a few of the Christian fathers was chiefly occasioned by the corrupting associations of the prevalent art. As before remarked, the Christian and pagan views of the divine nature and government were in directest contradiction. The one believed that each stream, wood,

Causes of Christian art encouragement.

Early opposition to the arts of form in Christian services.

¹ Friedländer: *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, s. 565, et al.

This author compares the heathen belief in the diversity of the nature of the gods with that of the Neapolitans respecting the Madonna and her various art representations.

² "Christianity only discouraged art so long as art was the handmaid of sin: the moment this danger ceased, she inspired and ennobled art."—Farrar, *Life of St. Paul*, chap. xxvii.

"Christianity by exalting moral above physical beauty, the soul above the body, encouraged the development of ardent and passionate men of genius"—E. Müntz: *Les Artistes célèbres. Donatello*.

³ Piper: *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*. Weimar, 1847. Bd. i, s. 2.

and mountain was governed by a separate divinity, and that every act and event of human experience from birth to death was under the direction of some special deity; the other regarded the universe as the work of the one true God, and this world as the theatre for the display of the divine mercy and glory, and for the manifestation of behavior under the divine government.¹ Through the universal decadence of belief and the corresponding corruption of morals, that which had originally been inspired by strong faith in the supernatural had become the minister to the most degrading rites and ceremonies. Hence, some of these works of art were at first doubly repulsive to the heathen converts themselves. It was originally a war against images; subsequently it extended itself by a law of association to all decorative and art Extent of this forms connected with the heathen worship. At first opposition. even objects in free statuary and paintings used to beautify private houses and household furniture were forbidden. The artist whose skill was employed in the production of these works was placed under the ban of the Church. On assuming church membership he was, at times, compelled to abandon his craft. The *Apostolic Constitutions* are very positive in their teachings on this point. A maker of images of the gods who shall have become a Christian must either abandon his business or be excommunicated.² Some influential Christian fathers were most outspoken. So late as the beginning of the third century Tertullian argued the case with great vehemence. He urges that while the Christian artificer Tertullian's teaching. did not himself worship these images, he was placing in the hands of others objects which might be most misleading. One cannot consistently confess the one true God with the mouth, and yet preach polytheism with the hand. While Christian artisans themselves may not offer incense to these images of the gods, they are, nevertheless, putting into their work their powers of mind and soul, and are thus consenting to derive their own comfort and support from a soul-destroying idolatry.³ Clement of Alexandria was of like

¹ "If the pagan religions had explained the government of the universe by the government of man, thus multiplying the realms of law, each under a distinct law-giver, the Christian had achieved that highest possible generalization, sublime in its simplicity, of a single realm and one universal divine government."—Holland: *Jurisprudence*, p. 14.

² *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii, c. 32: "Idolorum opifex si accedat, aut desistat ant-repellatur."

³ *De Idolatria*, c. 6: "Quomodo enim renuntiavimus diabolo et angelis ejus, si eos facimus? . . . Potes lingua negasse, quod manu confiteris? verbo destruere, quod facto struis? unum Deum prædicare, qui tantos effolis? verum Deum prædicare, qui falsos facis?"

mind.' But the use of such facts to prove the hostility of these fathers to art *per se*, and the indifference of the early Church to the cultivation of the fine arts, is manifestly misleading. Such conclusions are denied by the evidence of the senses.²

The adornment of dress, and the decoration of furniture, utensils, and wall-spaces in the private house, have generally been the earliest product of the æsthetic faculty. So probably with the art of the early Christians.³ It was so far removed from the associations of heathen worship as to awaken little opposition. This view finds confirmation in the writings of the early Christian fathers. The next step seems to have been the decoration of tombs and the wall-spaces of crypts in the catacombs, which often served the double purpose of sepulture and of a place of assembly for the celebration of the sacraments. Hence the archæologist must betake himself to the careful study of these burial monuments to gain the truest conception of the nature and mission of early Christian art.⁴

Unquestionably, the Christian Church accepted and appropriated to its own use many of the art forms that were at early Christian hand. To create an absolutely new school was, under the circumstances, impossible. The earliest Christian painting and sculpture follow the heathen type; no wide departure is anywhere observable. The originality of the Christian artists

¹ Among other passages *v. Pædagogus*, lib. iii

² An interesting parallel may be drawn between the teachings of the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries and those of some of the great reformers of the sixteenth. The early apologists clearly discerned the threat to the purity of Christian life and doctrine coming from the indiscriminate use of heathen art; Luther, Zwinglius, Beza, and Calvin would exclude images from churches, not because they did not love art, but because these objects were misleading the simple worshippers. *v. Grüneisen: De Protestantismo artibus hand infesto.* Tübingæ, 1839. Also an essay, *Catholicism and Protestantism as Patrons of Christian Art*, in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1877.

³ What modification of opinion might be necessary were the countless objects that have been lost to be recovered, it is impossible to say. The materials are often very meagre, and sometimes the archæologist must be guided by analogical evidence.

⁴ "Probably religious representations were transferred from private houses to churches at the end of the third century, for the Church of Elvira, A. D. 305, protested against this use of images in the churches."—Neander: *Church Hist.*, Torrey's trans., vol. ii, p. 508. This opinion of Neander needs very important qualification. It seems to be founded upon documentary rather than upon monumental evidence. With the latter he interested himself very slightly. Indeed, nearly every great work on church history in this century—for example, Neander, Giessler, Niedner, Baur, Kurtz, etc.—is strangely silent on the monuments. Schaff, in his last edition, forms a striking and pleasant exception.

consisted essentially in pressing into the service of the new faith what before had ministered to the religions of paganism. A new spirit was infused into the old body, not immediately to modify and transform it, but to teach new and saving truths. The early employment of symbolism indicates the chariness of the Church in the use of free statuary and painting. symbolism among the earliest forms of Christian art. The authority of Scripture was invoked. The Fathers assumed that to represent to the eye what the Scriptures teach by word-symbol was not idolatrous. Jesus spoke of himself and of his saving offices under the symbol of a vine; he called himself the Good Shepherd, and his followers the sheep. The finally saved were the sheep placed on his right hand in paradise; the finally impenitent were the goats which were to be banished from his presence forever. Thus the cycle of Christian symbolism which became so effective in teaching was greatly enlarged, and aided to introduce the arts of form into the service of the Church.

It is, therefore, scarcely philosophical or in accord with historic facts to attribute the symbolic character of the pre-Constantine art to merely outward circumstances, as fear of persecution, or an aversion to exposing to profane eyes the mysteries of the Christian religion. The transition from the symbolic to the literal representation was rather in obedience to a fundamental law of art development. Transition from symbolic to literal representation. The deep spiritual life of the Church must precede the outward expression. The decadence of religious sentiment in the pagan world had caused a like decadence in all forms of representative art, whether poetry, music, painting, sculpture, or architecture. The higher spiritual life of the Christian Church must supply the necessary conditions of a completer art which would be developed whenever the outward circumstances might favor.¹

The history of the first three centuries clearly shows that just as the heathen philosophical thought was used by the Church fathers to give concise expression to Christian doctrine, and the Roman state furnished the type for an ecclesiastical hierarchy, just so were the forms of pagan art and its principles of expression pressed into the service of the triumphant religion.² This appropriation went so far as frequently to use

¹ Piper: *Mythologie der ch. Kunst*, Bd. i, ss. 5, 6.

² A similar contribution of heathen thought is seen in the Roman guilds.

"The constitution of these guilds, and the kind of life developed within them, have been of the greatest importance in the history of Christian charity and its development. Certainly it was the case that these guilds laid down the recognised

heathen symbols for Christian purposes. Confining himself at first to the simple but significant symbolism of the biblical cycle, the artist afterward employed any heathen emblem which had conveyed an analogous truth. It must be supposed that this practice in some form was quite general in the Christian Church. But the remains of this earliest art industry are limited to a very few centres. Only in Rome is the cycle at all complete. These Christian symbols are often found associated with burial monuments. So long as places of sepulture were under the special protection of law we may suppose that there was no necessity for concealment. The chapels erected over the graves of Christians eminent for piety or for the services they had rendered were adorned with works which have unfortunately almost entirely disappeared. But when, by the edict of Valerian (A. D. 257), assemblies in these burial chapels were prohibited, and fierce persecutions were practised, the Christians were compelled to betake themselves to places of concealment for worship and for the celebration of the sacraments. Thus originated some of the most interesting portions of the catacombs which have been so rich a mine for the Christian archæologist. The preservation of these treasures of Christian art seems almost providential. They remain as samples of the work of the artists of the early Christian centuries.

What added helps might have been furnished for the elucidation of Christian art in the first six centuries, had not the works outside the catacombs so generally perished, can only be conjectured. The catacombs are for the study of Christian art what the discoveries at Pompeii are for heathen; they furnish invaluable information relative to the art susceptibilities and spirit of their time. The Roman catacombs furnish the only examples of Christian paintings of an earlier date than near the close of the fourth century.

Of the nearly sixty catacombs which have been already excavated, those of SS. Calisto, Priscilla, Domitilla, Prætextato, Sebastiano, and Agnese are richest. Their narrow and often winding passages are skirted on either side by rows of *loculi* or recesses for receiving the dead. On the faces of slabs of stone which close the *loculi* was sculptured, sometimes painted, sometimes scratched in the soft mortar, a symbol or epitaph to reveal the belief of the departed, or to indicate the triumph of Christian faith. At the place of intersection these passages were forms in accordance with which, when once the power of true love began to stir the Christian communities, their charity was to be exercised."—Uhlhorn: *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 27. New York: 1883.

frequently widened, and their height increased to form chambers which were sometimes the burial place of martyrs of peculiar sanctity. Upon the wall-spaces and ceilings are found the paintings which most clearly reveal the artistic taste of the Christians prior to the fourth century. In the oldest catacombs is noticed a tendency to use the arts of mere decoration. In the spirit and execution the paintings quite closely resemble those found on heathen monuments of the same age. The motive is not essentially different. Birds, flowers, genii, etc., are represented in the most easy and natural style of drawing, and in a spirit worthy of the best periods of pagan art.

Decorative art
in the cata-
combs.

Some of the vaulted ceilings of the cemetery of Santa Domitilla at



Fig. 1.—Ceiling decoration from Santa Domitilla, Rome. Probably from second century.

Rome are believed to belong to the first half of the second century. On one portion of this ceiling-surface (Fig. 1) the vine is

treated in the most unconventional manner, with leaves, fruit, and the genii of the vineyard. There seems to be no attempt at geometrical handling, but a spirit of naturalism inspires the whole work.'

A little later in the century the principle of geometrical division and balancing seems to supplant in a measure this free handling. A very striking example is met in the vaulted ceiling of the cemetery of San Prætestato, in Rome (Fig. 2). In the lower section a reap-

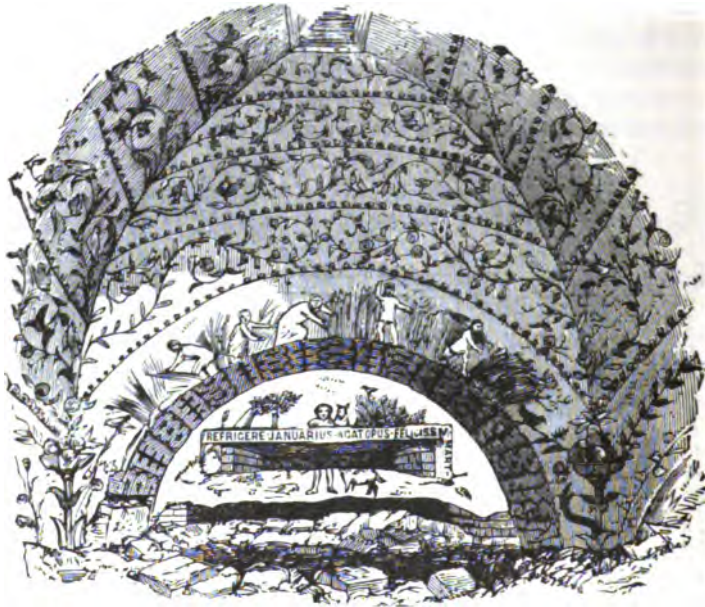


Fig. 2.—Ceiling decoration from San Prætestato, Rome. Last half of the second century.

ing scene is depicted in a style equal to the best contemporary pagan art. Above is a beautiful and very lifelike sketch of vine and leaf work in the midst of which birds are sporting, while above all the laurel branch seems to be introduced. On the other sides of this room in the lower zone are children who are picking roses, a vintage scene, in which the gathering, carrying, and treading of the grapes are most vigorously represented, and men who are harvesting olives. The whole artistic design seems to be merely decorative.¹ A class of writers would see in all these a symbolic teaching, but this is manifestly pushing the principle of symbolism to an unwarranted extreme.

¹ Roller: *Catacombs de Rome*, Pl. xii, No. 3. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 77, 78.

² v. Roller: *Catacombs de Rome*, t. i, chap. xiv. Northcote & Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, p. 138. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, s. 83.

In the midst of other figures occasionally appear what must be regarded as distinctively Christian symbols. These depart so widely from the prevalent teaching as to suggest a different origin and inspiration. This commingling of subjects and motives was a most natural, and we may say necessary, result of the situation. The beautiful spirit of purity, gentleness, brotherly kindness, fidelity to principle, the quietness and love of the family life, and the firm attachment to the society of the believers, as expressed in the celebration of the love-feasts and eucharist, could continue only so long as Christianity held itself aloof from the life and duties of the state. So soon, however, as its adherents went from obscurity to mingle in public affairs, they necessarily encountered the power and resistance of heathen customs and laws. Christian doctrine could no longer remain untouched by heathen philosophy, nor its life be uninfluenced by the prevailing fashions. No less could its art be developed apart from

Commingling
of pagan and
Christian ele-
ments.

pagan motives. Hence the commingling of pagan and Christian elements in some of the best examples of Christian art during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Nevertheless, in the strange and almost unparalleled syncretism of nationalities, beliefs, philosophies, rites, and ceremonies then prevalent in Rome, it is noteworthy to how slight a degree the earlier Christian art was influenced. Only by comparison of the subjects, the symbols, and the execution of the art of the catacombs with contemporary works of Rome can a just conception of the restraining and modifying power of Christianity be gained.¹ That early Christian art should be of the highest order of excellence is not to be anticipated. Christianity made its advent at a time when art was in a condition of decadence which marked all its forms, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Yet Christian
art retained
an exceptional
purity.

¹ "The artist has long cherished a secret grudge against morality. The prudery of virtue is his great hinderance. He believes that it is our morality that prevents us from rivalling the arts of ancient Greece. He finds that the individual artist seems corrupted and spoiled for his business if he allows morality to get too much control of him. The great masters he notices show a certain indifference, a certain superiority, to it; often they audaciously defy it. The virtuous artists are mostly to be looked for in the second class, into which, moreover, it is doubtful whether they have not been admitted by favor. Hence he becomes most seriously and unaffectedly skeptical about the unapproachable sovereignty of the law of Duty." *Supernatural Religion*, vol. i, p. 120. Does the learned author forget that Greek art perished with its dying religiousness? Poetry decays in the period of a decadence of faith. Christianity used the Greek to produce a better art, for example, music, and originated some of the grandest and most imposing forms, for example, Gothic architecture.

Hence it must be erroneous to regard Christian art as either a sudden leap into a better and purer form, or a sudden decline from classic excellence. Rather must it be regarded as a progressive development.¹

The mythology of the ancient world influenced Christian art as well as Christian literature and doctrine. It is found either as an historic representation, thus having a typical or religious significance, or it introduced powers of nature under a symbolic form, and then had a purely artistic purpose.² Sometimes these were united. As an instance of the latter may be mentioned the ivory tablet from the fourth century, known as the Barberini Diptych.

Constantine. In the upper part of this tablet is a bust of Christ, in the act of benediction, while on the other parts are various mythological representations. A like commingling of motives is seen on the noted sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Plate I), who, as Præfect of Rome, died shortly after his baptism.

The main panels are occupied with delineations of characters and events from both the Old and the New Testaments—the translation of Elijah, the offering of Isaac, the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, and scenes from the life of Christ. But in the angles and niches are found heathen mythological representations which seem to have very little connection with the main subjects, and must, therefore, be regarded as having been introduced more for artistic effect than for religious teaching.

Of like character is the noted Greek manuscript of the book of Joshua, now in the Vatican Museum. It consists of fifteen sheets of parchment, nearly thirty feet long and about one foot wide, on which the chief events of the first ten chapters of Joshua are represented. Opinions differ as to the age of this parchment; yet it seems hardly possible that it can be later than the eighth century, while some of the most competent critics³ regard it as among the very earliest of Christian monuments. In the personification of rivers, cities, mountains, etc., the ornamentation of this parchment is in the peculiar spirit of pagan art.

The influence of heathen symbols and thought is apparent on the

¹ Piper: *Mythologie der ch. Kunst*, Bd. i, s. 7.

² Piper: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 18.

³ v. Rumohr: *Italienische Forschungen*, Th. 4, p. 166. v. d'Agincourt: *Plates* xxviii, xxix, xxx. D'Agincourt places it in the seventh or eighth century. In this, as in other monuments, restorations of a later date are suspected. This is one reason of the diversity of opinion respecting its age.

coins of the Roman emperors who embraced Christianity. The coins prepared by Constantine in commemoration of his victory over Licinius contain the Labarum, which, with the monogram of Christ, rests upon a dragon. The cities of Constantinople and Rome are represented under the symbol of the goddess of Fortune, and the statues of the Christian emperors are sometimes associated with the goddess of Victory.

Roman imperial coins.

Not less noteworthy is the commingling of Christian and pagan thought and motive in the case of private Christian burial monuments. Genii of the seasons, Cupid and Psyche, as well as genii of a festive nature, are here found to typify the joy and fruition of the departed.¹

Closely connected with these are representations in which mythological subjects are used as types of biblical persons and events. If the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is associated with the serpent in like manner as, in the heathen myth, the Garden of the Hesperides is guarded by the dragon, or if the translation of Elijah suggests the ascending sun god, this resemblance is merely outward. Yet it may be very easy to transfer the one to the other, and thus commingle pagan and Christian ideas.² So, likewise, may the ram-bearing Mercury be mistaken for a figure of the Good Shepherd, because of a seeming likeness, while all parallelisms in office or nature may be wanting (v. Figs. 47, 48).

Types.

Careful distinction must be made between monuments which contain representations closely resembling each other in mere outward form while there is no likeness in thought, from those which agree in motive, and hence may have been transferred from pagan associations to be used in Christian instruction. It is likewise important to discriminate between heathen inscriptions and symbols on monuments *in situ* from those that may be found on the walls of churches, on slabs which close the *loculi* in the catacombs, or on marbles afterward used in the construction of church furniture or of the tombs of eminent Christians. It is well known that in many instances the materials used in Christian structures were gathered from the ruins of ancient pagan temples and shrines.³ Hence, by failure to erase the symbol or inscription,

Difference between outward resemblance and real likeness of thought.

Heathen materials in Christian structures.

¹ Respecting the reference of these figures to the category of symbol or ornamentation there is wide difference of opinion among the archaeologists.

² v. Piper: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 39.

³ This same commingling of diverse materials is noticed in buildings of the Middle Ages. Among many examples in the North may be mentioned the walls of the close

there seems at times an incoherent commingling of pagan and Christian elements.

Millin¹ has given an account of a beautiful sarcophagus of Flavius Memorius, who lived under Maximian or Constantine. It was discovered at Arles, and is now in the museum of Marseilles. In this the appropriation of heathen art work to a Christian burial monument is evident. The work is of pagan origin; moreover, its high order of artistic excellence points to a very early date; yet the inscription, which was manifestly an after thought, is Christian in sentiment. Also Platner² has described a sarcophagus in the cloister of Santa Agnese in Rome. On either end is the favorite representation of Cupid and Psyche; below, the ocean is symbolized by the reed and the water urn, and the earth by the horn of plenty. Above, in the middle of the monument, is a bust in relief held by two cupids. This bust likeness is clearly a Christian work of later origin, and represents St. Agnes, whose remains this sarcophagus formerly preserved.

This curious commingling of elements is also noticed in early Christian churches. Sometimes the columns separating the main from the side naves are of different orders of architecture, of different diameters, and sometimes of different materials. Gathered from the decaying or forsaken heathen temples, these were incorporated into Christian edifices either on account of the poverty of the Church, or to indicate her greater triumph. The churches San Niccolo in Carcere, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, at Rome, are instructive examples of this practice. Santa Maria in Trastevere, a three-naved church, has twenty-two granite columns of different heights and diameters, on whose capitals can still be seen sculptures of Jupiter, Juno, and other heathen deities. Santa Maria Cosmedin occupied the site of a temple which stood at the entrance of the Circus Maximus. Built into the walls are still preserved eight beautifully fluted columns of the Roman style, whose capitals can be seen in the loft above the vestibule. Eighteen columns of very ancient origin support the middle nave in the interior.³

of Salisbury Cathedral, England, which contain many sculptured stones taken from other structures. Also in filling in window and door passages in the Cathedral of Winchester a like practice is noticed.

¹ *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, t. iii, pp. 151-156; Pl. lvi, figures, 2 3. 4.

quoted by Piper, *Op. cit.*, i, s. 45.

² *Beschreibung Roms*, iii, 2, s. 450. Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, 47.

³ Forster: *Mittel-u. Unteritalien*, ss. 264-73.

A like syncretism of pagan and Christian subjects is found on gems, and church furniture, as chairs, ambos, baptismal fonts, etc.'

It was one purpose of the early apologists to trace the relations of the pagan religion to the Christian along the line ^{Prophecies and} of prophecies and preparation. In their controversies ^{preparation.} with heathen opponents they repeatedly insisted that many of the elements of the popular mythology were only echoes of an original revelation; that the beautiful myths to which the people clung so fondly were perversions of an earlier truth; that these often pointed to the time of deliverance which had now been consummated by their Lord Christ. It might not be unreasonable to expect that these agreements in motive might give rise to similar art representations. While some modern interpreters profess to see evidences of mythological import in works of Christian art where such likeness is very feeble,¹ there are, nevertheless, many monuments in which such parallelisms of use, or relation, or sentiment are clearly traceable. The translation of Elijah, as sculptured on a Christian sarcophagus of the fifth century, contains a heathen element in that the Jordan is represented as a river god. ^{Translation of} In this there is also a likeness to the pagan representa- ^{Elijah.} tion of the sun god, Apollo, who leads in the day in his flaming chariot, while the ocean is symbolized by a river god, and the earth by the horn of plenty. Still more striking is the resemblance of Christ as the Good Shepherd and Mercury as the Ram-bearer (*v.* Figs. 47, 48). That the central idea is of Christian origin appears from the teaching of Christ himself, "I am ^{The Good} the Good Shepherd." Again he says, "When he hath ^{Shepherd and} found it (the lost sheep) he layeth it on his shoulders ^{the Ram-bear-} rejoicing" (Luke xv, 5). But that the style of the art representation may have been suggested by the pagan subject is highly probable. It is not always easy to discriminate between the heathen and the Christian origin of monuments which bear this symbol. A scientific treatment demands that all monuments bearing this figure must not, *for that reason*, be reckoned of Christian origin.

Again, both the gods and the heroes of paganism furnish types for Christian art, not on account of resemblance in nature, but of

¹ For interesting examples *v.* Texier and Pullan: *Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1864, especially the chapter "Pagan Temples Converted into Churches."

² *v.* Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, ss. 66-77, where an obscure parallel is traced between the representation of the fall by the serpent, the apple, and our first parents, and the dragon watching the tree and fruit in the Garden of the Hesperides.

likeness in office. The introduction of Orpheus into Christian frescos furnishes an illustration (v. Fig. 27). Frequent reference is made to this mythical hero in the apologetic writings of the Christian fathers. With some he suggests Christ by contrariety rather than by likeness. Clement of Alexandria¹ claims that Orpheus and others of his class were arch-deceivers, who, under the pretence of teaching music and song, corrupted the manners of the people, and led them under the bondage of idolatry; while Christ came to break the enslaving yoke which the demons have imposed upon the race. Christ alone has tamed man, the wildest beast; the bird, the most inconstant; the reptile, the most treacherous; the lion, the most passionate; the swine, the most greedy of enjoyment; the wolf, the most rapacious; and the stones and clods, the most insensate. He has awakened the seeds of holiness and virtue in those who believe on him, and through heavenly song has changed these wild beasts into civilized men.

Eusebius² more usually speaks of Orpheus as a type of Christ, and sometimes as his forerunner. This view came from ascribing to this mythical bard the authorship of the Orphic verses which were by many regarded as containing a heathen prophecy of the true Messiah. Again, he compares the influence of the Thracian singer to that of Christ. As Orpheus by the sweet strains of his lyre tamed the wild beasts of the forest, and even caused the trees to move, so has the all-harmonizing Word of God, when it became flesh, healed the wild passions of men through the medicine of heavenly doctrine. At times Orpheus is made the type of Christ by contrasting the different realms in which his power was exercised, as when it is said that what Orpheus has wrought in the physical and irrational world has been completed by Christ in the spiritual, and what Orpheus did by sorcery was done by Christ through divine power and truth.

Occasional references to the labors of Hercules are met in early Christian monuments. The parallelism seems to be drawn between the power of Hercules and that of Christ as deliverers of men from the thralldom of evil. Also Apollo and Jupiter find occasional mention in connection with Christ. Another curious example of the use of heathen subjects upon

¹ *Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. i, ἀνδρες τινές οὐχ ἀνδρες, etc. "Certain so-called men, not men, but deceivers, who under the pretext of music corrupted the life of the people," etc.

² *Orat. de laud. Constan.*, c. 14. Orpheum quandam omnia bestiarum genera cantu delinuisse, etc.

Christian sarcophagi is that of Ulysses and the Sirens. A slab (Fig. 3) found in the crypt of Santa Lucina seems entirely pagan in its subject with the exception of the involved inscription at the left, which has been deciphered TYRANIO, ^{Ulysses and} the Sirens. and is believed by some to be an obscured cross. This heathen fable



Fig. 3.—Ulysses and the Sirens. From the crypt of Santa Lucina, Rome.

is, nevertheless, alluded to by the early Christian writers, and is made to serve a happy purpose in the enforcement of Christian fidelity and self-denial.¹

These references to the pagan mythology are only what might be regarded as antecedently probable from the intimate acquaintance of the Christian fathers with the pagan systems, and from the attempt to show that in each religion was an element of truth which the other should respect. More especially after Christianity became the state religion many admixtures of heathen and Christian motives are met. According to a law of spiritual life and growth, the cessation of persecution and opposition brought laxity of morals and a decay of pure faith. Multitudes of men and women now formally professed Christianity, while little change was effected in belief or life. The influence of classical literature, the contact with pagan customs, and the appropriation of pagan symbols, now ^{Influences adverse to purity of doctrine.} gave little offence to these nominal Christians; while the increasing splendor of the church ritual and the growing wealth of the clergy diverted the attention from the severity of discipline and the purity of doctrine.

Thus was the prevalent thought modified by intercourse with the pagan world. Art standards were likewise changed. The mingling of heathen with Christian belief brought with it an easy acceptance of what was before regarded as dangerously contaminating. It cannot, however, be supposed that all monuments thus transferred from pagan to Christian uses ^{Influence upon art representation.} were known to be of a character to mislead. Their heathen origin and spirit may not have been understood, or they may have been used allegorically by the Christian teachers.

¹ *Philosophumena*, vii, i. Clement Alex.: *Cohort. ad Gent.*, c. 12.

Many of the mythological subjects were only for purposes of decoration—as the heads of satyrs, tragic masks, etc. (Fig. 4). Of like import and design must we regard the occasional introduction of



Fig. 4.—A Christian sarcophagus with tragic masks.

dolphins (Fig. 5), sea monsters, etc. It is not easy to discover in these any symbolical significance, and the attempts to so interpret them have usually involved violations of the true principles of symbolism. Where, however, the figure of Apollo, associated with the cross, appears upon the coins of Constantine, we must regard Apollo as a symbol of Christ; or when the figure of Mars appears in connection with the sacred monogram, it must be considered as an allegorical representation of the Saviour.

A statue of Victory was set up in the senate chamber by Augustus. Each senator on entering the hall offered to it wine and incense. This statue was the occasion of a most persistent struggle between the defenders of the pagan religion and the Christian bishops.¹ The result was favorable to the Christian party.² Nevertheless, the figure of Victory is not



Fig. 5.—From a Christian sarcophagus. Decorated with dolphins.

infrequently associated on Christian monuments with the cross or with the sacred monogram. In a few instances it is connected with a bust of Christ on ivory diptychs, and on coins during the Constantinian and post-Constantinian period. A fine example of this is found on a gold coin of Constantine the

¹ For a fuller statement, v. chap. viii.

² v. Ambrose: *Epist.* xviii. This is addressed to the Emperor Valentinian in answer to the appeal of Symmachus.

Great, where Victory holds in her hands trophies and a palm branch, while the inscription,

VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AUG.,

encloses a field in which appears the monogram of Christ. A bronze coin of Constantine bears a representation of the emperor holding in his right hand the labarum with the sacred monogram, while he is crowned by a Victory, and *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS* is the inscription.¹ This syncretism is very strikingly exhibited on some coins of Constantius. In Fig. 6 the bust of the emperor is on the obverse, and on the reverse his full length figure is seen on the ship of state, holding in one hand the standard on which is the $\chi\rho$, while upon the other hand perches the phenix, the symbol of rejuvenation of the government under Constantine and his sons.



Fig. 6.—Coin of Constantius—showing the mingling of heathen and Christian emblems.

This is further illustrated by the usual inscription *FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO*, and by a Victory who is guiding the state to its glorious destination.

A century and a quarter later we find on a coin of Majorian the imperial ensign crowned with the cross (Fig. 7); this is held by the emperor in one hand, while on the other perches the figure of Victory. He is here represented as treading the dragon under foot, a not unusual manner of indicating the triumph of the government over foes, and over the discordant elements of society. On the obverse is the bust of the emperor, and the shield is inscribed with the $\chi\rho$. On coins of the Græco-Roman empire the figure of Victory appears associated with Christian symbols from the time of Constantine to that of Heraclius I. The same commingling of pagan and Christian elements likewise appears on the coins of the Arian barbarian kings, on those of the Frankish, the West Gothic, and Longobard princes, and continued thus associated with Christian emblems until the ninth century.



Fig. 7.—A coin of Majorian, fifth century.

We might antecedently expect that mythological subjects of an amatory character would find little favor with the early Christians. The positive teachings of their religion, the perils often attending its profession, and the general disrepute in which its early adher-

¹ Piper: *Op. cit.*, i, s. 177.

ents were held, gave a seriousness to life little favorable to the cultivation of the more delicate sentiments. Moreover, Venus and Amor stood as the personifications of a passion whose canker was eating out the moral life of the Roman world. With that vice which was the peculiar besetment of the converts from paganism, and against which Paul speaks so strongly in his Corinthian letters, the Christian Church could make no compromise. The suggestions made by figures of Venus and Cupid were peculiarly repugnant. Hence early Christian poetry furnishes scarcely an example of a nuptial song, nor until a comparatively late date do the monuments contain any reference to the erotic deities. They were but sparingly introduced, and in most instances the genuineness of the monuments upon which these figures appear has been gravely questioned.

Scarcely less aversion was felt to Bacchic scenes. The higher significance of the Bacchic myth is occasionally recognized on sarcophagi of unquestioned Christian origin, but the paucity of these monuments plainly indicates the opinion of the Church respecting their influence.

Somewhat different, however, was the feeling with regard to the myth of Amor and Psyche. In this was veiled a deep spiritual import. The fundamental thoughts were the wanderings of the soul in this life as in a vale of death, its trial and purification, and the reunion of the spiritualized wanderer with eternal love in the life to come. The association of this heathen



Fig. 8.—Amor and Psyche. From Santa Domitilla.

fable with scriptural scenes on burial monuments of acknowledged Christian origin¹ (Fig. 8) indicates a likeness of opinion of pagan-

¹ This scene has been variously interpreted by the archæologists. Some claim that it is merely decorative, depicting a pleasing garden or autumn scene.

ism and of Christianity with respect to the significance of probation and the rewards of a future state. This is suggested in Fig. 9, which is from the fragment of a sarcophagus, in relief sculpture, found in the cemetery of San Calisto, and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome. Amor and Psyche are here in immediate association with the Good Shepherd. There can be little doubt but that the deeper significance of this myth is here intended; possibly there is the further suggestion that the sojourner here can be successful in his attempt at purification and restoration to the bosom of Eternal Love only by the merit and the protection of the Good Shepherd, who, when he hath found the straying one, layeth it upon his shoulders and bringeth it back to the fold.



Fig. 9.—Amor and Psyche with the Good Shepherd, San Calisto, Rome.

In the severe criticisms to which the heathen systems were subjected by the early Christian fathers, comparisons are frequently instituted between the pagan teachings and the sacred Scriptures relative to the agencies that may be employed in the administration of the government of the world. Both pagans and Christians alike believed in a realm of supernatural intelligences by which human affairs are influenced. In the heathen system the inferior gods and genii held a place somewhat similar to that of the angelic hierarchy in the Christian scheme. As in classical mythology to each human being was assigned a particular genius, representative partly of the ideal man and partly of the peculiar gifts and powers of the individual, so in the writings of the Christian fathers the doctrine of guardian angels was developed and taught. These points of contact in the two systems may furnish one reason for the commingling on Christian monuments of heathen genii with Scripture characters and scenes. The earlier view of the fathers that the heathen genii were evil spirits, messengers of temptation to the human soul, was afterward modified, and the peculiar offence given by the representation of genii was so far diminished that from the fourth to the sixth centuries many examples of these, nude or draped, are seen upon the Christian burial

Guardian
angels.

Genii.

monuments (v. Fig. 10). Just how far these figures of genii were for purposes of mere ornament, or may have had a religious or dogmatic significance, has divided the opinions of the ablest archæologists.¹ To draw the line between the genii monuments which plainly represent heathen ideas and those whereon the figures express the Christian belief in angels is not an easy task.

Besides that of Orpheus, to which reference has already been made, other heathen myths were widely appropriated by the Christian fathers in the exposition of the Scriptures, and in the illustration of doctrine. Among these the phenix played an important role. The later version of this fable was most commonly used by the Christian apologist, and its representation is met with on Christian monuments. Artemidorus says that when it is about to die the phenix comes from unknown parts to Egypt, and builds a funeral pile of frankincense and myrrh. From its ashes comes a worm, from which arises another phenix that then leaves Egypt to return to its unknown home. Thus in this fabled creature the two ideas of immortality and perpetual rejuvenation were united. On the coins and other monuments of the empire since the time of Hadrian this figure is the symbol of the returning golden age,² of the apotheosis and immortality of the



Fig. 10.—Genii in a vintage scene. A winged genius holding back the veil. From a Christian sarcophagus.

same period. Vintage scenes, genii of the seasons, Cupids nude or draped, Hercules with lion's skin (No. 5), genii holding the inverted torch (the pagan symbol of death) etc., appear especially on those sarcophagi that are believed to belong to the third century. See also Matz und v. Duhn: *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, and Garrucci: *Storia dell' Art cristiana*.

¹ v. Fig. 6.

² Grousset: *Etude sur l'Histoire des Sarcophages chrétiens*, Paris, 1885, 8vo, has given a catalogue and description of one hundred and ninety-five Christian sarcophagi found in Rome outside of the collection in the Lateran Museum. On many of these is noticed the commingling of Christian and pagan motives. Indeed, in many instances the Christian character of the sarcophagus is determined solely by its inscription, while the art and the decorations are in no way to be distinguished from the heathen sarcophagi of the

rulers, and of the eternal duration of the Roman government. The fable had also found its way into Jewish literature. Occasionally the Christian fathers thereby illustrated the story of the creation, but usually it was quoted in defence of the peculiarly Christian doctrine of the resurrection. In the first century Clement of Rome uses this argument. It is also found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in Cyril of Jerusalem, and in Epiphanius. The Latin fathers were equally ready to use this fable. Tertullian argued from the lesser value of the phenix to the greater value of mankind; that if the former thus rises from its own ashes to a new and youthful vigor it cannot be unreasonable to expect that God will care for those whom he created in his own image. In like manner argued Ambrose, Augustine, and Rufinus. Ambrose quoted the rising of the phenix as analagous to the supernatural begetting of Christ without father, and Rufinus referred to the renewing of the phenix and its producing itself from itself as a sufficient answer to the heathen who ridiculed the story of the birth of Christ from a virgin.¹

A symbol of
the resurrec-
tion.

The artistic representation of this fable is sometimes met on the coins of Christian emperors and on other Christian monuments. It is associated with the palm-tree or the palm branch on sarcophagi plainly of Christian origin, in mural paintings, and in Church mosaics (Fig. 42) of later origin. In nearly all these examples the same ruling thought is recognised; namely, the resurrection from the dead and life beyond the grave.²

These few examples, chosen from a wide cycle, illustrate the intimate connection of heathen and Christian thought, and the corresponding influence upon Christian art as seen in surviving monuments.

¹ Ambrose: *Psa. cxviii. serm.* 19, c. 11. Rufinus: *Comment. in Symb. Apost.*, c. 11, quoted by Piper: *Myth. d. christ. Kunst*, Bd. i, s. 455.

² Münter: *Sinnbilder*, etc., Heft. i, ss. 94-97.

CHAPTER III.

SYMBOLISM OF CHRISTIAN ART.

§ 1. *General Principles.*

A SYMBOL is the outward sign of a concept or idea. It is the visible, sensuous veil of that which is unseen and spiritual.¹ It is

Definition. used not for its own sake, but to bring to mind something not sensuously present as though it were present.

Originally it was more specially limited to the cycle of religious thought, and served for the illustration of divine-human relations.²

All sensuous things to which a higher meaning, aside from the natural significance, is attributed, are symbols.³ All religions are measurably symbolic in character. The expression of spiritual truths and abstract notions by analogous phenomena in the physical world has been common to all peoples and religions. To communicate these conceptions to others, and fix them by the laws of association, it is necessary to give to them formal expression. Hence the successful teaching of the doctrines of a religion must in some sense involve symbolism.⁴

This was the favorite method employed by Christ to initiate the disciples into the deeper mysteries of his kingdom.⁵

Used by Christ and his apostles. The writings of the apostles and of the early Christian

fathers abound in symbolic expressions which were designed to arrest the attention of those whom they addressed, and more powerfully to impress the lessons which they would teach.

Also practised in art. What was thus practised in language became likewise

common in art representation. To guard the heathen converts on the one hand against idolatry, and on the other against

¹ Bähr: *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, Bd. i, s. 15.

² Creuzer: *Symbolik u. Mythologie*, Bd. i, ss. 32-42.

³ Dürsch: *Der symbolische Character der christlichen Religion u. Kunst*, s. 8.

⁴ Hence the use of the word *symbol* to express the formulated belief of a religious party.

⁵ "His example was helpful in giving direction to the thought of the believers of the early centuries. To a great degree symbolism was found in the mysteries of all ancient religions. It also supplied a secret password whereby communication became more free than otherwise were possible. The intellectual mysticism of that age also greatly contributed to the same end." Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 38.

the pernicious effects of the Docetic heresy, early Christian art betook itself to symbolism, by whose aid the deeper truths and mysteries of the religion could be more effectually impressed upon the masses of the people. Thus in art as well as in language the symbol was the means of revealing the higher spiritual reality.¹ Herein Christian art resembled the later Roman, which seldom represented objects literally, but employed visible forms to express abstract notions.²

Since art symbols address the beholder in a language peculiar to themselves, the relation between the idea and its symbol must not be merely fortuitous or arbitrary, but must be such that the one suggests the other; and while the connection may not be independently discoverable by all, it will be immediately recognised when explained. The outward form must be developed from the inner spirit, whose expression and symbol it is.³

Likewise the interpretation of art symbolism requires good judgment and caution, lest unworthy and misleading conclusions be accepted, and the symbolism of early Christian art thus become a wild maze of contradiction and absurdity. Its interpretation should not be arbitrary or whimsical, nor should it become a stage for the display of baseless fancies. Symbols appeal to the sober reason rather than to the æsthetic feeling or to the imagination. Hence all the aids of history and of literature, as well as of art, must be brought to their correct interpretation. A single historical reference, contemporary with the symbol to be explained, is often of greater value than all the ingenious speculations of learned critics. Familiarity with the cycle of the thought of an age and with its tendencies and

¹ "Light becomes the symbol of intellectual clearness; the murky and beclouded atmosphere, of a troubled spirit; water, of bodily purification and spiritual regeneration; the circle, or the serpent holding its tail in its mouth, of eternal duration; the tree, as it puts forth its verdure, decays, and blooms again, of the changing seasons; the engendering bull and ram, of generative and creative power; the cow or the matron with many breasts, of the all-nourishing power of nature; the butterfly, bursting forth from the entombed chrysalis, of the resurrection." v. Carrière: *Die Kunst in Zusammenhang mit der Culturgeschichte*, Bd. i, ss. 70-72.

² Kugler: *Geschichte der Malerei*.

³ Jacob: *Die Kunst in Dienste der Kirche*, ss. 16, 17. v. Heinrich Otto: *Kunst-archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, 4te Aufl., 1868, s. i, etc. "Art is the appropriate representation of an idea in sensuous form. To completely represent Christian ideas under sensuous forms is absolutely unattainable: hence the symbolic character of all Christian art and the necessity of faith as a condition of its true understanding and interpretation."

spirit is needful for correctly interpreting its art symbolism. The work is greatly aided when a considerable number of references to the symbol can be found in the contemporary literature. It is, therefore, a canon of interpretation that the literary references be carefully considered. By comparing the works of Christian symbolism with each other, with those of the contemporary Canons of In- heathen art, and both of these with the holy Scriptures, terpretation. the writings of the Christian fathers, and with the related inscriptions and literature of the times, most satisfactory results will be reached. Hence a second canon of interpretation is that the sense must be accepted which best accords with these results of comparative study.¹

Happily, in many instances the coincidences are so numerous and important that the interpretation is clearly manifest; in others it may be doubtful; while in still others opinions of the significance of the symbol may be absolutely contradictory. For the interests of both art and religion, in these latter cases it is wise to suspend judgment until further discoveries, rather than to press doubtful monuments and interpretations into the service of any preconceived theory.

Christian archæologists may be divided into schools according to their opinions of the originality of early Christian art, and of the design of the various works which are found in the Christian catacombs and elsewhere.

One school holds that the art works of the catacombs were prepared under the direction of ecclesiastics for the purpose of inculcating a definite system of Christian doctrine. They are, therefore, to be regarded as strictly of a symbolic character, whose significance was understood by the initiated of the Christian Church, but was veiled from profane eyes. According to this theory the clergy were the real artists, while they who executed the works were mere artisans who had no part in their origination. Even where the presence of purely decorative elements is undeniable, and these have plainly been derived from classic art, little inquiry is made respecting the probable influence of the heathen cycle of thought upon the Christian, but the symbolic and dogmatic character of these monuments is strenuously maintained. This class of writers is entirely consistent; for if the purely symbolic character of the remains is conceded, their dogmatic purpose must follow, since it is hardly conceivable that the Christian artificers could have had the ability or the purpose to work out a consistent cycle of Christian symbolism. If, therefore, it is maintained that the origin of these

¹ Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 200, 201.

works must be found in a desire to teach the doctrines of the Church to the initiated—that they were a sort of *biblia pauperum*—then must their symbolic character be conceded.¹

The position of a second school is well defined by Hasenclever: “The art work found on and in Christian burial monuments is essentially decorative, not symbolic. But whatever of a symbolic character is connected with them first originated from an association of figures which were already widely known and used with Christian ideas. These figures created the symbolism, but the purpose to use a symbolism did not originate the figures.”² It is as unhistorical to sunder the connection of the symbolism of the early Christian burial monuments from that of the contemporary heathen monuments as to sunder the whole cycle of Christian art, the entire Christian civilization, and even the very origin of Christianity itself from its connection with the intellectual, æsthetic, and moral development of the non-Christian world.³ This principle, eminently just in itself, has, however, insensibly blinded the eyes of its defenders to certain historical facts, or, at least, has led them to underrate their value. There has resulted a general denial of the originality of Christian art works, and a depreciation of the biblical cycle of events as the source of much of the early Christian symbolism. This school has erred by its lacks, as has the former by its excesses.

As in most other controverted questions, sound criticism suggests the happy *via media*. The more moderate school recognises the influence of contemporary heathen thought, and yet does not disregard the powerful influence of the biblical history, nor deny to the early Church a measure of symbolic art origination.⁴

¹ To this school belong de Rossi and most of those who have made his *Roma Sotterranea* the source and foundation of their investigations. While a most admirable scientific spirit has characterized the great master, de Rossi, others have pushed their theory to the wildest extremes, and have endeavored to use this symbolism not only for apologetic, but even partisan, purposes. This is conspicuous in the works of Garrucci, especially in his last and greatest work, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, Prato, 1873, *et seq.* 6 vols. See also Martigny: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes*, 2d ed, Paris, 1877.


² *Der altchristliche Gräberschmuck*, Braunschweig, 1886, s. 260.

³ To this school belong Raoul-Rochette, Parker, and others.

⁴ In this class of writers may be placed Piper, who has done so much to emphasize the influence of the classical mythology upon early Christian art, yet has given the Church due credit for symbolic origination. Also Victor Schultze, who has assailed the extreme claims of the first school, yet may not have been consistent in all his interpretations, belongs to this more moderate school. Roller has aimed at the same results, but is sometimes lacking in unity, and seems at times confused.

§ 2. *Christ.*

No authentic portrait of Christ has been preserved to our time. Whether such ever existed is a matter of serious question.¹ The circumstances of his earthly ministry were entirely unfavorable to his portraiture. Neither the social rank of his family, the character of his first disciples, the reception which his doctrine met, nor the spirit of the religion which he founded, would warrant the presumption that any authentic likeness of Christ could ever have been produced. Indeed, all literal representation of its Founder seems to have been avoided by the Church of the first three centuries. His person, life, and office were concealed under symbols which were especially valued by those whom persecution and a common interest united by still firmer ties of friendship, and whose significance was understood only by the initiated.

Among the earliest and most frequently recurring symbols is the lamb. It is found on mosaics, is associated with inscriptions on burial monuments, and is chiseled on sarcophagi, or painted on walls of the catacombs. Both the character and work of Christ are shadowed forth under this form. The mention of it is so frequent, both in Scripture and in the writings of the early Christian fathers, that there can be no doubt as to its reference and significance. Such passages as Isa. liii, 7; John i, 29; 1 Pet. i, 19; Rev. v, 6, 8, 12; Rev. xiii, 8, and many others are decisive. Moreover, the representation of the lamb in connection with the cross, with the A Ω, or with the monogram of Christ, , further confirms these references. It is found upon sarcophagi of marble, and in the mosaics which adorn the triumphal arches and apses of the ancient churches. Sometimes the lamb stands upon the summit of a hill from which issue four streams, at whose base a number of sheep are found.² This seems to have reference to Psa. ii, 6, and to Ezek. xliii, 12, where the king is in his holy hill, and where "upon the top of the mountain the

¹ The traditions of the painting of portraits of the Saviour by St. Luke are of late origin, and wholly lack foundation. Evagrius of the sixth century, the last continuator of Eusebius's history, is the first who mentions the portrait of Christ which the Saviour is said to have sent to Abgar, prince of Edessa. While the tradition is much older than the sixth century, it is entirely untrustworthy. The legend of St. Veronica is of still later origin. Also the statue of Christ, which was set up at Cæsarea Philippi, was described by Eusebius from a mere local tradition. Of no greater value is the description of Christ's personal appearance attributed to Lentulus, a reputed contemporary of Pontius Pilate, in his letter to the Roman Senate.

² *v.* Fig. 42. In the lower zone of this mosaic this scene is depicted.

whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy," or to Rev. vii, 17, where the "Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water." The streams are usually interpreted as either the four rivers which flow from paradise, or as the four evangelists, and the sheep as the members of Christ's Church. This symbol, with a variety of accompaniments, continued in the Church until its further use was forbidden by the Trullan Council at Constantinople, A. D. 692. The prohibition seems to have been occasioned by Prohibited in the East. the mystical, extravagant, and misleading role which it then played. The Western Church, however, did not accept the decision, and the lamb continued to be used in ecclesiastical art until the reign of Charlemagne, and in connection with Continued use in the West. the crucifix (as in the Agnus Dei) long remained an object of reverence in the Latin Church.

Of frequent recurrence on Christian monuments, and of even deeper symbolic and dogmatic significance, is the fish. The fish. It is among the earliest art forms, and pertains to the period of church history which causes it to be among the most interesting and important objects in the whole range of Christian symbolism. It can be studied on monuments that bear the simple word *ἰχθῦς*, and on those which have its pictorial representation. The interpretation of the symbol is determined by its age, its associations, and the testimony of the early fathers. De Rossi has divided the Christian inscriptions at Rome prior to the seventh century into two general classes, namely: 1. The subterranean, Two classes of Christian inscriptions. which are the oldest. 2. Those which are found in church burial places above the surface, especially in and near basilicas. The latter class belongs for the most part to the post-Constantine period. At the time of Constantine the catacombs were generally used for Christian burial. Between the years A. D. 338 and A. D. 364 two thirds of all interments were still Interment in the catacombs at Rome. made in them. From A. D. 364 to A. D. 369 the numbers buried in the catacombs and elsewhere were about equal. On account of the restoration of the catacombs by the zeal of Pope Damasus, from A. D. 370 to A. D. 371 burial therein again became almost universal. From A. D. 373 to A. D. 400 The ichthus monuments pre-Constantine. only about one third were there buried; while with the year A. D. 410 these places of interment ceased to be used. Of the monuments found at Rome, which bear this symbol, very few (probably none at all) belong to the second class, and, therefore, cannot be regarded as of a later origin than the beginning of the fifth century. The symbolical *Ichthus* is associated with none

of the hundreds of inscriptions found upon the extra-catacombal monuments in and near the basilicas of Rome.¹

From the great difference in the number² of monuments bearing an exact date before and after the time of Constantine, from the form of the letters, and from the character of the associated inscriptions and paintings, de Rossi concludes that most of the *Ichthus* monuments belong to a time either before or during the reign of this emperor. The figure is met on monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries, but it had then lost the dogmatic significance which was attached to it during the third and fourth centuries, and is used rather for ornamental than symbolical purposes. From a variety of considerations it is believed that its peculiar and general use fell in the period when the persecuted Church was compelled to express its faith under forms and symbols which were unmeaning to their enemies, yet were well understood by the initiated who were participants in the holy sacraments.

But what truth is conveyed under this strange symbol? The discovery by de Rossi, in 1865, of a new part of the cemetery of Santa Domitilla at Rome was further confirmatory of the opinion before held by many archæologists. Through a vestibule of severest classic style the visitor passes along a broad entrance, somewhat inclined, from which small chambers and side passages extend to the right and left. The ceilings contain paintings which, from their simplicity and naturalness, point to an origin prior to the time of Roman art decadence. De Rossi has not hesitated to place the frescos of this part of the cemetery in the time of Domitilla, that is, at the close of the first century, or, at latest, in the first part of the second. On the walls of this portion of the catacomb are found the mutilated remains of a fresco, represented by Fig. 11, to which careful attention should be directed. We notice two persons sitting upon a couch; before them is a table of the ordinary Roman type, upon which lie three loaves of bread and a fish.

A person, apparently a servant, is standing near by. The representation plainly suggests to every one a meal. It corresponds quite closely with similar scenes depicted on the graves of heathen

¹ The seeming exceptions to this statement appear to have belonged originally to the catacombs, and to have been removed to churches for purposes of ornament or on account of their peculiar sanctity.

² Of the pre-Constantine period only about thirty dated inscriptions from Rome have been preserved, while of the post-Constantine prior to the seventh century more than thirteen hundred survive. But none of the inscriptions after the fourth century bear the symbol of the fish.

families. But the fish is not of frequent occurrence on non-Christian burial monuments. In such cases it is the symbol of extreme luxury which came to be associated only with royalty or the favored few. The conclusion reached is that the two sitting figures represent two persons who were buried in this catacomb, and



Fig. 11.—Supposed eucharistic scene. Fresco from the oldest part of Santa Domitilla, Rome.

that before us is a scene from their every-day life. The fish on the burial monuments of the Christians cannot comport with the idea of luxury; hence, we must interpret it in accordance with the opinion which the Christian fathers had long entertained, namely, that this must be the symbol of Christ. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ is the confession of faith whose initial letters form this word which is so frequently met, and whose pictorial representation is seen in the case before us. The meal here celebrated must be regarded as having a eucharistic significance; the table of the householder becomes the table of the Lord, and the proper priestly character of each private Christian is here asserted. Herein is fulfilled the prophecy (Isa. lxi, 6) of the old dispensation, as it was witnessed and affirmed by the apostles of the new¹ (1 Pet. ii, 5, 9). The growth of the literature suggests a like

¹ Only by carefully distinguishing the God of the priesthood from the God of prophecy, in ancient Judaism; and by clearly discriminating between Christianity as it was founded by Jesus and is contained in the New Testament, from the Church of the times of Tertullian and Cyprian, can the full force of this argument be felt. In the new kingdom of heaven sacerdotalism was absolutely ignored by Jesus and by his apostles. It is as little recognised by the apostolic fathers, Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Till the beginning of the third century Christianity corresponded both in idea and spirit to the Judaism of prophecy—the entire sanctified people constituting a holy priesthood unto God. After the beginning of the third century the idea and form of sacerdotal Judaism which afterward characterized the Latin Church were revived.

Judaism and Christianity compared in historical development.

result. Prior to the fourth century this explanation of the symbol is infrequent, and then is mentioned in very obscure terms; but toward the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth century many undoubted references to it are met in the writings of the Christian fathers.¹ These remove all doubt of the interpretation and dogmatic significance of the symbol. The 'ΙΧΘΥΣ is plainly Christ. No other explanation is suggested by these writers. It is met in the eighth book of the Sibylline oracles (ver. 217-250). The unknown author of this remarkable acrostic has by some been assigned to the end of the second century or to the beginning of the third.² It has been conjectured that he derived the sentiment of the prophecy, as well as the suggestion of its acrostic form, from the creed then accepted, and from the initial letters of this 'ΙΧΘΥΣ which was in common use by the persecuted Church.³ This article of faith, so fundamental and yet so much a subject of derision and stumbling on the part of the heathen world, was concealed under a word whose pictorial representation afterward played an important rôle in the symbolism of the Church. Whenever this word or the figure of the fish should be seen, whether rudely scratched in the fresh mortar upon the stones that closed the graves in the catacombs, or more elaborately chiseled in figure in connection with other symbols and inscriptions (v. Fig. 12),⁴ or engraved upon gems in signet rings, or for purposes of ornament, in all alike was recognised this precious doctrine of their faith:

Conclusion. I, 'Ιησοῦς, Jesus; X, Χριστός, Christ; Θ, Θεοῦ, of God; Υ, Ὑιός, Son; Σωτήρ, Saviour—JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD SAVIOUR.



Fig. 12.—The fish associated with other Christian symbols. From an early Christian sarcophagus.

¹ Becker: *Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches*. Breslau, 1866. Pitra: *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. iii, under the article 'Ιχθυς, where very full references to the Christian fathers are given.

² This collection of writings evidently contains an admixture of Jewish, pagan, and Christian thought. The subjects referred to, as the golden age, the future fortunes of the imperial city, the coming of a Saviour, etc., show a diverse authorship. For literature of the subject v. Schürer: *Die neueste Zeitgeschichte*, s. 513.

³ Becker: *Op. cit.*, s. 14.

⁴ v. Becker: *Op. cit.*, No. 71, ss. 62-64. While the inscription on the monument points to a heathen origin, Becker and de Rossi have shown that it belongs to the highest Christian antiquity. The association of the fish with other symbols of manifestly Christian character go far to fix its reference and signification.

Other mural paintings from the catacombs at Rome and elsewhere confirm the correctness of this interpretation. Some of them bear unmistakable evidence of the eucharistic character of the feast, in which the fish is the central figure.¹

Among the most instructive is the series of frescos from the Catacomb of San Calisto—that portion called the “Chamber of the Sacraments” (Fig. 13). On the left of the central scene “we see



Fig. 13.—Fresco from the “Chamber of the Sacraments,” San Calisto. Suggesting the eucharistic meal.

the three-legged table having on it bread and fish, with a woman standing on one side of it in the attitude of prayer; and a man on the other, clad only in the *pallium*, extending his hands, and especially his right hand, toward the table in such a way as to force upon every Christian intelligence the idea of the act of consecration.”² In the central group are seen seven men sitting at a table with bread and fish, and before them are eight baskets of loaves. To the right is the representation of the sacrifice of Isaac, while on the extreme right and left of the picture are *forrores* with arm extended, and the pickaxe in usual form resting upon the shoulder. Some have suggested that the figure at the left, with hands extended in prayer, symbolizes the Church, which is represented as the Bride of Christ (Eph. v, 24; Rev. xxi, 2 and 9); but it is better to regard it as one who is giving thanks in the celebration of the eucharist.

¹ de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, Tav. xv, No. 2; Tav. xvi, No. 1; Tav. xviii, No. 5. Becker: *Darstellung*, etc., ss. 101, 103, 110, 116, etc. Northcote and Brownlow: Plates 16 and 17; also vol. ii, pp. 71, sq. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, Taf. viii. Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, chap. 19.

² Northcote and Brownlow: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 86.

Fig. 14 represents a very remarkable fresco from a Christian catacomb discovered in Alexandria, Egypt. It is found directly over the altar in one of the chapels, and has been referred to the first half of the fourth century. The details of this mutilated fresco merit careful study, both on account of its location and the interpretation which accompanies it.¹ In the middle is Christ, whose head is encircled with the nimbus, and whose name is clearly indicated by the letters $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Peter, $\overline{\text{ΠΕΤΡΟΣ}}$ is on his right, and Andrew, $\overline{\text{ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ}}$, on his left, bearing a plate with two fishes. Baskets containing loaves are on the ground on either side. Further toward the right of Christ appear the legends (TA) $\overline{\text{ΠΑΙΔΙΑ}}$, servants, and $\overline{\text{ΜΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ}}$, Holy Mary. The mutilated condition of the fresco in this part gives uncertainty to the interpretation, but it has been suggested that it may represent the first miracle, at the marriage in Cana. At the extreme left of our Lord persons seem to be seated at a meal, while above is the significant legend, $\overline{\text{TAC ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΕΘΙ-ΟΝΤΕC}}$ —"Eating the benedictions of Christ."

Fig. 14.—A fresco from a Christian catacomb in Alexandria, representing the eucharistic meal.



In 1 Cor. x, 16, the same word, *εὐλογία*, is used by Paul in speaking of the communion of the body and blood of Christ. "The cup of blessing (*εὐλογία*), which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" Compare also Matt. xvi, 36, where the word used to describe the giving of thanks in the multiplication of loaves, *εὐχαριστήσας*, is the same as that used in Matt. xxvi, 27, to consecrate the wine of the holy sacrament; while in Matt. xxvi, 26, a derivative from the same

¹ v. Wescher and de Rossi: in *Bullett. di Arch. crist.* 1865, pp. 57 sq., 73 sq.

word found in the legend of this fresco is used to consecrate the bread. "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed (εὐλογήσας) it," etc. The word used in Mark vi, 41, to bless the loaves and fishes is found in Mark xiv, 22, to describe the consecration of the bread in the eucharist. From such comparisons of Scripture, and from the teachings of the Christian fathers, especially of St. Cyril of Alexandria, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that in this fresco the eucharistic meal is represented, and that the true ἰχθύς is Christ, upon whom the soul feeds by faith.'

That the cross was widely known in pre-Christian times has been most clearly shown by independent investigators.² The cross and It is met in a variety of forms³ on both continents, crucifix. through wide extents of territory and reaching through long periods of time. The interpretations of this symbol have been almost numberless. Indeed, its origin and significance Pre-Christian. are often matters of question. But the Christian cross can have no doubtful import. It was ever the emblem of blessing through suffering and sacrifice, or of a triumphing faith, and the Church has cherished it as among her most precious and suggestive symbols. For this she had the warrant and sanction of the sacred Scriptures. It was the magic form that played an important role in the exegesis of the Christian fathers.⁴ To them this Among the sacred symbol appeared in all nature, in the great Christian circles of the heavens, in the flying bird, in the ship fathers. speeding under full sail, in the arms outstretched in prayer, in the

¹ v. Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 216, 217. Important confirmatory evidence is supplied by the inscriptions, notably the ichthus inscription of Autun, France. This has occasioned an extended literature. v. Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaul.* tom. i; for literature v. Pitra's *Spicilegium Solesm.*, vol. i.


² v. Stockbauer, Inman, Zöckler, Haslam, Lipsius, Zestermann, the *Edinburgh Review*, for 1870, etc. The literature is very extensive.

³ Speaking of a temple in Lorillard City, Central America, M. Désiré Charnay says: "The roof of the edifice is slightly oblique, as in the buildings of Palenque. There is a grand frieze, richly decorated, the ornamentation consisting of large human figures, these accompanied with arabesques or hieroglyphs. The temple had then five portals, with lintels and jambs of sculptured stone. Here we find bas-reliefs of remarkable beauty, and I have made casts of one of them, which exhibits two human figures of the Palenque type, each holding in the hand a regular Latin cross with flowered arms." v. *North American Review*, No. 308.

⁴ However extravagant and even puerile in the light of modern criticism may appear the exegesis of some of the Christian fathers, it must not be forgotten that their work was inspired by a deep, pervading love of the crucified One, and by a desire to enter into the mysteries of his expiatory sufferings. v. Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi*, s. 134.

branches of trees, and in a multitude of forms in the vegetable and animal world. The demons could not withstand its power, the followers of the crucified One were safe under its protection.¹

In the pre-Constantine period the sign of the cross seems to have been in quite general recognition by private Christians. Tertullian's well-known words clearly show this. "Wherever we go, or what-sign of the ever we attempt, in all coming in or going out, at cross.

putting on our shoes, at the baths, at table, at the time of candle lighting, at bed-time, in sitting down to rest; whatever conversation employs us, we press the forehead with the sign of the cross."² Doubtless there is noticed on the part of the disciples of the crucified One a desire to conceal this symbol, which in the minds of the heathen was associated with every thing humiliating and disgraceful. In the earlier inscriptions and monuments, therefore, it is generally associated with the monogram of Christ. In such cases it symbolized the person of Christ, all that he was in himself, and all that he had done for the world. There is, however, early noticed an attempt to use the cross independently of the  monogram. In such case it often appears under a form well known to other than Christian peoples, namely, the so-called *swastika* (v. Fig. 15, lower form), many examples of which are found

Pre-Constantine cross.

on monuments very widely separated in time and place. While their chronology is somewhat uncertain, it seems that under this somewhat obscure form the Christians of the pre-Constantine period chiefly represented the death and expiatory work of the Saviour.³ But the claim that therefore this doctrine was derived from the Indian religions lacks firm support. Much confusion of thought has obtained, and much misleading assertion has been indulged by writers who would deny to Christianity all originality, and would trace its leading doctrines to the Indian or




Fig. 15.—The *swastika*, with other Christian symbols.

Magian systems. While an eminently Buddhist symbol, even the *swastika* seems to have lacked sacredness, and had little suggestion of religious doctrine.⁴ To regard the symbolism of these

¹ Prudentius: *Cathemerinæ—Hymnus ante somnum*. "Crux pellit omne crimen," etc.

² *De corona Militis*, iii. "Ad omnen progressum atque promotum," etc.

³ This is a question on which the archaeologists are still divided. Some claim that the opinion that any form of the cross was used by the Christian Church prior to the introduction of the  lacks substantial foundation.

⁴ E. Thomas: *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 58. "Pānini described it as a mark of cattle."

religions as the suggestive source of the symbols found on Christian monuments of the West, from the second to the eighth century, is shown to be entirely unwarranted as the Indian paleography and inscriptions are more carefully studied. The Indian inscriptions are found to be of no high antiquity,¹ and are, therefore, of little avail in a question of this nature. Rather the indebtedness of Buddhism to Christianity for the doctrine of a genuine Trinity seems now to be established beyond reasonable question,² while the claims of the priority and great antiquity of the Zoroastrian or Maydyasan tenets, resembling the Christian teachings, have been proved to lack firm foundation.³

The monogram of the name of Christ appears frequently upon early Christian remains. It is found upon burial monuments, ancient lamps, glass vessels, gems, and coins

The monogram
of Christ.

¹ "There is not, however, a South Indian inscription which can be accepted as genuine with a date before the fifth century of the Christian era, though one or two (without dates) exist which may be safely attributed to the fourth century A. D." A. C. Burnell: *Elements of South Indian Paleography from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century A. D.*, 2d ed., London, 1878, p. 12.

² "We have been entertained occasionally by being told how our Christian religion owes such and such of its leading elements of faith to Buddhist, Brahmanical, or Zoroastrian teachings, but the progress of knowledge now enables us to turn the tables, and to prove that our antagonists were the real borrowers. The Buddhists have been credited with priority over our conception of the Trinity, but the earliest documents of their creed, dating in 250 B. C., or nearly three centuries after Nirvana of Buddha, neither suggest nor foreshadow any such combination; though we can well conceive how easily their missionaries may have caught the infection of the Aryan devotion to *threes*. . . . The Brahmans, in their turn, as has lately been discovered, appropriated without limit or scruple, but of course without acknowledgment, the ideas and the very expressions contained in the New Testament. . . . Some suspicion might possibly have been thrown upon the originality of our received versions; but the question of derivation has been comprehensively examined and determined in our favor by Dr. F. Lorinser, whose verdict had already been facilitated by the researches of other eminent Orientalists. Burnell: *Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28. . . . We can no longer doubt, therefore, the possibility of the hypothesis that the composer of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ . . . used Christian ideas and expressions, and transferred sayings of Christ, related in the Gospels, to Krishna."—*Indian Antiquary*, October, 1873. See also among others, Lorinser: *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, Breslau, 1869, Weber: *Indische Studien*, i, s. 400. Lassen: *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i, 623; iii, 398. Wheeler: *History of India*, i, 407. Kuenen: *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 223-236.

³ Among others who have established this statement may be mentioned Westergaard, Breal, and Oppert. The indebtedness of the East to the Greeks for astronomical principles has been shown by Biot: *Journal des Savants*, April, 1859; and Holtzman: *Ueber den Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises*.

The earnest comparative studies of the Indian scholars are yielding rich results, and correcting many errors into which some earlier writers have fallen.

(Fig. 16). The form of this monogram is various—sometimes very simple, at other times richly adorned with wreaths, palm branches, and gems (v. Fig. 17). It is not well settled at what time it first appears, but it seems probable that it was used before its adoption by Constantine I. as a sign upon the shields and standards of his army.¹



Fig. 16.—Monogram on coin of Anthemius, A.D. 467.

While the genuineness of some monuments cited in confirmation of this opinion may be questioned, still little doubt can reasonably be entertained respecting its use during the third century. Fig. 18 represents the earliest known



Fig. 17.—Showing various forms of the cross, especially of the monogram of Christ.

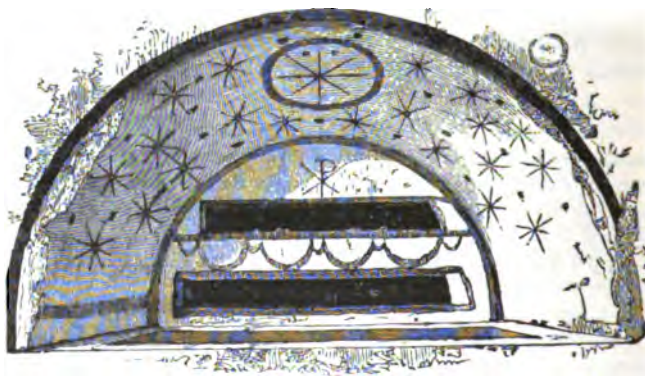


Fig. 18.—Monogram of Christ on an arcosolium of San Calisto, Rome.

example in the Catacomb of San Calisto. This monogram has been most noted from the fact that it largely displaced the eagle on the standards of Rome (v. Figs. 6 and 7). Like many other events in the life and reign of Constantine the Great, the cause and circumstances of its adoption are variously explained. Whether through a miraculous appearance of Christ, or a dream, or a vision near sunset, or through some other means,² the fact of

¹ v. Ludwig Jeep: *Zur Geschichte Constantins des Grossen*.

² Among the defenders of the miraculous appearance of Christ to Constantine are the older historians, and Guericke, Döllinger, Alzog, and J. H. Newman, among modern writers. For an optical illusion or natural phenomenon, with which may have been connected a prophetic dream, argue Augusti, Schroeckh, Mosheim, Neander, Gieseler, Niedner, Schaff, Stanley, Heinichen, Koelling, Mozley, and others. Arnold. Thomasius, Lardner, Gibbon, Waddington, and others regard it either as a fable or a pious fraud. This last view seems to be the least consistent with the authorities, with the character of Constantine, and with the events conceded flowing from this circumstance.

the choice of this symbol cannot be doubted, since from this time it plays a most important part on the coins of the empire, and on the monuments of the Church.

It has been universally conceded that these are the initial letters of the name of Christ,¹ and that the monogram is *prima facie* evidence of the Christian character of the monuments on which it appears. Other meanings must be shown by positive proof. There is no sufficient evidence that the Christians derived this from the *crux ansata* which was quite common among the Egyptians.

After the wide use of the $\chi\rho$ upon the shields and standards of the army and upon the coins of the empire, the Church attached to it a new and deeper significance. Henceforth the conquering, all-prevailing Name was prominent in their thought. Fig. 19 shows the $\chi\rho$ associated with

palm branches and the celebrated motto, IN SIGNO. The transition from the thought of humiliation and suffering to that of authority and power was but natural. The art of the Church reveals this change. The monogram appears surrounded with garlands (Fig. 20), and in places of honor and dominion. Now is noticed the beginning of that opinion respecting the person and office of Christ



Fig. 19.—The Constantinian monogram, with palm branches and the legend, IN SIGNO.



Fig. 20.—The monogram of Christ encircled by a wreath.

which afterward clothed him with the attributes of the severe and awe-inspiring Judge, and later furnished the conditions of the rapid growth of Mariolatry.

The tradition of the finding of the true cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine, rests on even less secure foundation than the vision of the cross by the emperor himself.

The legend of finding the true cross.

While, however, the acceptance of the $\chi\rho$ symbol by the empire was comparatively harmless, and even contributed to exalt the name and office of the Saviour, without danger of idolatry, the traditional discovery of the cross by Helena proved the occasion of most hurtful superstitions which fostered the worship of relics and suggested the religious pilgrimages of the following centuries. The relation of these pilgrimages to the Crusades has often been traced by historians.

¹ The upright χ is the oldest and most frequently recurring form of this monogram.

The Tau or patibulary (sometimes called Egyptian) cross is found in the catacomb of San Calisto, at Rome, probably as early as the third century.¹ In such cases it is not easy to discover the primary reference. By some it is regarded as chiefly representative of the idea prevalent among

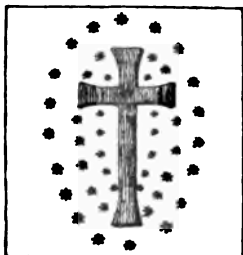


Fig. 21. — A jeweled cross from Ravenna.

the Egyptians, namely, the source of life, and of hope of the world to come; to others (Didron, *et al.*), it seems to connect with events of the Hebrew history, as the sacrifice of Isaac, and the brazen serpent in the wilderness—thus becoming an Old Testament type; while still others insist that it is the deliberately chosen symbol of the person and propitiatory work of Christ.² Sometimes this form of the cross is met in the mosaics, richly jeweled, having the firmament, thickly strewn with stars, for a background, as in Fig. 21, which is from SS. Nazario e Celso, Ravenna.

Alone, as well as frequently associated with the monogram of Christ and other Christian symbols, the $\Lambda \Omega$ symbol appears in Italy from about the middle of the fourth century, and in Gaul, in connection with dated inscriptions, from A. D. 377 to A. D. 547.³ This manifestly refers to Rev. i, 8, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty." By comparing Isa. xlv, 6, with Rev. i, 17, 28, also xxii, 13, it appears that these letters refer to One who, being of like essence with God, stands at the beginning as at the end of all being, who rules all development, who is the centre and goal of human history, and who is Lord of the Church. While Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever" (Heb. xiii, 8), he also becomes the significant force in the beginning of the creation, and in the final consummation of the divine purposes.

The monuments upon which these letters appear are quite numerous; from their associations they aid in the interpretation of symbols that were otherwise obscure. Connected with the monogram en-

¹ v. de Rossi: *Bullett. Arch. crist.*, 1863.

² The cross and the fish are found on early Christian monuments in Scotland. From its peculiar associations, the latter is believed to have been an object of worship. v. Forbes Leslie: *The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments*. Edinburgh 2 vols., 1876.

³ At Rome from A. D. 355 or 360 to 509; in Gaul from A. D. 377 to 547. De Rossi: *Inscr. christ. Rom.*, Nos. 127, 143, 491. Boeckh: *Inscr. Cor. Græc.*, Nos. 412, 55. Le Blant: *Manuel d'Épigr. chrét.*, p. 29.

closed in a circle (Fig. 22), the A Ω suggests the eternity of the person thus symbolized. When associated with the ρ within the equilateral triangle (Fig. 23), it awakens in some the thought of the Trinity. When found on burial monuments with the Constantinian monogram, the doves, and the olive branches (Fig. 24), the victory and present fruition of the departed through Him who is the beginning and the end, the resurrection and the life, are significantly suggested.¹



Fig. 22.—The A Ω with monogram in circle.



Fig. 23.—Monogram and A Ω in triangle.

The Church was not slow to adopt the beautiful symbol of the vine. This was so manifestly sanctioned by the words of Christ himself

The vine.

(1 John xv, 18) that the most iconoclastic spirit could take no offence at its use. The lessons which it conveyed were so vital and precious that its place among the wall decorations of the oldest catacombs at Rome seems eminently fitting. To distinguish the symbolic from the merely decorative use is not always easy; yet that the early Christians regarded the vigorous vine, whose branches were laden with luscious fruit, as symbolic of the Saviour and of the disciples who abide in him cannot once be doubted.²



Fig. 24.—A Ω with doves and monogram. From a burial monument.

Nor should too much stress be laid upon the fact that very similar scenes are depicted upon heathen monuments, where the manifest reference is to Bacchus and his worship. This similarity of representation cannot safely be regarded as proof that a like truth was designed to be thus symbolized; much less can the derivation of the Christian symbol from the pagan mythology be hence inferred. So common was it among ancient peoples to represent life, joy, and abundance under the symbol of the vine and its products that each may reasonably be

This symbol need not have been borrowed.

¹ A class of archæologists denies all symbolical character to the circle, the triangle, the doves, and the olive branches in this class of monuments, and regards them as simply decorative. While this view seems at times the most natural and just, in some instances it is difficult to harmonize it with all the attendant conditions.

² For illustrations, see Figures 1, 2, which are chiefly decorative, yet whose association with numerous religious subjects might also suggest a symbolic character.

regarded as an independent origination, and its teaching distinctive.¹


The beautiful symbol of the Good Shepherd is among the earliest The Good Shepherd. and most frequent of the entire Christian cycle. Like the vine, it had the sanction of Christ himself (John x, 11, 19), and was, therefore, the source of little apprehension to the Christian fathers in their efforts to guard the early Church against the idolatrous tendencies of much of the heathen plastic art.

The opinion held by some archæologists, that Christianity had no creative art power, but borrowed every thing from the heathen world,² would regard this symbol as immediately suggested by like representations on pagan monuments. That the ram-bearing Mercury³ has some general resemblance to the Good Shepherd of the Christian cycle has often been remarked. Also a satyr bearing a goat or sheep upon his shoulders suggests a similar office work. The frescos of Herculaneum, and some burial monuments, clearly of heathen origin, in which the seasons are depicted, contain like representations. Nor need this be regarded as at all surprising when Heathen counterpart. it is remembered what a prominent place the sheep and the shepherd held in the thought of ancient peoples. To each the shepherd's care for the flock would be the most readily suggested symbol of tenderest solicitude and secure protection. The Hebrew Scriptures abound in references to the shepherd and his flock (Psa. xxiii; Isa. xl; Jer. xxiii; Ezek. xxxiv, *et al.*). To a pastoral people, acquainted with the dangers incident to this mode Common to ancient peoples. of life, the thought of the shepherd, to guide and defend, must have been among the most natural and precious. While, therefore, it is true that very similar representations of the relation of the shepherd to the sheep are common to both

¹ Some writers on comparative religion and comparative mythology would erroneously teach that because of great similarity in the beliefs or myths of two different peoples, therefore the one must be a derivation from the other, or both must root in some more ancient belief; whereas, each may be entirely independent of the other, and may be indicative of a like stage of spiritual or religious development. "I hardly suppose that the most ardent hunters after histories which tell of the loves of the sun and the dawn would maintain that it was from the observation of the sun and the dawn that mankind first gained its idea of two lovers." Keary: *Outlines of Primitive Belief*, Preface, x.

² Very emphatically, Raoul-Rochette: *Discours sur les types imitatifs qui constituent l'art du Christianisme*. Paris, 1834. *Tableau des Calacombes*. Paris, 1837. *Trois Mémoires sur les antiquités chrétiennes*. Paris, 1839.

³ The epithet, Kriophorus, was applied to Hermes from his driving away a pestilence from the town of Tanagra, in Bœotia, by carrying a ram on his shoulders round the walls. He is to be regarded, therefore, as the guardian against pestilence rather than as the god of herds. v. C. J. Hemans: in *Academy*, 1872, p. 147.

heathen and Christian monuments, it would be illogical to infer that the heathen symbol was the original, and the Christian the imitation. It is manifest that the Christian Church used the art forms which were at hand; nevertheless it would be misleading thence to conclude that the motive or spirit of the Christian monuments was like to or derived from the prevalent heathen thought or mythology. At times the teaching is directly contradictory of Christian thought. The student needs only to be cautioned against the hasty inference that all monumental representations of the relation of the shepherd to the sheep are necessarily of Christian origin and character. The sound principle here to be observed is that something more than the simple form is necessary; that some additional marks or confirmatory circumstances must aid in the classification. Fortunately such evidence is frequently at hand. The Good Shepherd monuments often bear other distinctive Christian symbols, as the fish, the , the Λ Ω , or these combined (v. Fig. 12), while in other cases the figure and the associated inscription are mutually helpful in the interpretation. In any case, to the early Church this figure of the Good Shepherd suggested all those beautiful and consolatory offices which Christ's own words so clearly taught (John x, 11-19). Hence it is not a figure of the Good Shepherd alone which is met, but this is sometimes accompanied with the badges of his office, the staff, the shepherd's pipe, etc. (v. Fig. 37). While it is easy to become bewildered by a wild and extravagant interpretation of these various accessories, the teaching of the central figure is manifest to every looker-on.¹

Other symbols of Christ and his work are occasionally met on the monuments, as Orpheus, noticed elsewhere; the lion, which was usually understood as a symbol of power and might; and the fisher, who takes into the net of his kingdom the fishes that are purified in the waters of baptism.

§ 2. *The disciples and the Church.*

The followers of Christ, whose representations have here been traced, delighted to use a like symbolism to express their own relations to Him, "the way, the truth, and the life," as well as their associations with each other in the fellowship of love and faith. The dove is among the most frequent

¹ In *Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens* (Paris, 1885), Grousset gives more than forty examples of the Good Shepherd found on the one hundred and ninety-five sarcophagi in Rome outside of the Lateran Museum, which he describes.

Christian symbols; it is of especial significance when found upon burial monuments. It usually expresses the innocence and purity of the persons thus commemorated. "Harmless as doves" may have been in the mind of those who laid away the faithful with the sweet expectation that their Lord would very soon awaken them from their temporary slumber to enter upon the fruitions of his own kingdom. Here, too, caution is necessary to distinguish between symbolism and simple decoration. Doubtless some of the figures of the dove, and certainly those of other birds, are used upon Christian monuments as mere aids to ornamentation, and as subjects to complete the artistic balancing of a picture (see Fig. 29). When the dove bears in the beak a palm or olive branch, it may justly be regarded as a symbol of overcoming victory, and expectation of eternal life (Fig. 24). Examples of this are numerous, and it is generally agreed that they are of deep doctrinal significance. At Rome, they do not appear before the last half of the third century, and disappear, for the most part, after the first quarter of the sixth. In Gaul this symbol, as most others, does not appear until nearly a century later, and continues a century longer than in Rome.¹

The fish, which we have shown to be of deepest import when applied to Christ, is also used to represent his disciples.
The fish. Probably, as suggested by Tertullian,² the water and rite of baptism were prominently in their thought, while secondary reference may have been had to the parable of the net, or to the command of Christ to Peter and Andrew—"Follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Matt. iv, 18, 19).

Corresponding to the symbol of the Good Shepherd is that of the sheep or lambs, representing Christ's disciples. It is
The sheep and lambs. sometimes found on the mural paintings of the catacombs, and quite frequently on Christian sarcophagi and in mosaics. They are sometimes cared for by the Good Shepherd, who leads them into green pastures, sometimes they are grouped around him in the attitude of earnest attention to hear the Master's teaching. In the mosaics the twelve apostles sometimes appear under the symbol of sheep, who stand six on either side of the Saviour to "hear his voice" (Fig. 42). Occasionally the hart, drinking of the living waters, takes the place of the sheep in the symbolic representation of the disciples, probably with reference to Psa. xlii, 1.


¹ De Rossi: *Inscript. christ. Rom.*, t. i, Nos. 10, 923, 991. Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaule*, Nos. 7, 561.

² *de bapt.*, c. 1.

On several monuments the Church is found symbolized by a ship under full sail. On the sail sometimes appears a second symbol, as the dove, which seems to teach that in the perilous voyage of life the ship of the Church, under the care of its heavenly Pilot, affords the only secure refuge. Also in several instances a rude box represents the ark of Noah, from which the dove goes forth on the waste of waters, or is returning bearing the olive branch in its beak. This was a favorite symbol, to which the Christian fathers refer to teach in most impressive way the saving power of the Church.¹

The ship.

§ 8. *Other symbols.*

Of the many other symbols we have space to refer to but few. The anchor is often found upon coins and gems, sometimes associated with the , at other times in connection with the fish, the Good Shepherd, etc. (Fig. 12). Its primary reference is probably to Heb. vi, 19, 20; sometimes the meaning is very obscure.

The anchor.

The palm tree and the palm branch are also of frequent occurrence on the burial monuments, on lamps, on glasses, on gems, and in the mosaics. These were also common to pagan monuments, and were not unfamiliar to the Jews. In the use of this symbol upon the burial monuments of Christians the primary reference seems to be to Rev. vii, 9, and plainly indicates that the deceased has triumphed over death and the grave through faith in Him who declared himself "the Resurrection and the Life" (John xi, 2).

The palm tree and the palm branch.

Of like import is the crown, which is of less frequent occurrence. The lyre is usually the symbol of praise or of abundant rejoicing. The peacock sometimes symbolizes immortality, in like manner as does the phenix the resurrection and the life eternal. The serpent is also met on Christian monuments. It may be connected with representations of our first parents as a tempter to sin; or with the brazen serpent in the wilderness; or occasionally it seems to be used as a symbol of wise spiritual discernment. The latter is especially true of some gems of the Gnostic sects. We shall examine in another connection the cycle of Old Testament scenes, events from the history of Moses, Jonah, Daniel, the three Hebrew worthies, etc., which were regarded as types or prophecies of events under the new dispensation.

The crown, lyre, peacock, phenix, and serpent.

¹ Tertullian: *de baptismo*, cc. 8, 12. Cyprian: *Epistolæ*, Nos. 69, 74. Justin Martyr: *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, c. 138.

Occasionally are met what have been generally regarded as caricatures of the Christian religion. Their fewness, and the lack of aid to their proper interpretation in the contemporary literature, cause uncertainty with respect to their significance. Nevertheless, the very paucity of the monuments which illustrate the feeling of the pagan world toward the new religion enhances their value; their study has, therefore, engaged the attention of some of the ablest archæologists.

One of the most interesting of these is the *graffito* discovered in 1856 amid the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, on the southwest slope of the Palatine Hill.¹ It was one of many graffiti scratched upon the walls of a number of rooms that had been excavated in this part of the Palatine. Becker's conclusion is that this one originated in the second quarter of the second century, through the playfulness of some pagan scholar in the imperial Pedagogium. Fig. 25 shows the rudeness of the drawing and the barbarousness of the Greek inscription. The usual deciphering of the characters is ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC CEBETE (σέβεται) ΘΕΟΝ, and the translation has been suggested, "Alexamenus worships (his) God." Careful comparative study has made it probable that this was scratched on the wall of a school-room by a heathen pupil to caricature the god to whom his fellow Christian pupil was offering worship. In opposition to Becker, Garrucci attributes this work to the early part of the third century, for the reason (among others) that just at this time the Christians were charged with worshipping the head of an ass, as shown by the answer of Tertullian. In his *Apologeticus*² the recognition of the charge is clear and explicit, and his answer not less so. His attempt to account for this misunderstanding, from the heathen mind confounding the Jewish with the Christian religion, argues the prevalence of the calumny, and may account for the existence of the caricatures. On the other hand, however, it is very noteworthy that amidst all the strange syncretism prevalent in Rome during the first three Christian centuries no account is left of the worship of a god with the head of an ass, least of all of one who was crucified. Yet here is almost the oldest surviving representation of the most sacred and significant event in the life of Christ, the crucifixion, under an offensive caricature; thus showing that the description of the

¹ For discussions of the chronology, location, and significance of this graffiti, v. Garrucci: *Il Crocifisso graffito in casa dei Cesari* Roma, 1857. Becker: *Das Spott-Crucifix der römischen Kaiserpaläste*. Breslau, 1866. Kraus: *Das Spott-Crucifix vom Palatin und ein neuendektes Graffito*. Freiburg, 1872.

² l. i, c, xvi.

prophet was most appropriate : " he hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him " (Isa. liii, 2).



Fig. 25.—Caricature of Christ. A pagan graffito probably of the second century. Palace of the Caesars, Rome.

Another example of the same style of caricature is seen in Fig. 26. This is the representation on an antique gem which was first published in the seventeenth century. An almost exact description of it is found in Tertullian's writings.¹ It is a figure clad in the Roman toga, in an erect position, but with the head of an ass. The fore leg is extended as in the attitude of teaching, while before it are two figures, one standing the other sitting, in the posture of attentive listeners.² Tertullian declares that under this repre-

¹ *Apologeticus*, c. xvi; *ad nationes*, l. i, c. xiv, and l. ii, c. xi.

² The genuineness of this gem has been questioned.

sensation was found the inscription—"Deus Christianorum ONO-KOIHTHΣ." Many translations of this have been suggested, but some of the best lexicographers have preferred "an ass of a priest." A like mention of this charge against the Christians is met in Minucius Felix.¹ "The heathen attribute to them (the Christians) the folly of regarding the head of an ass a sacred thing." While resenting such folly and wickedness, in common with Tertullian, he makes the charge of like folly against the heathen, who have incorporated into their cultus things equally puerile and monstrous.



Fig. 26. From an antique gem. Supposed to be a caricature of the teaching Christ.

The copy of a coin apparently from the time of Alexander the Great (Fig. 27) contains another enigma which has not been satisfactorily solved. The

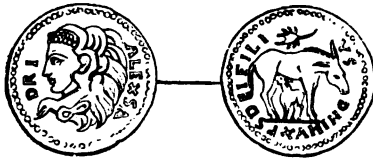


Fig. 27.—Coin of Alexander the Great, an ass and its foal.

head of Alexander on one side, and an ass with its foal on the other, are the strange figures here met. But the inscription, DN IHY XPS DEI FILIYS, is still more curious, and has divided the archæologists with respect to its reference and signification.²

This worship of the figure of an ass is obscure in its origin, and the cause of this misconception of the heathen of the third century, respecting the nature of the Christian religion, is not well understood. Nevertheless occasional references to this animal and its worship are met from time to time in the writings of the Christian fathers.

¹ *Octavius*, cc. ix and xxviii.

² Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, pp. 351, 352. These authors suggest the translation, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God." May not this be another of the many examples of the syncretism of pagan and Christian thought?

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS AND MOSAICS.

THE earliest Christian paintings which have been preserved to our day were found in the Roman catacombs. Their chronology is still unsettled. While de Rossi (*v. p. 29*) finds sufficient reason to refer some of them to the first, Earliest paintings in the catacombs or early part of the second century, Parker, Momm-
sen, and others (*v. p. 30*, note) believe that they are of later origin. The evidences of an early origin become more convincing as the comparative studies are more thorough and extensive. It seems well established, however, that these paintings were chiefly decorative. Their use in secular relations Oldest paintings decorative. could awaken little prejudice in the minds of the Christian teachers. These earliest catacombal paintings were evidently designed to add to the cheerfulness of the subterranean rooms whose walls they adorn, and which were often the places of assembly for the Christians in times of persecution.

On careful comparison of these with the contemporary frescos of heathen origin, a like artistic spirit is seen to be similarity of Christian to heathen painting. common to both. The ceilings in Santa Domitilla at Rome, and in the vestibule to the first catacomb of San Gennaro dei Poveri in Naples, are divided into harmoniously balanced parts, while some of the decorations can only with greatest care be distinguished from the heathen mural pictures of the same age (*v. Fig. 28*).¹ In each is manifested a like love of nature in representations of the seasons, scenes from reaping and from the vintage, dolphins, birds, flowers, etc. (*v. Figs. 1, 2*). The earliest Christian frescos are, however, generally wanting in architectural perspective, as this is seen in the Pompeian decorations, and are usually less artistic in technical execution.²

Probably the artisans in the catacombs were generally unskilled, nor did they attempt to execute these paintings with perfection of

¹ *v. Schultze: Die Katukomben. etc., s. 12, and plate iv.*

² *Reber: Hist. of Medieval Art. New York, 1887. pp. 73, 74.*

detail. The frescos were manifestly painted rapidly in broad, full line, since in dimly lighted subterranean rooms minute details could be of but slender utility. This may suggest a reason for the difference in the artistic character of the frescos of Christian and pagan origin, since the latter were used to adorn rooms where light was abundant, and where the festive character of many of the subjects demanded more careful handling. Pains-taking study of models seems to have been seldom practiced, since it is hardly possible to suppose that in the early part of the second century the Church had a school of professionally trained artists. Nevertheless, the narrowness of the cycle of artistic subjects and their frequent repetition might secure readiness of execution and a fair degree of ease and vigor of treatment.

The introduction of symbolism was of somewhat later date. Their more distinctively Christian character then first appears. The merely decorative and pleasing then assumes a deeper significance, the paintings become a means of religious teaching, and the mind is directed toward certain important doctrines. The figures, the dress, and the adornments do not widely differ from the prevailing pagan style. Notwithstanding this close alliance of Christian painting with the current heathen art, Christianity had, nevertheless, an entirely unique cycle of subject and thought.

The cycle of Christian art peculiar. The spiritual depth and significance of its portraitures, as distinguished from the mere superficial beauty of the pagan art, justify the claims of Christian painting to a good degree of originality.

The office work of Christ as Good Shepherd is sometimes revealed only by the accompanying flock, or single sheep borne on the shepherd's shoulders, or by the implements of his office, as the crook, the pails of milk, and the shepherd's pipes (Fig. 38). The costume is the ordinary Roman tunic and pallium, and the feet are generally clad in sandals. The same vigor characterizes other figures in the earliest mural paintings of the catacombs. Old Testament scenes, as the sacrifice of Isaac, the smiting of the rock by Moses, the loosing of his sandals in the presence of the burning bush, etc., are treated with considerable force and naturalness.

As before stated, some of the earlier ceiling frescos reveal a purpose of artistic balancing and harmony. It must not, however, be inferred from this that a corresponding balancing of the subjects of the pictorial teaching was intended. This would be an abuse of the symbolic principle. For example, in

An artistic balancing.

Fig. 28, the antithesis of Moses smiting the rock, and Christ raising Lazarus, cannot be regarded as type and antitype, since this would compel the use of too fanciful and far-fetched analogies. The same is true of Daniel in the den of lions, and David with the sling. Nor can we suppose that the artistically balanced pastoral scenes were designed to teach dogmatic or practical truths, well-



Fig. 28.—Fresco ceiling from Santa Domitilla, Rome. Orpheus in center.

understood by the initiated but unknown to others. This, too, were to carry the symbolic principle to an unwarranted extreme.

While there is a general similarity of technical treatment to that of the contemporary heathen art, and the originality of the Christian handling, coming from juster and more ^{Naturalness of} ^{Christian art.} inspiring views of nature, has been questioned,¹ these frescos,

¹ Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, translated by Colvin, 1880, vol. i, pp. 163, 164. *Contra v.* Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bild. Künste*, 2d Auf., iii, ss. 102, sq. "Christianity first unlocked the sense for nature by teaching us to understand a creation groaning with us and by showing the connection of nature with ourselves and our own life." Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, Rev. ed., pp. 66-69.

nevertheless, become invaluable indexes of the belief and life of the infant Church. They prove that the æsthetic feeling, common to all men, is struggling for expression amidst the adverse influences of the times, and that the new religion, so far from being hostile to art, is seeking to purify and inspire it by its own richer spiritual truths. They show that the early Christians were animated by a religion of cheerfulness and hopefulness. The objects in these mural decorations directly or symbolically represent persons, offices, or beliefs that are soul-sustaining. Nearly the whole Old Testament cycle—the history of Noah; Abraham offering Isaac, and God's interference to save by a substituted victim; the smiting of the rock by Moses; the preservation of the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace; Daniel in the den of lions; the history of Jonah—all these are of a character to support and inspire the faith of the early believers.¹

In the pictorial representations of Christ, two² general types are met. The first is that of a beardless young man of considerable force and freshness, quite closely resembling the sculptures on heathen sarcophagi of the same date. This type is usually connected with the cycle of Christ's miraculous works, as the opening of the eyes of the blind, the healing of the paralytic, the raising of Lazarus (Fig. 29), etc. A like buoyancy of spirit is met in the paintings of Christ as the Good Shepherd. We have elsewhere (v. p. 61) noticed the relations of this figure to the rambearing Mercury of the heathen mythology. This type is usually without a beard, as in Fig. 29, in the multiplication of the loaves, and the raising of Lazarus in the encircling lunettes.



Fig. 29.—Christ raising Lazarus. Fresco.

The second type, though somewhat more severe, is still youthful, but bearded and with long flowing hair. It is rarely, if ever, found in the mural paintings of the catacombs, but appears later upon the gilded glasses.

In both these types the influence of heathen thought is manifest, since the quite prevalent opinion respecting the Saviour, which was held by some of the Christian fathers, as derived from Isa. lii, 23, is here dominated by the heathen idea that the gods must be conceived

¹ v. Fig. 30, in which most of these scenes, together with the healing of the paralytic, the multiplication of the loaves, and the resurrection of Lazarus, are grouped about the Good Shepherd.

² A third, found in the mosaics of the post-Constantine period, is elsewhere noticed.

of as endowed with vigor and beauty. The Greek believed that only the ethically good could be in the image of the gods ; contra-

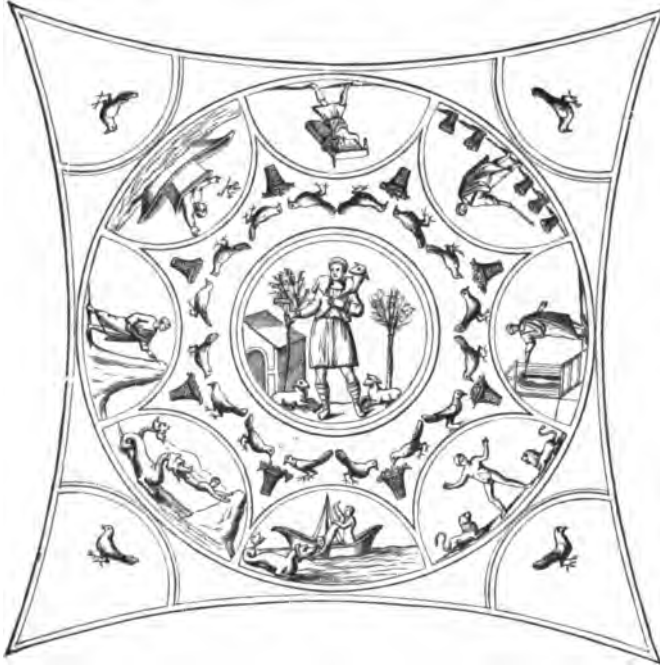


Fig. 30.—Fresco from the ceiling of a chamber in San Calisto, Rome.

riwise, that the highest physical perfection was requisite in the sensuous representation of the divine. To his apprehension virtue and beauty, vice and ugliness, were in indissoluble union. The beautiful was the good, and deformity was felt to be a consequence of evil. It was therefore necessary that the most worthy embodiment of the divine should be in perfect and beautiful forms. Unlike the gods of the Indians and the Egyptians, with which much of the grotesque and ugly was often connected, the gods of the Greeks, being conceived as free from moral imperfections, were represented by images of true nobility and beauty, and free from every trace of sorrow and weakness.¹

But this type of Christ underwent a remarkable transformation. Fig. 31 is the representation of a fresco bust discovered by Bosio in the catacomb of San Ponziano, at Rome. This is a wide departure from the type found in the earlier frescos. The form of the cross, the richly jeweled

The later frescos depart from the earlier types.

¹ v. Alt: *Die Heiligenbilder*, etc., pp. 4-7.

corona, the more grave and mature cast of countenance, the peculiar curve of the eyebrows, are positive proofs of a new era of art. A

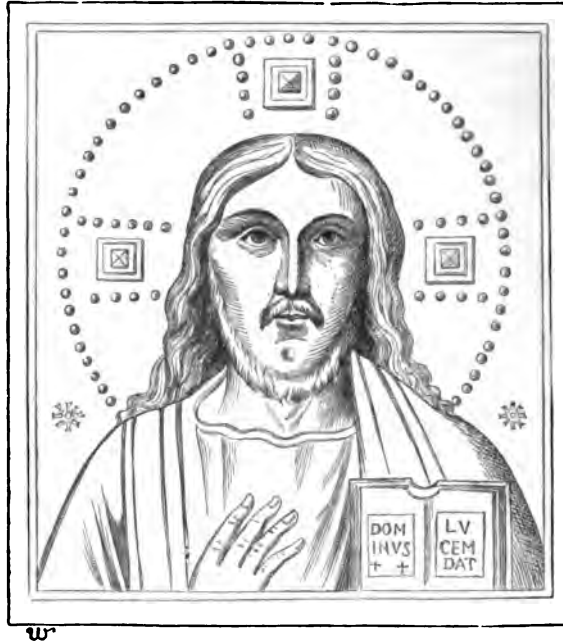


Fig. 31.—Bust of Christ from San Ponziano. Probably from ninth century.

somewhat similar art type is seen in Fig. 32, which is from one of the catacombs of Naples. It is of the sixth century. The long, pointed beard, the elongated features, the countenance bearing an appearance of haggardness and of sorrow, are in directest contrast with the air of youthful vigor and cheerfulness that characterizes the frescos and bass-reliefs which represent the biblical cycle of Christ's works. The corona, the open book, and the hand raised in the manner of teaching, show that the conception of Christ has shifted from that of the benevolent wonder-worker to that of the severe, authoritative, and majestic teacher and ruler.

The crypt of Santa Cecilia is among the most interesting in the immense cemetery of San Calisto. It is connected with the martyrdom of one of the most revered female saints of the early Church, and is rich in epigraphical and pictorial objects which aid in the understanding of some portions of her curious history. The pictures now preserved in this crypt are manifestly of a much later date than the original ornamentation, since there are unmistakable evidences that mosaics and slabs of porphyry have in some instances been removed.



FIG. 32.—Bust of Christ from a cemetery of Naples. Probably of the sixth century.

In one of the burial niches is found a bust of Christ, represented by Fig. 33, which has been referred to the seventh century. The Greek nimbus, the hand in the position of blessing or of teaching, and the book held in the left hand, are symbols of authority. The whole expression and execution of the fresco suggest a distinctively Byzantine influence, and indicate that the art of the Church has fallen under the direction of ecclesiastics.

tics, and has lost the freedom and grace of the pictures produced under the influence of the classic spirit.

The tendency to increased decoration, and to clothing the person of Christ with the insignia of authority, in contrast with the simplicity of the earlier frescos, is further seen in the accompanying representation of a mural painting found in the small suburban cemetery of Santa Genesio, near Rome (Fig. 34). It is believed to belong to the seventh or eighth century. Christ is here associated with saints, whose names are in-



FIG. 33.—From the crypt Santa Cecilia, cemetery of San Callisto. Probably of seventh century.

scribed on the walls in the style of the later Byzantine pictures. He is clad in the customary tunic and *pallium*, whose drapery lacks grace and flexibility; his right hand is extended in the fashion of the teacher, or, as some discover in it, in the act of benediction after the Greek manner; in the left is held the book, highly ornamented with jewels. The entire picture indicates a later origin, and a wide departure from the youthful vigor and naïve simplicity of the earlier figures of Christ. The jeweled crowns, and the excessive ornamentation in the case of the female figure, are further evidences of art decadence.

While the fact is unquestioned, the reason of the transition from the youthful type of Christ, as it is met in the earlier frescos and sculpture, to the more severe and majestic type of the later representations is not manifest. A change so marked and general could not result from fortuitous or transient causes. Had the earlier type of Christ tallied with the conceptions of the later Church it would have continued.

It is not improbable that the Arian controversy left its impress upon the art representations of the Saviour in the fourth and following centuries. It is well known that interest in the nature and person of Christ was not limited to the theologians, but the question of his divinity was debated by all classes of the Roman world. The adoption of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds must necessarily have greatly exalted the conception of the dignity and power of Christ. This personage, "the one Lord Jesus Christ, . . . Light of Light, very God of very God, . . . by whom all things were made, . . . who cometh to judge the quick and the dead," must find a representation in art which should correspond with this sublime conception. Evidently the earlier simpler forms of the Good Shepherd and of the benevolent Wonder-worker failed to express the thought which the creed had embodied. To develop a type which might more fully accord with the prevailing belief was but natural and necessary. Moreover, a triumphing Church demanded that the elaborate mosaics which now adorned the apses and triumphal arches of the basilicas should impress upon the worshippers the truth of the accepted symbols. The dogmatic interest must have influenced the art development, and may have occasioned the introduction of the new type which is the representation of the mighty, the exalted, and superhuman Christ. This type became common in the imposing mosaics, in some of the frescos, and on some of the more prominent portions of the sarcophagi, while the earlier type was continued in the cycle of biblical history and in symbolic representations. While the artistic exe-



Fig. 34.—Fresco from the Cemetery Santa Genesio, near Rome. Christ with saints.

cution in the latter is inferior it more fully embodied the prevailing belief.

The representations of persons with uplifted hands as in the act of prayer, technically called *Orantes*, are quite frequent in the early Christian art of the Roman catacombs. While their reference is not always clear, by association with other objects their import is sometimes suggested. Probably they indicate the devout character of the departed on or near whose tomb they are found. Possibly in exceptional cases reference may be had to the Virgin Mary. Examples are also found sculptured on sarcophagi.

Representations of the Virgin are quite frequent.¹ But an isolated picture or a veritable portrait of Mary is not met in the pre-Constantine frescos of the catacombs, in the oldest mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, nor anywhere in the earliest Christian sculpture. Generally she is associated with the child Jesus, who sits upon her lap or is held in her arms. The Virgin is never, like her divine Son, represented symbolically.²

The Virgin with the star (Fig. 35) is probably the oldest fresco



Fig. 35.—Virgin and star from Santa Priscilla, Rome.

¹ De Rossi mentions more than twenty.

² Eckl: *Die Madonna als Gegenstand christlicher Kunstmalerei und Sculptur*, 1883, p. 3. On a few gilt glasses of a later origin she appears alone, and a single example of a marble found in Gaul, much defaced and of unknown date, bearing the inscription MARIA VIRGO MINISTER DE TEMPLO GEROSOLA, has sometimes been referred to as showing her consecration to the temple service during her infancy. This opinion finds very slender monumental support—probably none earlier than the seventh century.

of this subject. It is found in the cemetery of Santa Priscilla, and is claimed by de Rossi to belong to the first century¹ or early part of the second. The most natural suggestion of the scene is that of the holy family. Joseph points to the star, which is the key to the subject of the fresco, and thus confines it to the cycle of biblical history. The more labored interpretation of de Rossi, that the male figure refers to one of the prophets of the old covenant (probably to Isaiah), who points forward to the Star of Bethlehem which was to indicate where the Virgin mother and the infant Jesus were to be found, seems unnecessary, and adds little to the value of the testimony of such paintings. In either interpretation the fresco would have a purely biblical character, and represent an historical event wholly void of the dogmatic significance which has been attributed to it by some Catholic commentators.

The Virgin and child from Santa Domitilla (Fig. 36), has been referred to the second half of the third century. There is evidence that it was originally a part of a representation of the "adoration of the magi," since faint traces of four of these magi are here seen, as in the fresco from SS. Pietro e Marcellino outlines of two only appear. The whole scene is simply biblical. It has a severity of artistic treatment suggesting a very early origin. The fresco in the cemetery of Santa Agnese (Fig. 37), on the Via Nomentana, belongs to the fourth or fifth century. It represents the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus.



Fig. 36.—Virgin and child, from Santa Domitilla, Rome.

The Virgin extends the hands in the attitude of prayer, in harmony with the class of figures called *Orantes*. Neither the Virgin nor child is encircled with the nimbus, but the sacred

¹ We give this and a few other photographs to convey to the uninitiated some idea of the real condition of these frescoes. From the elaborate engravings and chromolithographs of Peret and others, entirely unjust opinions of the artistic excellence of these remains might be formed. Frequently much must be supplied both in outline and color to complete the fresco. Our plate is after a photograph by Roller.

monogram clearly indicates¹ the subjects. This seems to be the first attempt to produce any thing like a portrait of Mary. The growing taste for ornamentation is noticed in the jeweled necklace;



Fig. 37.—Virgin and child, from Santa Agnese, Rome.

the wide departure of the details of the figure from the noble simplicity of the earlier frescos points to a later origin, and plainly suggests a possible Byzantine influence.²

From the close of the fourth century the artists who portray the Virgin and the child depart from the simple biblical story. The frescos, and especially the elaborate mosaics,³ seem to be "little less than embodied creeds, reflecting from century to century the prevailing tone of opinion on the part of those of highest authority in the Church."⁴ The simplicity of faith and the supporting trust and hope which characterized the Christians in the age of obscurity and persecution yielded to the pomp and splendor of a triumphing and protected Church.⁵

¹ The circumstance that the P of the monogram points in both instances *toward* the figures is manifestly of no dogmatic importance. The claims of some Catholic writers, based on this seemingly accidental circumstance, must be regarded as unscientific.

² From the absence of the corona in case of both mother and child, and from the general style, de Rossi has been led to place this in the time of Constantine.

³ These are described later in this chapter.

⁴ Mariott: *The Testimony of the Catacombs*, etc., p. 34.

⁵ "It was the truth of the Incarnation which they (the early Christians) embodied in their pictures of the Virgin mother and her holy Child. "Christ crucified," they recalled, even in the emblematic letters inscribed beside him; Christ the Good Physician of body and soul, in their oft-repeated pictures of the healing of the sick, or the giving of sight to the blind; Christ the Bread from Heaven, in the miracle of the loaves; Christ the Prince of life, in the raising of Lazarus from the grave; Christ, the Star risen out of Jacob, and the Desire of all nations, in the star-led magi, laying their offering at his feet in Bethlehem; Christ, above all, in that form which to Christian hearts is the tenderest and most loving embodiment of their Lord, the Good Shepherd, bearing back upon his shoulders the lamb, that, but for him, had been lost." Mariott: *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

Fig. 38, a fresco of the Good Shepherd from the seventh century, shows a like decadence. The peculiar shepherd's pipes, the *cruz gamma*, A like transition in other subjects. upon the tunic, the inscription "Pastor" above the head, are new elements which find no place in the simpler and nobler figures of the "Good Shepherd" from the earlier period of Christian painting.

So also in Fig. 39, which is a representation of Saint Cecilia, found in the crypt of Santa Ce-



Fig. 38.—A Good Shepherd, from the cemetery of Santa Genesio.



Fig. 39.—Fresco of Saint Cecilia, from the crypt of Santa Cecilia, Rome.

cia in the catacomb of San Calisto. It gives evidence of having been painted over an earlier mosaic, some traces of which still remain. From the peculiar ornamentation, the richness of dress, etc., it seems justifiable to refer it to the seventh century, or to the very close of the period of which we propose to treat. It shares the general inferiority of the works of this century, and plainly reveals the subjection of art to the influence and authority of the Church.

The simple vintage scenes undergo like transitions of

style. Figs. 1 and 2 (v. pp. 57, 58) show the ease and grace of the treatment of these subjects as found in the early frescos of the catacombs. Nothing could be more completely natural than the arrangement of the vine in Fig. 1, while the action of the genii in Fig. 2 is most free and charming. When compared with Fig. 40 the change



Fig. 40.—Vine ornament from San Callisto, Rome. Fourth century.

in treatment is manifest. "Nobody can fail to notice how widely they depart from the truth and beauty of nature, and with what arbitrary violence the branches are twisted into regular form, so as rapidly to degenerate into a mere decorative pattern."¹ Later still a further hardening of the lines and an artificial restraint are noticed, till in the mosaic decorations in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Fig. 41), at Ravenna, "Græco-Roman art has reached the Byzantine stage of high conventionality, still retaining great beauty."²

¹ Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii, p. 151. To these authors we are indebted for permission to use these and other plates.

² Tyrwhitt: *Christian Art Symbolism*, pp. 66, 67, and *The Art-Teaching of the Primitive Church*, p. 117, quoted by Northcote and Brownlow. It is difficult to see

From the fourth and fifth centuries a considerable number of ornamented gilt glasses which possess much artistic and dogmatic interest have been preserved. A few probably belong to the third and sixth centuries. They can hardly be regarded as paintings, but are rather drawings made by a

Paintings on
gilt glasses, or
Pondi d'Oro.



Fig. 41.—Mosaic vine ornament from dome of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, A. D. 440.

sharp pointed instrument upon gold foil which was placed upon glass; this plate was then covered by another, and the whole fused together. These have been fully described by Garrucci and others.¹ Their cycle is not essentially different from that of the catacomb frescos, except that the representation of saints is somewhat more frequent, and the dogmatic element seems to be more prominent. On these the Virgin is found associated with Christ, with the apostles, Paul and Peter, and in a few instances of late date she is the solitary figure.² The frequent pictorial association of Peter and Paul is instructive in the examination of the art testimony to the dogma of the primacy of Peter (v. Plate I).

Primacy of
Peter.

how these mosaics can with any propriety be described as "rich acanthus scroll-work." v. Venables: "Mosaics," in *Dict. of Chris. Antiquities*, p. 1330.

¹ v. especially *Vetri ornati di figure in oro travati nei cimiteri de' cristiani primitivi di Roma*, 4to, Roma, 1864, and his extensive work, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, etc., 6 vols., 4to. Prato, 1873, seq. Also, de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, 3 vols., 4to. Roma, 1864, 1867, 1877. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, 2 vols, 4to. Paris, 1882.

² It has been questioned whether this name may not apply to some saintly person named Mary, rather than to the mother of Jesus; since the earlier Christian monuments seem not to introduce the Virgin in her individual and independent character, but the infant Jesus was the *raison d'être* for the representation of the mother.

With the exception of a very few of late origin there is in these gilded glasses no intimation of any preëminence of Peter over Paul. In some instances, where these apostles are associated with Christ on the same glass, Paul has the place of honor; in others, Peter is at the right hand of Christ; thus showing that the primacy of either would not once be suggested by the pictorial representations. Both wear the corona, as in Fig. 3; both are represented in like dress as youthful and beardless, as in Fig. 4; both are receiving a common crown, as in Fig. 5; both are seated upon like Roman chairs, and bear equally the rolls as a symbol of apostolic authority, as in Fig. 7; both alike are being crowned from above, as in Figs. 8, 9, 10. In these art representations there is no intimation of a superiority or primacy of any sort whatever. This is more noteworthy from the fact that these glasses belong to a period when the primacy of Peter had already been asserted. Their teaching, however, entirely accords with the general tradition of the joint agency of Peter and Paul in founding the Church of Rome. In Fig. 1 there is manifestly an attempt at portraiture. The bronzes, Figs. 1 and 2, have given rise to much discussion relative to their age and character. Many archæologists believe that in Fig. 1 are found the traditional characteristics of these chief apostles. Peter has a firmer, rounder head, thick curled hair, and a short matted beard; Paul has more elongated features, thinner hair inclining to baldness, a longer yet more scanty beard. Amid the contrariety of opinions it is impossible to pronounce absolutely upon the age of bronze Fig. 1, or the person represented in Fig. 2. The artistic excellence of the work would suggest an early origin.¹

It is quite remarkable that in the cemeteries and churches of Italy, and in the art monuments of the first four centuries The cycle of subjects uniform. in other lands, the cycle of the subjects of painting, of sculpture, and of the glyptic arts is nearly uniform. The same symbols from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the same biblical events, the same historical characters, are everywhere repeated. Some archæologists have accounted for this uniformity on the supposition that the Church had given its sanction to these as a means of expressing and perpetuating a common faith, and of teaching doctrines which were regarded as fundamental, thus guarding against the attempts of heretical teachers to divide the Church.

Outside the catacombs the number of surviving paintings of the first six centuries is very limited. From documentary evidence

¹ While these bronzes properly belong to the department of plastic art or sculpture, it seems more convenient to refer to them here in connection with the gilded glasses containing like subjects.



PLATE I.—Gilded glasses and bronze busts, representing Peter and Paul.

1

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

2

3

4

we are justified in believing that the art influence of the Roman-Christian world extended far and wide in the countries of western and northern Europe which had been Paintings still in existence.

Christianized through the zealous labours of missionaries. We infer that painting was extensively used in the decoration of imposing churches in Gaul, along the banks of the Rhine, and in Spain. The style and subjects of such paintings were probably similar to those of Christian Rome, somewhat modified by influences peculiar to the barbarian peoples. Ireland, which was converted in the first half of the fifth century, and had developed its ecclesiastical life almost independently of Roman influence, was not wanting in attempts to ornament the churches with appropriate mural paintings. Of these none of an earlier date than the seventh century have survived.

A few illuminated manuscripts have been preserved to our time. The art of illumination common to the classic peoples was practised by the Christians from the fourth century, and Miniatures and illuminations. reached its highest perfection in the Middle Ages. Such manuscripts were sometimes dedicated to persons of high official station, or were given by the wealthy to religious houses. This was probably one reason of their rich ornamentation. The purpose of the illumination was partly artistic and partly didactic. The beautiful illuminations of portions of the Scriptures, of Psalters, and of prayer-books which have come to us from the mediæval period suggest a similar practice of the Church from the fourth to the seventh century.

A fine example of illumination of Greek origin, believed to date from about the close of the fifth century, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. This work Book of Genesis. comprises biblical characters and allegorical figures which are helpful in the interpretation of the text. "It contains twenty-four leaves illuminated on both sides, in most cases with pictures arranged in two rows on purple vellum. The execution is slight, almost superficial, but yet shows certainty of touch. We still find here a close observation of the life of men and animals; the figures show considerable power of bodily expression and movement; they are of sturdy build, for slenderness of proportion is not, as often supposed, the sign of Byzantine as distinguished from Western art, but rather of a later period as opposed to an earlier."¹

The religious books are generally more fully and carefully illustrated than the ancient treatises on science, or even the fragments

¹ Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 190. Labarte: *Histoire des Arts industriels*, etc., 2d ed., 1872. Plate 42 gives a colored reproduction of a single scene—the interview of Jacob with his sons.

of classic literature. The pictures are not of persons only, nor are they confined to the representation of historical events or places, but delineations of mental qualities, virtues and vices, protective powers, etc., are not infrequent. The borders of these manuscripts are often rich with ornamentation in which the harmony of proportions and colour is carefully studied.

The few leaves of a Latin Bible preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin belong to the sixth century. On these are found somewhat mutilated representations of the history of Saul. It is to be regretted that they have suffered so much, since their artistic excellence appears to have been exceptional.

A Syrian Gospel-book, of the last quarter of the sixth century, is specially interesting for containing one of the earliest pictorial representations of the crucifixion. We have already seen that the early Christians avoided depicting the painful and more repellent scenes in the life and passion of Christ. Later, however, when the Church had secured complete recognition, and art had declined, these subjects were represented in all their

literalness. In the border of this manuscript the crucified Lord appears fastened to a cross by four nails; on either side are the thieves, while below St. John, the Marys, and the soldiers casting lots for Christ's garments are pictured; in another part the resurrection, the Marys at the tomb addressed by the angel, and the Saviour appearing to the women are delineated. As might be expected, this provincial work, the manuscript of which was written in the convent of St. John at Zagba, in Mesopotamia, and the painting executed by Rabula, a monk, is quite inferior in execution to much that is preserved in the great centers of commerce and enlightenment.¹

Most of the illuminations of the sixth century exhibit considerable artistic power, and give evidence of an attempt at art revival after the fearful destruction and decadence of the fifth century.

MOSAICS.

A very interesting class of monuments, illustrating the thought and artistic power of the early Church, are the Christian mosaics.

They can be classified neither with paintings nor with sculpture. They can hardly be ranked among the fine arts at all, since their production seems in some respects to depend more upon the mechanical than upon the artistic faculty. This consideration would lead us to classify the mosaicist among artisans

¹ On this illuminated manuscript *v. Garrucci: Isbnria*, etc., Plates 128-140, and *Labarte, Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 164, 165, Plate 44.

rather than among artists. To what extent the musivist was also the creator of his design cannot now be known. Since, however, mosaic is a branch of pictorial art, or art on a surface including two dimensions, in which color effects are studied, it is ^{Nearest allied to painting.} most nearly allied to painting, and can best be studied as the historic successor of the frescos of the catacombs.

With other arts the Christian Church inherited from the heathen world the mosaic also. Some of the most elaborate ^{Borrowed from antiquity.} decorative works of antiquity were in this style. The Scriptures speak of pavements "of red, and blue, and white, and black marble in the palace of Ahasuerus" (Esther i, 6). The frequent mention of mosaics by Pliny, and the preservation of such beautiful examples as the "Bellerophon," the "Doves of the Capitoline Museum," the "Battle of Arbela," and the fountain pieces of Pompeii, show that this art had been carried to great perfection by pre-Christian peoples. The Romans recognised three kinds of mosaics: 1. The *opus tessellatum*, which consisted of small pieces of stone or bits of marble, arranged in regular geometric forms. This was the most ancient style. 2. The *opus vermiculatum*, which received its name from the fineness of the pieces of marble of which the work was composed. 3. The *opus sectile*, which was formed of plates of marbles of different colors, making thereby a decorated veneer.

The genuine Christian mosaic, that is, the use for decorative or didactic purposes of cubes of colored glass on walls ^{Limited use in the catacombs.} or ceilings, instead of in pavements, is but very sparingly found in the catacombs. The few examples which still survive adhere quite closely in general style and subjects to the contemporaneous frescos. The Saviour seated between Peter and Paul, the raising of Lazarus, the healing of the paralytic, Daniel in the lions' den, a couple of medallion busts of a man and wife, the latter with arms outstretched in prayer in the general fashion of the *Orantes*, comprise nearly all the subjects treated in these mosaics. They are usually of inferior workmanship, and promise little for that wealth of ornamentation afterward met in the Constantinian and post-Constantinian churches.

An incidental benefit of the study of the mosaics from the fourth to the tenth century is the aid thus afforded in determining the age of the paintings in the catacombs themselves.¹ Little doubt can be entertained relative to the progressive ornamentation of subterranean burial places through the zeal and devotion of the popes. Careful study of the Church mosaics be-

¹ de Jouy: *Les Mosaïques chrétiennes*, etc., Paris, 1857, p. 6.

tween A. D. 350 and A. D. 450 (the latter date marking the destruction attending the terrible irruption of Attila) shows three types: those of Santa Constantia, which are allied to classic art; those in the Chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, whose Good Shepherd suggests immediately the primitive paintings of the catacombs, belong to the cycle of symbolic art; and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, which represent purely historical and biblical events. All belong to the old Roman rather than to the Byzantine school.¹ The latter school seems to have had complete sway from the middle of the fifth to the seventh century, except where the Lombard churches show a partial emancipation from its influence.

Their extensive use for decorative and dogmatic purposes, and their great durability, give to mosaics almost a first rank among archæological monuments. With regard to no other objects, however, are greater skill and caution needed to ensure correct results.

Caution against restorations. Such is the nature of the materials, the permanence of the colors, and the ease with which insertions can be made, that experts may be deceived. It is probable that hardly an important mosaic has escaped attempts at restoration. Their evidential value may thus be seriously impaired. Only when there is some assurance that even the restorations are in the spirit of the original can these monuments be regarded as witnesses to the life and thought of their age.

The location of mosaics is various in different churches and in the same church. They are more usually employed Where found. in the vaulted ceilings of the tribune, in the broad spaces on the face of the triumphal arch, on the spandrels of arches in the main nave, and on the entablatures. These positions not only afford the greatest available area, but also place the pictures, decorative or didactic, in the most favorable light for study.

The question of the chronology of these, as of other early Christian monuments, has greatly divided the opinion of Chronology. archæologists. Rome is probably the site of the earliest and best preserved, unless we except the remarkable group in the dome of St. George in Thessalonica (modern Salonica). If this St. George of Thessalonica. Church was dedicated by Constantine during his sojourn in that city in A. D. 323,² then its mosaics excel all

¹ Tyrwhitt: *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church*, London, 1882, pp. 148, 149.

² Texier and Pullan: *Églises Byzantines*, plates xxxi-xxxiv. In this work the origin of the church is discussed at some length. Especial stress is laid upon the fact that the portraits in mosaic are all of those saints who lived before Constantine. Also the character of the symbols on the bricks of the pavement is regarded of great

other extra-catacomb ones in age, extent, and magnificence. Its dome (v. Fig. 105), two hundred and sixteen feet in circumference, is almost entirely covered with elaborate and imposing designs which have been estimated to contain more than 36,000,000 *tesserae*, or small cubes of glass. The style of the decoration is somewhat like that on the walls of Pompeii, and immediately reminds the student of some of the early frescos of the catacombs. This circumstance would suggest an early origin.

The grouping of the figures is more easy and natural than in the later Byzantine art. There is manifest attention to perspective, while the variety of character and expression is indicative of artistic power and freedom. The cupola is divided into eight nearly equal compartments. The handling of subjects is generally uniform, though in some particulars there is striking variety. Each segment contains the representation of a building, evidently designed for Christian worship, wonderfully elaborated, decorated, and furnished with the paraphernalia for ritualistic service. In the foreground of each are two majestic figures, clad in the robes of the officiating clergy, with hands extended in the attitude of prayer or benediction. In the fashion of the Byzantine art the names of these are written upon the wall near the figure.¹ They refer to some of the noted men of the Eastern Church whose labors were effective in shaping its history and in formulating its doctrines.

The only rival of St. George in the age of its mosaics is the circular Church, Santa Constanza of Rome. As elsewhere stated (v. Fig. 118), this building was erected by Constantine, and is therefore of the fourth century.² What was the original purpose of its erection, whether for a baptistery to the adjacent basilica of Santa Agnese, or as a burial place for the emperor's daughters, Constantia and Helena, may not be known. The style of some of its mosaics certainly indicates an early origin.

importance. v. pp. 133-135. Unger: *Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclopædia*, lxxxiv, 407, places these mosaics at a much later period. Woltmann and Woermann: v. *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 198, note, share Unger's opinion. Bayet: *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la Peinture*, etc., v. p. 85 and note, inclines to place them between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian, but is in doubt. Kraus also accepts Unger's opinion.

¹ This is generally quoted in proof of a later origin, though not decisive.

² The age of these mosaics has likewise been a subject of controversy. Doubtless one reason of the widely different opinions is the failure to discriminate between the originals and the restorations. That some of the restorations belong to the seventh century is conceded, but that some portions reach back to about the middle of the fourth can hardly be doubted.

The rich decoration upon a white ground, representing the vintage, together with many figures of genii, birds, fruit, etc., liken it very strongly to the heathen art of the period. There is in it very little which is distinctively Christian. The space is divided into twelve sections or compartments, two of which extend into the form of an apse. The subjects seem to be arranged on the general principle of artistic balancing, somewhat after the style of some early frescoed ceilings of the catacombs. The mosaics of the dome have long since disappeared.¹

A like classical spirit is noticed in the slight mosaic remains in two chapels of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, at Rome. They belong to the latter part of the fifth century. While the opinion that they were part of the palace of Constantine has been questioned, they nevertheless bear the peculiar character of naturalism which associates them in the same class with Santa Constantia of Rome, and St. George of Thessalonica. But this richness of decoration soon passed away. The later mosaics are executed with a very different feeling. A more sober, didactic purpose seems to control the artists. Dr. Woltmann says: "This decorative style, with its playful symbolism, did not in the long run suit the seriousness of the Christian spirit. When St. Nilus (A. D. 450) was consulted about the decoration of a church he rejected, as childish and unworthy, the intended design of plants, birds, animals, and a number of crosses, and desired the interior to be adorned with pictures from the Old and New Testaments, with the same motive that Gregory II. expressed afterward in the following words: 'Painting is employed in churches for this reason, that those who are ignorant of the Scriptures may at least see on the walls what they are unable to read in the books.' From this time, accordingly, church pictures become no longer purely decorative; they serve for edification, for instruction, for devotion. With this object Christian art makes the great step from mere symbolic suggestion to real representation."²

This statement finds happy illustration in the remarkable mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, on the Esquiline, in Rome. The work also shows the necessity of careful discrimination

¹ E. Müntz: *Notes sur les Mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie*, in the *Revue Archeologique*, 1875 and 1878, attempts to show that this cupola displays a composition entirely pagan in character. He claims that it represents a triumph of Bacchus, which is indicated by the accompanying satyrs, bacchantes, tigers, etc. Possibly this may furnish a ground for the opinion that this church was originally a temple of Bacchus, as advocated by Ciampini (*v. De sacris ædificiis*), and by other more recent archaeologists.

² *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 167.

between originals and restorations. Labarte¹ believes that the apostles and female figures are from the close of the fourth century, but that the Christ, the symbols of the evangelists, and some other portions are of later origin.² Garrucci, Woltmann, and others refer this mosaic to Pope Siricius, who built the church in 390 A. D. It certainly marks a transition from the decorative style to the historic and didactic. In the center is a colossal figure of a bearded and nim-bused Christ, seated in a richly jeweled chair and clad in flowing robes. He extends his right hand in the Description. manner of blessing, while in his left is an open book. On his right and left are arranged the apostles, Peter and Paul being next to the Saviour. On the heads of the latter, female figures of great dignity, supposed to represent the Jewish and the Gentile Churches,³ place wreaths of triumph. Behind the Christ is a richly jeweled cross, standing on a mountain apart by itself. Rising in the distance are architectural structures representing the two sacred cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, while above in the clouds float the symbols of the Evangelists. The whole work is of a most serious, yet artistic, character.

The transition from the style of Santa Constantia to that of Santa Pudenziana is most remarkable. That within a half century there should be presented so great a contrast in interior church decoration certainly suggests some exceptional Transition in style, and the cause. cause. The classic character of nearly every part of this mosaic differs much from the art of the age of Constantine and of his immediate successors. Moreover the seriousness of the religious teaching embodied in it is noteworthy. The Christ seems to stand midway between the youthful and, for the most part, impersonal Christ of the catacombs and that severer and more gloomy type which is prominent in the later frescos and mosaics. Probably the art historians are correct in attributing this result mainly to the impulse given to art studies by the legal enactments of the emperors. The demand of the now established religion for churches not only of greater dimensions but also of increased magnificence was in itself a stimulus to art activity. There is also discovered in some of the mosaics of this period a tendency

¹ *Arts industriels*, vol. ii, pp. 338-342, and 454, plate lvii. v. also Vitet: *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1864, vol. i, pp. 18-39.

² Crowe and Cavacasse: *History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1864, vol. i, pp. 12, 13, recognise numerous restorations in these figures.

³ Garrucci: *Istoria*, etc. Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 167. Others see in these the representations of the sisters SS. Pudenziana and Praxedes. v. Gerspach: *La Mosaïque*, p. 140; also Barbet de Jouy: *Les Mosaïques chrétiennes*, p. 49.

to return to classic models, and to subject the artist to the rules of the ancient school.¹

The mosaics of Santa Sabina at Rome belong to the fifth century.

Santa Sabina. They consist of two female figures, one marked "*Ecclesia ex circumcisione*," or the church of the circumcision; the other "*Ecclesia ex gentibus*," or the church of the Gentiles; also of an inscription of seven verses, which gives the occasion of the origin of the mosaic, and contains a highly eulogistic notice of the artist.² The type of these is entirely Roman.

The few remnants of the mosaics of San Paolo fuori le mura, on St. Paul beyond the Via Ostia, must also be referred to this century. the walls. The destruction of this interesting church by fire, in 1823, removed some of the most valuable Christian monuments of the fifth century which had anywhere survived. The few original mosaics upon the triumphal arch were prepared by the order of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius.³

The completest series of mosaics at Rome, dating from the fifth century, is in Santa Maria Maggiore, called also the *Santa Maria Maggiore*. Liberian Basilica. Their exceptionally artistic character has frequently been noted by critics. They seem to be entirely isolated from works before and after the period. The suggestion has been made that the artists formed these mosaics after the fashion of the classical bassreliefs, especially those of the columns of Trajan and of the Antonines, while their predecessors had taken the frescos of the baths as their models, and their successors were influenced by Greece or Byzantium.⁴ The arch of the Description. *tribune*, divided into three zones, is decorated with New Testament scenes. In the first are the Annunciation and the Presentation in the temple; in the second the Adoration of the Magi, and the Dispute of Jesus with the doctors

¹ "Laws were enacted by Constantine (A. D. 334 and 337) to promote the training of architects, and to grant them specific exemptions, as well as to painters, sculptors, and workers in mosaic. In A. D. 375 the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian promulgated an edict granting important privileges to professors of painting." Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 169.

² C. J. Hemans claims that of the whole mosaic composition in Santa Sabina only these two figures, representing the Jewish and Christian covenants, are original. *v. Academy*, 1874, p. 415.

³ Barbet de Jouy: *Les Mosaiques chrétiennes*, etc., pp. 18, 19. Förster: *Unter Italien*, p. 276. Gerspach: *La Mosaique*, pp. 47, 48.

⁴ v. Edmund Venables: Article "Mosaics" in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 1327. Also Lord Lindsay: *History of Christian Art*, 2d edition, London, 1885, vol. i, p. 264; Vitet: *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1864, vol. i, p. 241.

in the temple. In the first division of the third zone are found the Massacre of the Infants and all the accompanying circumstances and persons—as Herod, his guards who execute his orders, and a group of females who shield their little children in their arms. The second division is occupied by the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, made sacred by the birth and death of the Saviour. The mosaics which are arranged on the entablatures on either side of the main nave are given to the illustration of Old Testament history. By destruction and replacement, the original forty-two distinct pictures of the series have been reduced to twenty-seven. The first series begins in the upper left hand portion with the interview of Abraham with Melchizedec, and terminates with the history of Isaac and Jacob. On the right hand the series begins with the finding of Moses, and ends with the battle of Beth-horon. The treatment of the mosaics in the nave is far superior to that on the triumphal arch. Much animation and spirit characterize some of ^{Their teaching.} the figures. The presence of a classical freedom and excellence is manifest in many of the forms. Yet the strong biblical character of these mosaics indicates the introduction of a didactic principle into the decoration of the churches, in harmony with the teaching of the more influential Christian fathers.¹

Some of the most interesting mosaics of Ravenna must also be referred to this century. In no other city can this art ^{Mosaics of Ra-} be so consecutively studied in the monuments. They ^{venna.} are well-preserved, and have suffered fewer changes from restoration. Moreover, they seem to have been arranged as an integral part of the architectural plan, rather than to serve the purposes of mere decoration. Nearly all of them, too, were constructed upon classical principles, free from that Byzantine influence which a little later so effectually repressed the naturalness of art expression.

The earliest mosaics of Ravenna² are preserved in the baptistery

¹ For a description see Bunsen: *Basiliken Roms*, Bd. iii, Th. 2, pp. 262, etc. For good views see Bunsen: plates ix, x; and Garrucci: *Istoria*, etc., plates ccxi-ccxxii. For art estimates see Vitet: *Histoire de l'art*, vol. i, pp. 241-243; Lord Lindsay: *Hist. of Christ. Art*, vol. i, p. 265. For a very full description of this church v. Valentini: *La patriacale basilica Liberiana*. This is one of four treatises on the four great basilicas of Rome, prepared and published under the auspices of the Roman Academy of Fine Arts.

² For the mosaics of Ravenna among others see *London Times*, Sept. 25, and Dec. 30, 1876. Gerspach: *La Mosaique*. Richter: *Die Mosaiken Ravennas*, Wien, 1878. Quast: *Die alt christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842. Woltmann and Woermann: *Hist. of Painting*, vol. i. Texier and Pullan: *Les Églises Byzantines*. Labarte: *Histoire des arts industriels*, etc., vol. iv.

of the church formerly called *Ecclesia Ursiana*, now *San Giovanni*
San Giovanni in fonte; they date from A. D. 430. The building
fonte.

is octagonal, surmounted by a cupola. The spandrels of the lower tier of arches are enriched with eight noble figures of prophets upon a background of gold, and decorated with acanthus leaves and scroll work. The cupola is divided into two zones, the lower of which is ornamented with colonnaded churches, throned crosses, altars, chairs, tombs; the upper contains the twelve apostles, who circle round the crowning scene,

the baptism of Christ by John in Jordan. The ac-
The apostles
and the baptism tion of the apostles, as they advance with jeweled
of Christ.

crowns toward the figure of Christ, is spirited and in the style of the best classical work. The Baptist, a strong, half nude figure, pours water from a shell upon the head of the Saviour, who stands in the stream, while the descent of the Spirit in the shape of a dove ratifies the sacrament. The one incongruous element is the representation of the Jordan by a river-god, in true mythological style. This is a further illustration of the religious syncretism which was so widely prevalent.

Equally interesting, and even richer in mosaics, is the mauso-
Mausoleum of leum of Galla Placidia, built in A. D. 440. It is a
Galla Placidia. church in the form of a Latin cross, and is now known as *SS. Nazario e Celso*. It is impossible by mere description to give an adequate idea of the magnificence of this church. Nearly the entire interior, both walls and ceiling, is covered with mosaics of exceeding richness and high artistic excellence. They can be classified under neither the earlier nor later school, but have been justly regarded as representing a transition from the style of the earlier catacombs to that of genuine Byzantine art. Amid the multitude of interesting objects two figures especially arrest attention and challenge careful study. The first is in the chief lunette

opposite to the entrance. It is that of a man of earnest
St. Laurence.

mien striding rapidly along, his robe flying in the wind, bearing a cross upon his shoulder and an open book in his right hand. Before him is a burning grate; behind, a closet, where rolls supposed to represent the gospels are seen. The old reference of this to Christ now finds few defenders, since it is essentially different from all other delineations of our Lord known to art. The reference of it to St. Laurence and his martyrdom seems to be the most reasonable interpretation of the scene.¹ The second notable figure

¹ Woltmann and Woermann: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 174. Variables: Article "Mosaics" in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Contra, Gerspach: *La Mosaïque*, p. 50, who regards it a picture of Christ. Also Quast: *Op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

of this church is that of the Good Shepherd, found in the arch over the entrance. He sits in the midst of a somewhat rugged landscape, clad in a golden tunic and purple mantle, holding in one hand a shepherd's staff which terminates in a cross, while the other is stretched across the breast to caress a lamb. The face is that of a young and beardless man, the hair is long and flowing, and the head encircled with the nimbus. The general mien is dignified, and the figure seems to express the personality, as well as to symbolize the office, of the Redeemer. The animals and plants are of inferior style, indicating little sympathy with a purely naturalistic treatment.¹ The mosaics of this church are exceedingly important in revealing the art tendencies and the character of the religious and dogmatic thought of the fifth century.

Some instructive mosaics are still preserved in the churches of San Lorenzo and San Ambrogio in Milan. The Christ in the chapel of San Aquilino (San Lorenzo) is of youthful appearance, beardless, and in some features suggests the type found in the earlier catacombs. There is an almost entire absence of Byzantine influence. The figures of Christ and the apostles are varied in expression and attitude, and the landscape is treated with unusual naturalness. The A. Ω. in the cruciform nimbus encircling the head of Christ leaves no doubt respecting the personage here represented.

The mosaics in the chapel of San Victor (San Ambrogio) are of a high order of merit. They have by some archæologists been assigned to the fifth century.² The treatment of the wreath encircling the head of San Victor is skilful, and the balancing of the parts by the figures of the evangelists is artistic and pleasing.

The beautiful chapel of the archbishop's palace in Ravenna, which still survives, has usually been ascribed to Bishop Peter Chrysologus. This view would regard it as a work of about the middle of the fifth century.³ The interior arrangement is quite similar to that of SS. Nazario e Celso of the same period (v. Fig. 120).

¹ Compare the representation of vine ornamentation in the dome-vaulting of this church. Fig. 41, with the frescos of Santa Domitilla, Figs. 1 and 2.

² The chronology of these mosaics has been a matter on which archæologists and historians of art have widely differed. Here, as in so many other cases, may not the failure to discriminate with sufficient care between the original parts and the restorations be one reason of this wide divergence of opinion? It is certainly very difficult to refer the entire work of these mosaics to the fifth century. Some portions point rather to the eighth or ninth century.

³ Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, s. 206.

Under the dome of this chapel are mosaic medallions of Christ and six of the apostles, three on either side, and in the side arches on either side are like medallions of six male and six female saints. Fig. 42 represents the mosaic of Christ. The jeweled corona in



Fig. 42.—Mosaic of Christ in the archbishop's palace, Ravenna. Fifth or sixth century.

the form of a Greek cross, the treatment of the hair, and the general facial expression are quite unique. Vigorous young manhood is here expressed, yet the cast of countenance is somewhat sedate; the drawing is accurate, the coloring appropriate. A somewhat striking red tints the cheeks, while a brilliant white sets off the eyes and higher lights. As a whole this mosaic scarcely conforms to any of the known types of Christ.¹

After the destructive invasions and the political disruptions of the fifth century, art activity at Rome experienced a very considerable revival. More clearly than ever before the power of the Church in preserving the elements of civilization in the midst of threatened barbarism is seen. Of the mosaics of the sixth century we can refer only to some of the more important. Well preserved examples are found in Rome, Ravenna, Parenzo in Istria, and Constantinople.

SS. Cosmas and
Damian.

The most important mosaic monuments of this century at Rome are preserved in the Church of SS. Cosmas e Damiano, which was built by Felix VI., A. D. 526-530; they are

¹ Schnaase: *l. c.*

in the apse and triumphal arch. These represent three distinct scenes or conceptions. On the triumphal arch the apocalyptic vision of the Lamb amidst the seven churches is pictured. A lamb, surmounted by a cross, rests upon a jeweled altar, on either side of which are the golden candlesticks. Beyond these, right and left, are two angels, while still further toward each extreme are symbols of the Evangelists. The most elaborate and imposing work is in the apse (Fig. 43). The central figure here is Christ, who is represented as floating on fleecy clouds. He extends the right hand in benediction, while in the left he holds a roll—the symbol of authoritative teaching. The head is nimbused, the face bearded, the drapery rich and flowing, and the mien severely majestic. On the right (spectator's) of the main figure is Peter leading forward St. Cosmas, who bears a crown indicative of martyrdom; beyond is St. Theodore. On the left Paul in like manner is leading St. Damian, who also bears a martyr crown, while beyond is Felix, the founder of the Church. The extremities are occupied by palm trees, on one of which is perched the phoenix, symbol of immortality. In a narrow zone below, the third scene is depicted. A nimbused lamb stands upon a hill or mountain, from whose base flow four rivers marked by their names.¹ On either hand, pressing toward the central figure, are six lambs, representing the twelve apostles, while on the extremes the sacred cities Jerusalem and Bethlehem appear. The entire mosaic, in each of its three scenes, is full of naturalness and life, and is a remarkable example of the recuperative art power of the Church.

A class of mosaics of exceeding richness and value in Ravenna and Constantinople must be referred to the sixth century. The reign of Justinian was powerful in its influence on Church and State. The convenient codification of the civil law was only a single illustration of the painstaking care of this ruler for the varied interests of the empire. Among the best preserved and most instructive mosaics of the sixth century are those of the Church of San Apollinare Nuovo, in Ravenna.² The friezes on either side of the nave are occupied by triumphal processions of holy men and women. On the south side martyrs and confessors, chiefly of the Ravenna church, clad in white garments, press toward the tribune to present their crowns to Christ, who is enthroned, and attended by four angels. The figure of

¹ These are not shown in the cut.

² v. d'Agincourt: *Architecture*, p. xvii, 17-22, who gives ground plan, section, and a few details of this church. Quast: *Die alt-christliche Bauwerke von Ravenna*, ss. 19, 20, Taf. vii. Garrucci: *Storia dell' art crist.*, iv, Tav. ccxlii-cclii. Richter: *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 1878, s. 69.



Fig. 43. — Mosaic from the apse of SS. Crispino e Damiano, Rome. Sixth century.

Christ (a partial restoration) is most imposing (*v.* Fig. 44). The expression is dignified, the face bearded, the hair long and flowing, the head encircled with the cruciform nimbus, and the right hand indicative of the teaching office. On the opposite or north frieze is a similar procession of holy women clad in rich attire, bearing crowns, passing from the city of Classe to join the Magi who reverently offer their gifts to the Holy Child sitting upon the lap of Mary, also enthroned and attended by four angels bearing sceptres in their hands. Both mother and child extend the hand in invitation and blessing.

From Fig. 97, which represents a portion of the north frieze, it will be seen that these processions are full of spirit and naturalness. This cut will also help us to understand the arrangement of the rich



Fig. 44.—Mosaic of Christ in San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Sixth century

mosaics between the windows, and in the cornice above, also the medallions in the spandrels of the arches. The peculiar relations of Mother and Child in this mosaic, especially their like attitude in the act of blessing, would suggest that the cultus of Mary, which soon afterward exalted the Mother above the Son, had already made considerable progress.¹

Interesting mosaics are also found in other churches of Ravenna, as Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Vitale (the arrangement of whose mosaics can be seen from Figs. 107, 109), and San Apollinare in Classe (*v.* Fig. 99).

In extent and richness the mosaics of St. Sophia were entirely worthy of the grandest church of the Byzantine Empire. The magnificent pavements and dados of richly variegated marble found their counterpart in the brilliancy and perfection of the mosaics upon the vast and varied expanses of ceiling and dome. The his-

¹ Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, s. 20, also Taf. vii, Figures 3, 5.

toric value of these monuments is somewhat lessened by the uncertainty of their age.¹ The repeated attempts of the iconoclastic Mussulman to obliterate the mosaics by removing the *tesserae*, and by covering the whole with coats of whitewash, greatly marred their original incomparable beauty. The repairs of this church, under the direction of the Italian architect Fossati, gave opportunity for careful drawings of the parts which have survived.² These mosaics differ from those of Galla Placidia of Ravenna, Santa Pudenziana of Rome, and others, in that there is little attempt at pictorial effect or perspective. They are for the most part isolated figures of prophets or saints, generally of great dignity, with the attendant ornamentation of vines, borders, flowers, etc. The fixedness of type which later characterized nearly all the pictorial art of the East is not prominent in these mosaics of St. Sophia. The adornments of the panels, of the spandrels of the arches, etc., are free and cheerful. In the sections of the vast dome the outlines of four colossal figures of seraphs with overshadowing wings are still seen.³ They have a vigor and freshness of treatment indicative of an age of considerable artistic freedom. Also the mosaics of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, exhibit much skill in the origination of independent forms and expression, while their variety of attitude argues wholesome exemption of the artist from the rigid ecclesiastical art canons which later became imperative.

The immense mosaic picture (v. Fig. 45) of Christ, with the prostrate emperor and the medallion busts of Mary and an angel (St. Michael?), is believed to be of later origin. This is shown by the style and accessories of the composition. Christ, seated on a magnificent throne, raises his right hand in the attitude of blessing or teaching, while the left supports the open book. His head is surrounded by the nimbus, the face is bearded, the whole mien impressive. Before him, in the attitude of servile prostration, is the emperor,⁴ clad in most gorgeous attire, with nimbused head and

¹ Woltmann and Woermann: *History of Painting*, vol. i, pp. 233, refer these mosaics to the reign of Basil the Macedonian, in the latter part of the ninth century. Evidently they are of various dates, but some bear evidence of an earlier origin than those authorities suppose.

² Fossati: *Aya Sofia*, Constantinople, as recently restored by order of H. M. the Sultan, Abdul Mejid. London, 1852. Salzenberg: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople*, with magnificent plates.

³ See Fig. 116, a section of St. Sophia, where two of these are shown.

⁴ Opinions relative to the sovereign here represented are various. Some (Woltmann and Woermann and others) have seen in it Basil I., who restored the western apse of the church into which this entrance leads; others (Venables, *et al.*) call it

jeweled crown. Oriental taste is prominent, and art decadence is here painfully manifest. The subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power is plainly taught by this mosaic; the supremacy of the "Divine Wisdom," to whom the gorgeous temple was dedicated, is most conspicuous. The other mosaics of this church, many



Fig. 45.—Mosaic of Christ from St. Sophia, Constantinople.

of which are of exquisite workmanship but of varied artistic merit, cannot here be described. Each has a valuable lesson for the historian of art and for the student of the history of the Greek Church.

Nearly contemporaneous with St. Sophia at Constantinople is St. Sophia of Thessalonica. An immense expanse of mosaics, said to cover nearly six hundred square yards, represents the ascension. The parts in the center of the dome have suffered much. This was occupied by the ascending Christ, attended by angels. The other prominent personages were the Virgin and the apostles, wrought out in colossal figures more than twelve feet high. Texier and Pullan¹ are of the opinion that these mosaics were produced before the influence of ecclesiastical art traditions had checked the freedom of the Eastern artisans. They notice the survival of creative and technic power in the variety of posture and of the facial expression in the figures. Instead of the stiff uniformity of a later period, the Virgin and the two angels (one on either side), who address the apostles, have each decided personal characteristics. The treatment is vigorous, and the handling of the colors in the drapery, etc., is

Constantine Pogonatus; while still others (Gerspach, *et al.*) call it Justinian. The general style of this figure in expression and dress is so different from well known pictures of Justinian elsewhere preserved that it is very difficult to believe that it is intended for this emperor.

¹ *Églises Byzantines*, plates xl, xli. pp. 142-144.

free and pleasing. Instead of the fixed attitude of the eighth and ninth centuries, each one of the apostles has an individuality ; some look upward into heaven, others with downcast face are in prayerful meditation, while others raise the hands in expression of surprise.¹

Considerable mosaic work is also found in the apse of St. Catharine's on Mount Sinai. The subjects have been variously described by travellers. The transfiguration, with figures of Christ, Moses, and Elias, is the central scene. The accompanying figures of prophets, apostles, and saints, medallion busts of Justinian and Theodora, and the oft-repeated scenes of Moses at the burning bush and the receiving of the tables of the law, contain little that is peculiar.²

¹ There seems to be a very intimate connection between this church and St. Sophia at Constantinople.

² No thorough study of these has yet been made by competent specialists. The want of trustworthy photographs or plates leaves the chronology and technical execution, as well as the archæological value, of these mosaics undetermined. Many valuable articles upon Christian mosaics have appeared from time to time in the European reviews. Attempts have been made to supply the lack of monuments by the literary references to many now lost mosaics. Among the most skillful and successful of these workers must be reckoned Eugene Müntz of Paris, and Professor Frothingham of Princeton University.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE.

WE have before (Book i, chap. ii) traced the effect of the Jewish law and of the Semitic imagination upon the cultivation of the arts of form ; also the influence of these factors in the development of the Christian art of the first two centuries.

The avoidance of the seductive power of beauty, as embodied in the matchless creations of the heathen artists, and of art in its associations with a corrupting polytheism, was most manifest with respect to sculpture.¹ As before noticed, the pictures of Christ were more readily tolerated than his presentation in free statuary. This was probably due to the Reasons of the seeming hostility to art. fact that sculpture is the most materializing of all the fine arts. It was most employed in connection with the pagan cultus, and was therefore most threatening to the purity of a monotheistic faith.

There was no agreement in the traditions of the early Church respecting Christ's physical characteristics and appearance. Moreover, when the Christian Church was in Reasons of decadence of sculpture. circumstances favorable to the cultivation of the fine arts, sculpture, which had formerly been almost the foremost art among the Greeks, had fallen into a condition of sad decadence,² and painting had assumed the chief prominence. Hence few, if any, works of Christian sculpture of an earlier date than the last of the third or the beginning of the fourth century have been preserved to our day. Indeed, the number of free statues No portraits of Christ. of early Christian origin is exceptionally small. Scarcely a half dozen of Christ have survived from the first five

¹ We have already said that this seeming hostility of some of the Christian fathers to the patronage and production of works of art was not due to a lack of æsthetic feeling, but it arose from fear of the contaminating influence of heathen worship. The same tendency is noticed from time to time in the history of the Church. The denunciations of the revived heathenism in the Italian painting at the close of the fifteenth century, by Savonarola, produced a marked revolution in the style of some of the great painters of the period. A like result is noticed in the attempts of Zwinglius, Calvin, and others in removing statues from the churches. v. Lecky: *Hist. of Rationalism*, vol. i, pp. 259, 260; and Grueneisen: *De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto*.

² Labarte: *Histoire des arts industriels*, tom. i, p. 12.

centuries. While Eusebius¹ testifies to having seen at Cæsarea Philippi a statue of Christ extending his hand toward the woman having an issue of blood, to cure her, and Philostorgius² speaks of its being destroyed under Julian, it is generally agreed that the traditions respecting the early portraiture of Christ, pictorial or plastic, have very slender support. The free statues which remain are manifestly not designed for portraiture, but are of a symbolic character. In all alike Christ is represented as the Good Shepherd "who careth for the sheep." The dress is that of the shepherd of the period, the ordinary tunic; the feet are either naked or sandaled, while the implements of the shepherd's vocation, the purse and the staff, are sometimes present.

Figs. 46 and 48 are representations of the finest and best preserved of these free statuettes. It is now in the Lateran Museum at Rome. It has been restored in parts. The spirit and naturalness of the work are exceptionally fine, and readily suggest a classic sympathy and origin.



Fig. 46.—Statuette of the Good Shepherd. Lateran Museum.

A second example is given in Fig. 47. The original is also in the Lateran Museum. The execution is rude, and the general tone of the work is far inferior to that represented by Fig. 46. The general spirit of the biblical symbol is, however, fully preserved. Instead of the shepherd's purse, as in Fig. 46, here is the shepherd's staff or crook.³

There are two other statuettes, one preserved in the church museum of the College of Rome, the other in the basilica San Clemente, which differ little in general art character from the last, and are in close affiliation with it in subject and spirit. Hüb-

¹ *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 18.

² *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 2.

³ These and all other autotypes used in this chapter are taken by permission from the excellent work of Th. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*. We have preferred these impressions to elaborate engravings, since they give to the lay reader a juster idea of the original objects. With great generosity, M. Roller, in a letter full of the true spirit of the Christian scholar, placed all his plates at the disposal of the author of this hand-book.

ner¹ has described a small statue of the Good Shepherd found in Seville, Spain. The figure of the lamb is wanting. The origin and chronology are uncertain, although he inclines to place it near the close of the fourth century.

The general artistic treatment of these statues closely conforms to the contemporary heathen art; nevertheless, in all alike the subject is distinctively Christian: the office work of the Good Shepherd in bringing back to the fold the lost sheep.² The difference between these and the statues of the ram-bearing Mercury, Hermes-Kriophoros, is manifest.

Invariably a full drapery is found in the statues of the Good Shepherd, while the pagan Kriophori have complete or partial nudity as a characteristic feature.³

This is well illustrated by comparing Figs. 48 and 49.

Another work, claimed by some able writers to be of Christian origin, is the celebrated bronze statue of St. Peter, now found in the middle nave of St. Peter's, Rome. Opinions respecting its origin, chronology, and motive have been various and sometimes contradictory. The statue is certainly very imposing, and, if genuine, must be regarded as by far the most important plastic work of the early Christian centuries. The apostle is represented seated in a chair of Roman style, uplifting the right hand in the attitude of teaching. The head is firmly set; the hair is thick and curled, and is of the type traditionally ascribed to Peter, which is met upon early sarcophagi and in frescos from the catacombs. The folds of the drapery are not unworthy the best classic period, while the general pose is equal to that of the



Fig. 47.—Good Shepherd with crook or staff. Lateran Museum.

The bronze statue of St. Peter.

¹ *Die antiken Bildwerke von Madrid*, Berlin, 1862, s. 324.

² v. Th. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 265, where the extreme view of Raoul-Rochette respecting the absolute lack of originality of Christian art is vigorously treated.

³ Chanot: In the *Gazette Archeologique*, 1878, pp. 17, *et seq.*, and pp. 100, *et seq.* We have elsewhere more fully examined these differences, Book i, chap. iii. v. also Veyries: *Les Figures Criophores dans l'art grec, l'art Gréco-romain et l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1884, pp. 61–81, especially pp. 80, 81.

more celebrated works of the fourth century. Every part of the statue indicates a careful adherence to some antique model, and therefore evinces little originality of treatment.¹ The key in the left hand is an addition of a later period, probably of the sixteenth century.



Fig. 48. — The Good Shepherd. To compare with Hermes-Kriophoros, Fig. 49.

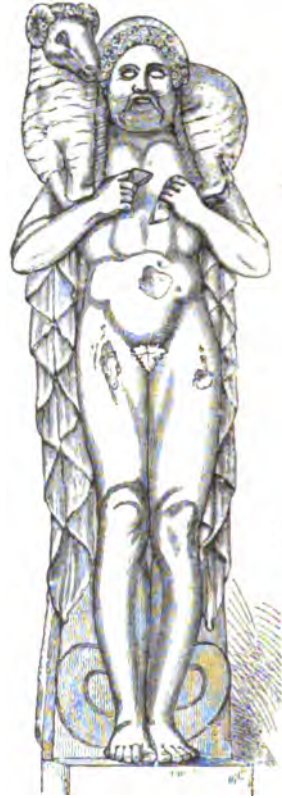


Fig. 49. — Hermes-Kriophoros from Wilton House. To compare with Fig 47.

Another work in free sculpture is the statue of St. Hippolytus, now preserved in the Lateran Museum, Fig. 50. It was discovered in 1551. Only the lower part of the figure and the chair are original, the other parts being modern restorations. In its present restored form it represents St. Hippolytus seated on a cathedra, clad in the garb usual to the ancient philosophers,

¹ Luebke: *History of Sculpture*, vol. i, p. 337. It is for this and other reasons that the Christian origin and subject of the statue have been stoutly denied.

holding in his left hand a book upon which rests the right elbow. The *Canon Paschalis*, or table for calculating Easter, which he is



Fig. 50.—Restored statue of Hippolytus.

said to have invented, is engraved in Greek characters on one side of the chair ; on the other is a partial list of his writings. The re-

stored statue is a work of great dignity and excellence. As in the case of the statue of St. Peter, there has been much controversy respecting its Christian origin. There seems to be sufficient reason, however, for believing that it cannot be of a later date than the sixth century, while, from artistic considerations, some able archæologists are led to place it in the last quarter of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. We have not space to enter into the examination of these arguments.¹

The general type of Christ found in Christian sculpture is rather that of the early Christian frescos, and seems to conform more closely to the pagan conception of deity, that is, that divinity must be represented under the form of a beautiful and vigorous manhood. The historic scenes are usually realistic. The lessons are for the most part easily understood; mystery and an esoteric exclusiveness are seldom suggested. Sometimes a purpose to depict scenes in the order of their historic development, or of their dogmatic connection, is apparent; at other times the principle of artistic grouping or balancing seems dominant. Into some of the most noted sarcophagi an architectural principle is introduced, whereby the surface is divided into sections by means of pillars which support an ornamental entablature. Upon these surfaces are found inscriptions or figures in relief. Sometimes the space is divided into zones, in each of which a progressive history or a rich symbolism may be found.

The timid caution which influenced the Christian fathers to indulge but sparingly in the use of free statuary was not cherished respecting these works in relief. From the first part of the fourth century the sculptures on burial monuments are numerous. In general style they adhere quite closely to the contemporary pagan art. In the distribution of motives, in the pose and balancing of parts to make a harmonious whole, and in the character of their technique, the Christian sarcophagi can claim little originality. The marked difference is in the changed cycle of the embodied thought. In this respect they are in striking contrast with similar pagan monuments. Nevertheless the subjects sculptured on these sarcoph-

¹Among many see Bucher: In Migne's edition of the works of St. Hippolytus. Engravings, giving both side views of the statue and the text of the *Canon Paschalis* are there given, and Bucher examines the content of the *Canon* itself. Bunsen: *Hippolytus und seine Zeit.*, 1te Abth., ss. 163, 164. Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, 2d ed., vol. ii, pp. 262-265. Appelt: *Monuments of Early Christian Art* p. 5.

agi are very like those of the frescos and mosaics. Here, too, is found a rich symbolism ; here are seen the suggestive biblical type and antitype, as well as the instructive Scripture history. There is hardly a scene that has not already been met in the discussion of Christian painting. The creation of our first parents, the temptation by the serpent, the sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the presence of the burning bush, or striking water from the rock, the history of Jonah, the three Hebrew worthies in the burning furnace, Daniel in the lion's den, and sometimes the translation of Elijah, are the chief subjects from the Old Testament history ; while the various benevolent works of Christ, the first miracle in Cana of Galilee, the multiplication of the loaves, the healing of the paralytic, the opening of the eyes of the blind, the cure of the woman with the issue of blood, and the raising of Lazarus are the favorite scenes from the New Testament. Incidents in the life of Christ, the nativity, the teaching of the disciples, the arrest, the trial, the denial by Peter, the handwashing by Pilate, the resurrection, and probably the ascension are also found sculptured on these burial monuments. Representations of the crucifixion are for the most part avoided during the first four and a half centuries;² also the other scenes of special suffering in the life of our Lord. The scope of these sculptures, as well as their art value, can best be learned from a few examples.

Fig. 51 represents one of the older Christian sarcophagi that have been preserved. We are immediately reminded by this of some of the earliest frescos of the catacombs. The joyous scene of the vintage, the pastoral simplicity shown in the free association of the genii with the animal world, the rich luxuriance of the vine and its fruit, suggest a decorative rather than a symbolic principle. In the absence of the figures of the Good Shepherd there would be nothing in the scenes to show the Christian character of the sarcophagus; they would be equally becoming to a pagan burial monument. Indeed, in general spirit the sculpture well accords with that found on many works of heathen origin. Yet the peculiarities of the three figures bearing the sheep upon the shoulders, to which reference has elsewhere been made (r. p. 133, 134), clearly prove them to be designed for the Good Shepherd, and not for representations of the ram-bearing Mercury. While, therefore, it may not be unreasonable to regard the vintage scenes as mainly decorative, it is possible that to the mind of the designer or of the

¹ The interpretation of the scenes in which some archæologists see the ascension depicted is somewhat doubtful.

² This question has been examined elsewhere, v. p. 84.

artizan there may have been present a reference to the symbol of the vine and its branches, and to the joys and fruition of those who are under the tender care and heavenly guidance of the Good Shepherd. The vigor and naturalness of the

artistic treatment would point to an origin prior to the serious art decadence of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The translation of Elijah (Fig. 52) is a subject of very infrequent occurrence in early Christian art. We have elsewhere (p. 61) noticed the resemblance of this to the heathen representations of the sun-god and his chariot. The Christian character of this, and of a somewhat similar sarcophagus given in Bosio's work, cannot, however, be doubted. A fresco of the same scene is likewise found in the catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilles. At a somewhat later date, likewise, it reappears on some of the sarcophagi of Arles. The two main figures and their action are understood without difficulty. Plainly the ascending prophet is giving to his successor in office his

Translation of Elijah.
cance.

mantle, and therewith is to come a double measure of his spirit. The significance of the small figures in the central back-

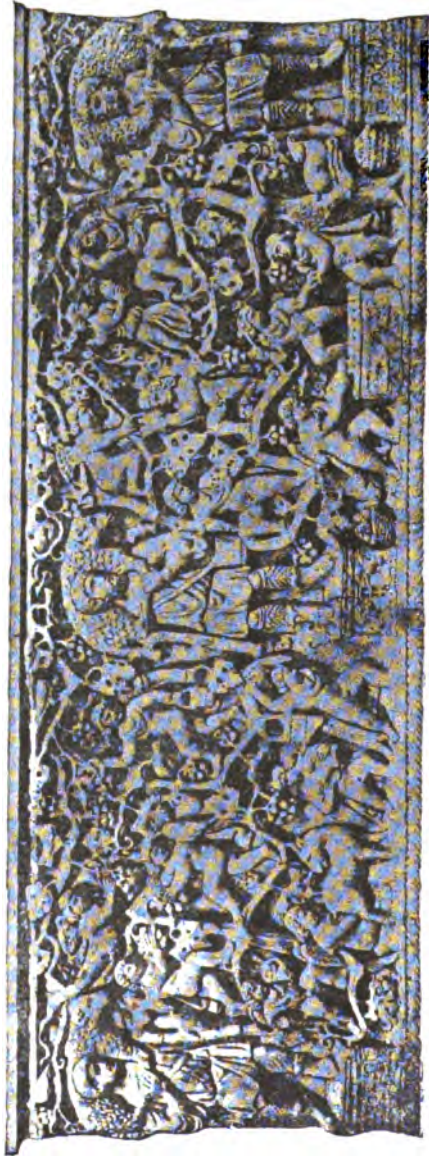


Fig. 51.—Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum. Showing a vintage scene, with the Good Shepherd.

ground, and of the bear in the lower right hand corner, is not so manifest. Some have suggested that herein might be a reference to the children who mocked the prophet, and to the instrument of their fearful punishment. The other sarcophagus in Rome which sculptures this scene contains a plainly mythological element in the form of a river-god that personifies the Jordan. This is a majestic, half-nude figure, in a reclining posture, with rich flowing hair



Fig. 52.—The translation of Elijah. Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

held back by a band. He rests one arm upon an urn from which flow the living waters, and holds in the right hand a reed, also symbolic of the river. The action in these sarcophagi is full of life, and the artistic quality of the work fairly good.

Fig. 53 represents a sarcophagus from the crypt of Saint Peter's. The crowded condition of the objects in *alto rilievo* causes a little



Fig. 53.—The history of Jonah and other scenes. From a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

obscurity, and consequent uncertainty in the interpretation. The main scene in the lower portion of the sarcophagus is plain; it illustrates the history of Jonah. The tempest is indicated by the full-swelling sail, and by the figure above, blowing upon it from the conch-shell. The sea-monster receives the erring

prophet whom the crew cast overboard, and vomits him forth upon the land, while above Jonah is represented reclining in peace under the grateful shade of the gourd. On the extreme right of the upper zone the Good Shepherd leads forth the sheep from a house, the fold, the church, while at the extreme left appears the Wonder-worker raising Lazarus. The center is occupied with what appears to be the scene of the smiting of the rock by Moses, where the people slake their thirst with the refreshing water. The history of Jonah frequently recurs on the Christian sarcophagi,¹ since the truth it foreshadowed was among the most distinctive and precious of all which the apostles inculcated.

A work of much artistic excellence is represented by Fig. 54. It was formerly in the church San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, but is now in the Lateran Museum. The two busts in the shell-like frame are in *alto rilievo*, as are most other figures of the sarcophagus. The artistic handling and execution are exceptionally vigorous. The grouping is varied and natural, the pose well-studied, the drapery wrought out with unusual care. The division of the space into two zones is often met. While the reference in most of the scenes is readily understood, it is not easy to discover any necessary relation of these ideas one to the other in the order of a series. The principle of artistic balancing is manifestly observed, also the study of economy of space. In the upper zone on either side of the busts are noticed eight larger figures, while the cock, in the scene of the denial of Peter, is balanced by the child, in the sacrifice of Isaac. The hand of Moses, receiving the table of the law, is balanced by the outstretched arm of Abraham which is arrested by the hand breaking forth from the clouds. In the lower zone, also, eight adult figures are on either side of the central scene, while one of the lions on the left is balanced by the figure of the blind receiving his sight. It is noticeable that here, also, the type of Christ in each of his acts—of raising Lazarus, of rebuking Peter, of opening the eyes of the blind, and of multiplying the loaves—conforms to that of the earlier frescos of the catacombs, and is more consonant with the pagan notion that divinity should be represented under forms of highest physical perfection.

The frequency of the recurrence of several Scripture scenes

¹ Burgon: *Letters from Rome* (Letter xx), says that of fifty-five sarcophagi which he examined twenty-three contained the history of Jonah. Of one hundred and ninety-five in Rome, outside the Lateran Museum, twenty-eight contain this history. v. p. 142, note 2.



FIG. 51.—Early Christian sarcophagus. Laternan Museum.

is quite remarkable. On fifty-five sarcophagi which Burgon¹ examined in the Lateran Museum, he found the smiting of the rock to occur twenty-three times; the miracle of the loaves, twenty times; the giving sight to the blind, nineteen times; the raising of Lazarus, sixteen times; Daniel in the lions' den, fourteen times; the sacrifice of Isaac, eleven times. While these are thus frequent, the crowning with thorns occurs but once, and of a real crucifixion there is no trace. One hundred and ninety-five Christian sarcophagi at Rome, outside of the Lateran Museum, contain the history of Jonah twenty-eight times; Moses smiting the rock, ten times; our first parents, nine times; sacrifice of Isaac, eight times; the raising of Lazarus, six times; the multiplication of the bread, and the miracle in Cana, each six times.²

Rich architectural effects are met upon several of the best sarcophagi in the vaults of the Vatican and in the Christian museum of the Lateran. One face of such sarcophagus is represented in Fig. 55. The seven compartments are formed by columns richly ornamented with the vine and its tendrils. The central figure is plainly Christ in the attitude of the teacher, in the midst of his apostles. The roll held in his left hand is supported by one of the disciples, while the positions of the hands, both of Christ and of those whom he is addressing, are indicative of conversation, rather than of the formal discourse of the great Teacher. The Christ is of the more youthful, vigorous, and pleasing type, and has in it elements which are suggestive of the better period of sculpture. The other figures are self-explanatory. On the extreme right is Christ before Pilate, who is washing his hands in token of his innocency of the blood of the royal Victim. On the extreme left is the frequently recurring scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, which here, more than is usual, seems to be a type of the great Sacrifice for the sin of the world. The curious figure beneath the Saviour, who is holding a veil above the head, is not easy of interpretation. It occurs in one or two other sarcophagi, notably in that of Junius Bassus. Perhaps the suggestion that a mythological element is here introduced, the figure representing either Uranus, the heaven, or Tellus, the earth, may be most satisfactory.³

¹ *Letters from Rome*, Letter xx.

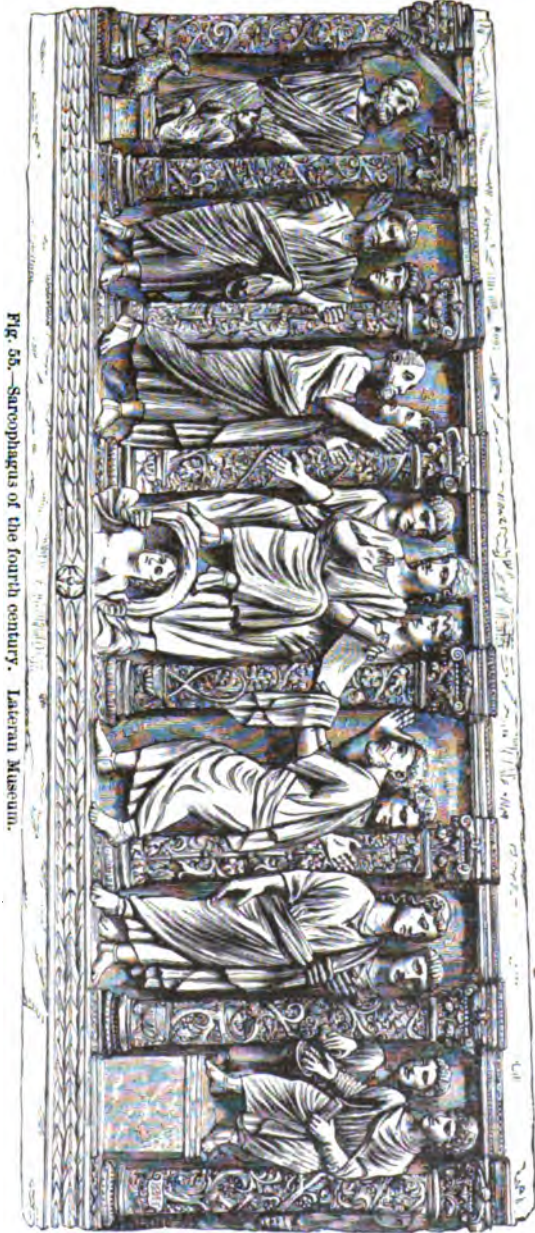
² Grousset: *Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens*, Paris, 1885, 8vo.

³ Schmaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, 1te Aufg., Bd. iii., s. 75. Lübke: *Hist. of Sculpture*, Transl., vol. i, p. 345, regards it as a figure of Oceanus. Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, p. 256, say, "The vault of heaven beneath His feet being expressed (as in pagan monuments) by the veil which the female figure holds above her head."

Probably the most elaborate sarcophagus of the early Christian centuries which has been preserved is that of **Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.**

Junius Bassus, in the crypt of St. Peter's, Rome.¹ The inscription along the upper band of this monument gives the desired information relative to the character and age of the person whose memory is hereby perpetuated. It is as follows: IVN. BASSVS VC QUI VIXIT ANNIS. XLII MEN. II. IN IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI. NE OFITVS IIT AD DEVM. VIII KAL SEPT EVSEBIO ET YPATIO COSS. "Junius Bassus, of patrician rank, who lived forty-two years and two months. In the very year in which he became prefect of the city, a neophyte, he went to God on the 23d of August, Eusebius and Hypatius being Consuls" (A. D. 359).

¹ Good casts of this sarcophagus are found in the Lateran Museum, also in the Museum of Christian Archaeology, Berlin, which was founded by Professor Piper, and under his indefatigable labors has become one of the most useful collections in Europe for purposes of study.



The facts of the inscription are confirmed by contemporary historians, thus giving positive information respecting the time of the origin of the monument, and, therefore, aiding in appreciating the cycle of subjects here portrayed, as well as the artistic value of the work. The architectural principle is likewise introduced into this sarcophagus, dividing the surface into compartments, in each of which is found a scriptural scene. On the extreme left of the upper zone is the sacrifice of Isaac, in which the knife raised to slay the boy is arrested by a hand stretched out from the clouds, while, near at hand, the substituted ram is found. It is difficult to account for the frequent introduction of this event in Scripture history, except that it may have a typical or symbolical signification—pointing to the real sacrifice, the Lamb of God, who was to “take away the sin of the world.” On the other extreme is the hand-washing of Pilate. The lower zone is equally significant, showing in the middle portion Christ’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem. On the right is the representation of Daniel in the lions’ den. Here in the case of Daniel a draped figure is introduced, while in other delineations of the same scene the figure is entirely nude. On the left is the temptation of our first parents. The serpent is winding around the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; the sheaf of wheat by Adam indicates the life of labor which he must lead, and the lamb symbolizes the employment of Eve. Some interpreters find in this figure of the lamb a symbol of the promised Redeemer. The relation of the elements of this scene can best be studied from Fig. 56. The middle figure of the upper zone has been variously interpreted. Some have seen in it the teaching Christ, the two figures being those of his disciples. The roll and the attitude of the hand would suggest this. Others have associated it with the central scene in the lower zone. As the latter is representative of his triumph before the people, so is the upper scene (*v.* Fig. 57) the transfiguration, with Moses and Elias as his companions. This, it is claimed, is indicated by the figure below, which is to represent earth as his footstool, under the form of Tellus, who holds a veil over the head, thus symbolizing the firmament. The latter interpretation appears hardly accordant with the principles of a rational symbolism. The other scenes are, respectively, on the ex-



Fig. 56.—The Fall.
From sarcophagus of
Junius Bassus.



Fig. 57.—From the Ju-
nius Bassus monument.

a rational symbolism. The other scenes are, respectively, on the ex-

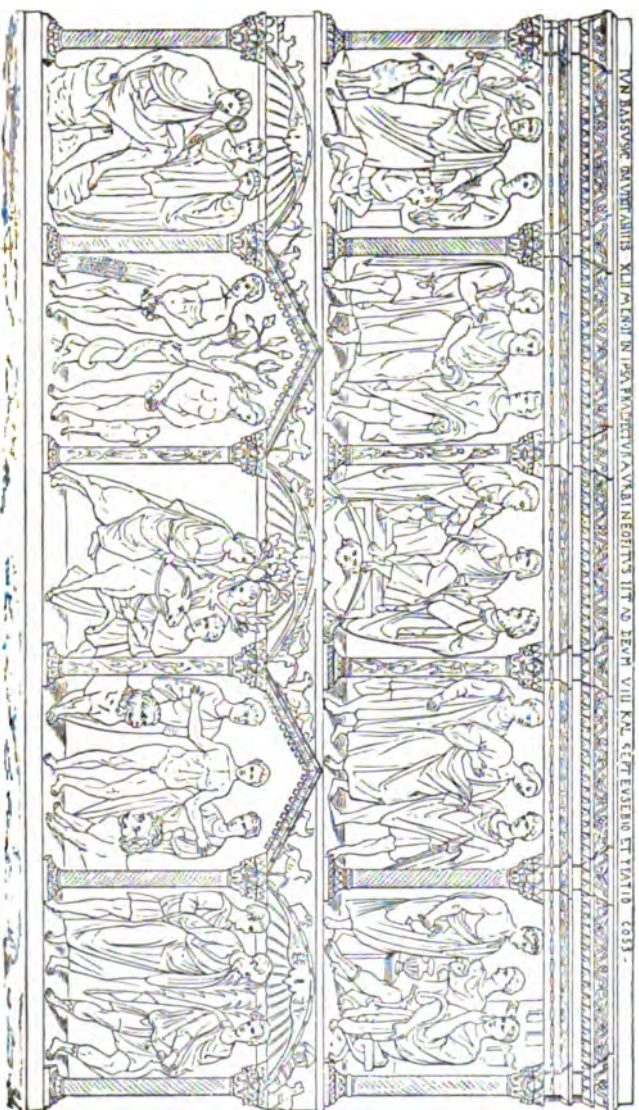


PLATE II.—Sarcophagus of Julius Bassus. Crypt of St. Peter's, Rome. A. D. 250.

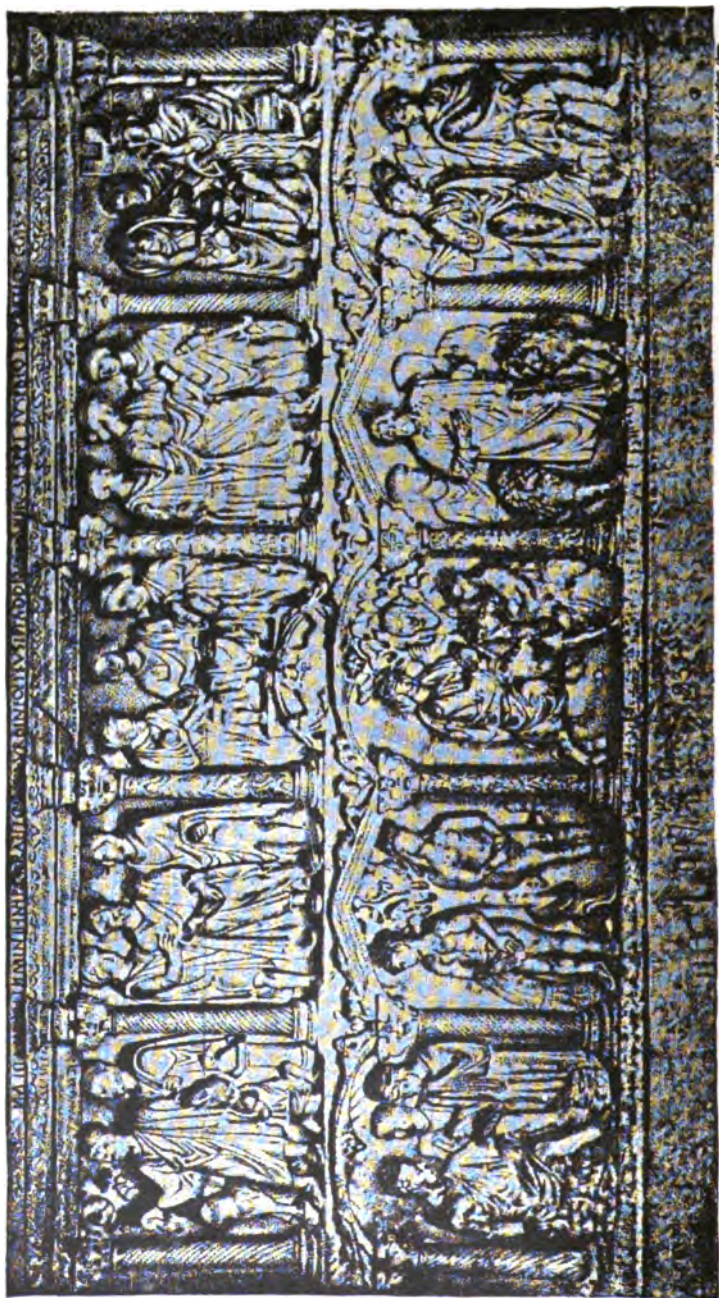


PLATE II.—Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Crypt of St. Peter's, Rome. A. D. 359.



treme left, in the lower zone, the humiliation of Job; on the right the arrest of Peter; on the upper zone, Christ's arrest, and his arraignment before Pilate. In the spandrels of the arches is a most suggestive symbolism.¹ In one part a sheep is striking with a staff the rock, whence flows water which another sheep is drinking. In another section a sheep is receiving the table of the law; in another it performs the miracle of the loaves; a third lays its forefoot upon the head of another, over which baptismal waters flow, while the rays stream from the beak of the dove which represents the Holy Spirit. Thus in all the symbolic character of the lamb is most manifest; the central thought being Christ the source of power, blessing, and life.

The sculpture, Fig. 58, is of later origin, probably of the sixth century. The central figure is one quite frequently met in the frescos—an *orante*—on either side of whom stands a figure whose signification it is difficult to determine. The presence of the palm-trees points to the thought of victory or of joyousness in the heavenly inheritance. The extension of the hands in prayer is the usual attitude met in the early monuments—frescos, sculptures, and mosaics. It is plain that this position of standing with outstretched hands in prayer was the usual or prescribed one. No instance of prayer to God in the kneeling posture is met in the monuments. Supplication for aid from another, as in case of the woman with the issue of blood, etc., may be met; but that this was not the usual attitude in case of public worship seems evident. In this the monuments and the literary evidence are in entire accord. The other members of this sculpture are familiar. On the right the multiplication of the loaves in the hands of the disciples—a most favorite scene with the early Christians; on the left the first miracle in Cana of Galilee, which is hardly less frequent upon the early monuments. The extreme right has been by some interpreted to be the afflicted Job sitting in ashes, attended by one of his friends.² This is less certain in its reference than the other portions of the sarcophagus. As a work of art this is much inferior to many others: it indicates a wide departure from the classic spirit, and a decay of originating power, as well as feebleness in execution.

The representation of the Nativity and its attendant circum-

¹ Unfortunately, these do not appear with much distinctness in our plate, on account of the difficulties of photographing in these dark crypts.

² Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, p. 297.

stances is quite exceptional on the Christian sarcophagi. In the Lateran collection but a single example is met, The Nativity in sculpture.



Fig. 58.—A later sarcophagus, now in the Lateran Museum.

upon a fragment of a small sarcophagus, represented in Fig. 59. The scene is easy of interpretation. Joseph and Mary occupy the extreme right. The central portion suggests the manger scene, the sacred babe in swaddling clothes laid in a basket, while the ox and the ass in their stall help to complete the picture of the lowliness of the birthplace of the Lord.¹ Toward the left the magi, clad in their usual dress, are bringing gifts. On the extreme left is a winged genius in the peculiar style of pagan art, showing the syncretism of thought in Christian sculpture, or, at least, the readiness with which these figures were introduced for decorative purposes.

The interesting sarcophagus represented by Fig. 60 is from the latter part of the fifth century. As a The appearance of the real cross in sculpture. work of art it plainly belongs to the period of decadence. The scenes in the life of Christ also show by their peculiar treatment that the age of persecution is past, and the age of triumph has been reached. The hand-washing by Pilate is mani-

¹ Some interpreters have suggested that reference may be had to Isa. i, 3; that while the brute creation recognise their Lord and Creator, and the heathen world (the magi) is full of expectation, and is ready to worship the infant Redeemer, "Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."



Fig. 59.—The Nativity and the offering of the magi. From a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

festly the scene presented on the extreme left. This is indicated by the basin, the pouring out of the water from the pitcher by the

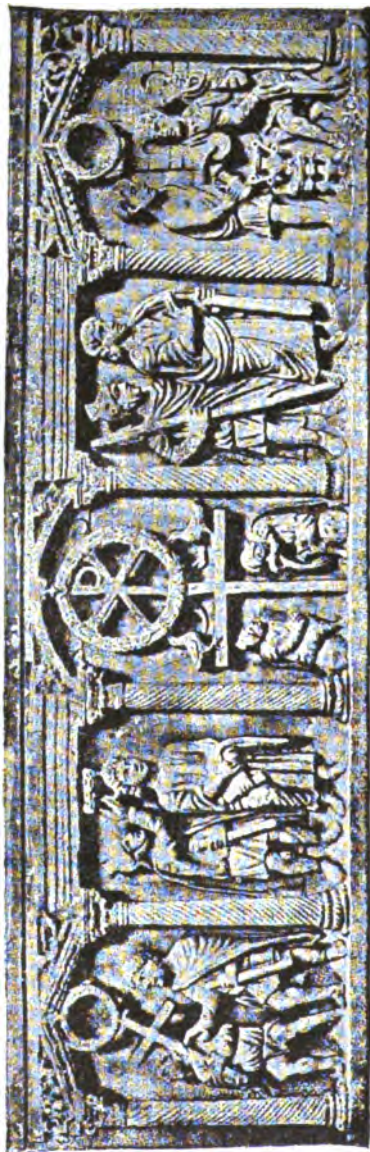


Fig. 60.—Sarcophagus from fifth century. Lateran Museum. The appearance of the real cross—no longer in symbol.

soldier, the attitude of the sitting figure, etc. Next is the figure of Christ attended by the soldier, who bears a spear and wears the usual Roman helmet. Christ seems in the attitude of speaking. The position of the hand, with the two forefingers extended, as is customary with the teacher, might suggest the answer to the inquiring Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world. . . ." "Art thou a king then?" "Thou sayest that I am a king." The scene first on the left of the center is plainly the crown-

Interpreta-
tion of
scenes.

ing of Christ by the soldier. But may not the time of the origin of this sculpture be conjectured from the fact that the crown is no longer one of thorns but of garlands? On the extreme left is the cross-bearing. To what extent the crown of garlands may suggest triumph, or how far it may be merely ornamental, and is used to complete the artistic balancing required by the like crown in the hand-washing, may not be determined with certainty. The central portion is full of suggestion. A curious combination of elements indicates that the period of suffering and the time when the cross

must be concealed are past. The Constantinian monogram rests upon the cross. This would be indicative of sacrifice, but it is

crowned by a chaplet which is emblematic of victory. This would be further emphasized by the idea of the resurrection, suggested by the watch of Roman soldiers who were set to guard the sealed tomb.

Early Christian art contains few references to the retributions of a future state. Herein it is in completest contrast with the art of the later Middle Ages, and with some of the most celebrated works of the Renaissance. In this we observe the influence of that spirit of simple faith and love which led the early Christians to dwell rather upon the beneficent offices of our Lord, and upon the more cheerful and winning aspects of the religion which he established. The statements already made in relation to the frequency on the early monuments of such scenes in the life of Christ, and of events in the biblical history which contemplate the elevation of the individual or of the race, fully confirm this opinion. In the sarcophagus, Fig. 61, is almost the only instance of a representation of the last judgment in early Christian sculpture. It is a simple reproduction of the Scriptural statement in Matt. xxv, 31-46. Here is the shepherd, not the angry judge, separating the sheep from the goats. The whole action of the sculpture is most effective. The pressing forward of the sheep in obedience to the glad invitation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," the hand laid approvingly upon the head of the nearest, the face of the shepherd turned toward those who had done his will in acts of beneficence, are in striking contrast to the attitude of the proud goats who were approaching with eager confidence, but who, arrested by the fearful words, "Depart from me, ye cursed," now shrink back from the touch of the averted

The last judgment.

Its scriptural character.

Fig. 61.—The Last Judgment. From a Christian sarcophagus of unknown date.



hand, and are troubled by the face turned away in sorrowful condemnation. Nothing could more fully and effectively express the decisions of the last judgment in a manner completely in harmony with the Scripture conception.¹

CARVINGS IN IVORY.

Another very interesting class of objects are the carvings in ivory. They are considerable in number, and on account of the durability of the material have suffered less from the forces which have seriously marred works in stone and bronze.

Some of the most important of these ivory carvings prior to the eighth century are in the form of diptychs. This term, Ivory diptychs. while properly applying to any thing folded together (*δίπτυχον*), has more especial reference to tablets used by the ancients for writing with a stylus of ivory or metal. They often had three leaves (triptychs), sometimes four and more. The inner surface was covered with a thin film of wax, the outer, or cover proper, was often elaborately carved.

For general art archæology the most important of these are the Consular diptychs most important for chronology. consular diptychs, since they are usually larger, more elaborate, and bear dates and legends which are often helpful in the solution of historic and chronologic problems. These were usually presents which the newly appointed consuls were accustomed to send to their friends and adherents, and differed in value and artistic excellence according to the social rank or political influence of the recipients. Some of the consular diptychs were afterward presented to churches and ecclesiastical communities, and were changed in their character from secular and heathen to Christian by the removal of portions of the original carving and the substitution of subjects of religious significance. As might be anticipated, they sometimes present a commingling of heathen and Christian elements.

Diptychs were also quite common in the public service of the early Church. Their uses have been well summarized as follows: First, like the church registers of modern times, they contained names of all baptized and unbaptized persons of the parish or district; secondly, in them were recorded the names of bishops and chief personages who had been benefactors and patrons of that particular church; thirdly, they contained the names of those who had suffered martyrdom, or who were of specially saintly character—Ecclesiastical diptychs. these names being often read at the public services to show the unity of the Church militant and the Church triumphant;

¹ Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i, pl. xliii, No. 3.

fourthly, there were diptychs in which were written the names of the deceased members of the particular church or district, who were to be remembered at mass.¹ This was regarded a matter of extreme interest, since the erasure of a name from the diptychs was equivalent to actual excommunication, and the name so erased could no longer be mentioned in the prayers of the church.² The number of ecclesiastical diptychs prior to A. D. 700 is very small; yet they are of peculiar interest in the illustration of the sculpture of the period prior to the liberation of Christianity from Græco-Roman influence, and of the development of an art peculiarly its own.

A single leaf of a beautiful Christian diptych, plainly of Byzantine origin, is now in the British Museum. It represents an angel of young and vigorous mien standing under an arch supported by Corinthian columns. He is clad in a tunic and flowing mantle. In the right hand he bears a globe surmounted by the cross, very much in the style of the Byzantine emperors, and with the left supports a long scepter similar to the lance borne by warriors. The general character of the work is good, and suggests that the artist must have been influenced by the classic statues with which Constantinople then abounded.³ A second example from the sixth century is now in the British collection; both leaves are preserved. One represents the Virgin and child enthroned, with two angels in waiting; on the other leaf Christ is seated between SS. Peter and Paul. A third, now belonging to the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, also from the sixth century, has both leaves preserved. It has been suggested that it was early converted from a consular diptych to the cover of an antiphonarium of Gregory the Great.⁴ On one leaf is a figure in consular robes; but the head shows the tonsure, and the staff terminates in a cross. It has been claimed to be a representation of Gregory himself. The other side contains a somewhat similar figure, but lacks the tonsure, and is associated with the inscription, DAVID REX. This association of Gregory

¹ Gori: *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum*, Florentiæ, 1759, t. i, pp. 242, 243. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book xv, ch. iii, §. 18.

² Among others see Bingham: *Op. cit.*, Book xvi, ch. iii, §. 12; Book xix, ch. ii, §. 11. Dodwell: *Fifth Cyprian Dissertation. Ad Epistolam X. De nominum e diptychis ecclesiæ recitatione in Eucharistia*. Oxen, 1684.

³ Labarte: *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 30, 31. Oldfield: *Select Examples of Ivory Carving from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*. London, 1855, p. 10.

⁴ Gori: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 201. Oldfield: *Op. cit.*, p. 10. Maskell: *Ivories, Ancient and Medieval*, etc., p. xxxvi. Contra, Pulszky: *The Fejérvári Ivories*, p. 23. Labarte: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 16.

and David has been thought to be very appropriate on account of their similar interest in sacred music and song. While the work is rude, and indicates great artistic decadence, it is nevertheless of great importance in the art study of a period from which comparatively few examples of sculpture have survived.

It has often been remarked by investigators of early Christian monuments that they are remarkably free from scenes of suffering, as the early inscriptions furnish few examples of the expression of a spirit of complaining, despair, or vindictiveness. It is quite generally agreed that in the first four centuries no instance of a representation of the crucifixion of Christ upon the monuments has yet been found. The reason of the avoidance of these scenes has elsewhere been suggested (*v. p.* 104). Hence the agony in the garden,



Fig. 62.—A Crucifixion. From an Ivory in the Maskell Collection in British Museum. Probably of the fifth century.

the scourging, the cross-bearing, and the crucifixion, all of which became favorite subjects of art portraiture in the mediæval period, are rarely met in the art of the first three and a half centuries. Fig. 62 is from an ivory carving, and is believed to be one of the oldest representations of the crucifixion yet discovered. It cannot be of a date earlier than the fifth century. From its general style and resemblance to the sculptures of the Roman sarcophagi, its genuineness has come to be accepted by the best critics, and its date determined. It is now in the collection of the British Museum, and was part of the celebrated Maskell cabinet of ivories which have come to be so highly prized. The scenes here represented, one of four divisions of the ivory, are manifest. The

Saviour, extended upon a Latin cross, receives the thrust from the soldier's spear, while on the other side appear the beloved disciple and the sorrowing mother (John xix, 26, 27). On the extreme left is the representation of the history given in Matt. xxvii, 5: "And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." Previous to the discovery and description of this ivory carving, the earliest representation of the crucifixion was believed to be that contained in the decoration of a Syriac manuscript of the gospels, now in Florence, which bears the date A. D. 586.

An interesting instance of ivory carving upon covers of books is found in the National Library of Paris. Three principal scenes are represented; namely, above, the Annunciation; in the centre, the Adoration of the Magi; below, the Massacre of the Innocents. The entire composition is in very superior style of art, indicating the thorough acquaintance of the artist with the best works of antiquity.¹

A second example of like character is in the treasury of the Cathedral of Milan. Both covers have been preserved. The central portion of the one is occupied by a richly jeweled *Agnus Dei* with circled and jeweled nimbus. In the upper part is represented the Nativity, flanked by symbolic figures of Matthew and Luke. In the lower portion is depicted the massacre of the Innocents, while on either side of the cover are three scenes from Gospel history. The center of the other leaf contains a jeweled cross, above which is the adoration of the Magi, with symbolic representations of Mark and John; below is the marriage in Cana, while six scenes from the life of Christ enrich the sides. From the circumstance that Christ is represented as young, unbearded, and without a nimbus, as well as from the fact that while his presentation to the women after the resurrection is the subject of one of the carvings, the crucifixion is here avoided, some have been inclined to assign this ivory to a very early date. It is probable, however, that it cannot antedate the fifth century.²

This last work in ivory is surpassed in value and interest only by the noted cathedra of Bishop Maximianus, now preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo in Ravenna. It is entirely covered with carvings, many of which are of the finest design and technic. Ten scenes from the life of Joseph are of very

Cathedra of
Bishop Maximianus.

¹ Labarte: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 32.

² This celebrated work has been described by many writers. Labarte, *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 32, has given a very fine plate; and Oldfield, *Op. cit.*, p. 11, has given a partial description.

superior workmanship, while the animals and plants reveal a warm sympathy of the artist with nature. Only the figures of saints

that fill the front side show the stiffness and artificiality of the later Byzantine style. Fig. 63 represents one of these figures—an ecclesiastic in the attitude of preaching. The sacred book lies open upon the ambo, or reading desk, and the two forefingers of the right hand indicate the office of the teacher. The attitude of the figure itself is constrained, while the whole artistic treatment, from the head to the sandals upon the feet, is stiff and unnatural. This and other like figures are specially helpful as a means of ascertaining the vestments of the clergy and their position in preaching, as well as suggesting the quality of the church furniture then in use.

In a few instances ancient ivory boxes, or *pixes*, are still preserved.¹ They were generally placed upon the altar to contain the consecrated eucharistic elements which were to be distributed to the sick. Garrucci claims that the subjects depicted upon fourteen of the fifteen



Fig. 63.—Ivory carving from the cathedra of Bishop Maximianus, in the Duomo of Ravenna.

known sacred pixes relate directly to the eucharist. The only exception is an ivory pix from the early part of the sixth century, which is now in the British Museum. Upon it are represented the martyrdom and glorification of the Egyptian saint, Menas. This circumstance has therefore suggested another use of these sacred pixes; namely, to contain relics of saints and martyrs.²

This St. Menas was held in highest veneration by the Egyptian

¹ v. Hahn: *Fünf Elfenbein-Gefässe des frühesten Mittel-alters*. Hanover, 1862. Lebarte: *Histoire des arts industriels*.

² v. Garrucci and Nesbitt, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlv, pp. 320–330, and plates x and xi.

Christians, and also in Rome. He is often represented upon the flattened flasks or bottles which are found in considerable numbers in Egypt.

Another interesting class of antiquities are the Christian lamps. They are numerous and of different materials, as terra sculptured cotta, bronze, silver, and amber. They are of various forms, and contain a great variety of symbols, as the dove, the cross, the Constantinian monogram, A Ω , etc. The Christians used these lamps not only to lighten the otherwise gloomy recesses of

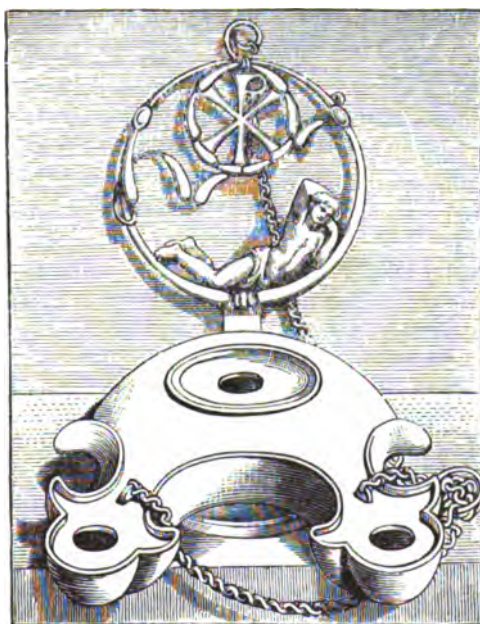


Fig. 64.—A Christian lamp, with Constantinian monogram.

the catacombs, but, in common with the heathen peoples, attached to them a symbolic significance, especially when used in connection with the burial of the dead. Some of these lamps are works of high art, and show an exquisite taste in matters of form as well as in respect to workmanship and symbolic import. Fig. 64 is one of the finest of the hanging lamps in bronze. It contains three orifices for lighting, and its handle is wrought out in an elaborate χ and the representation of Jonah reclining under the shadow of the gourd.

For over two hundred years great interest has attached to a class of relics found more especially in the Roman catacombs and crypts of churches; these are the so-called *ampullæ*, or blood-phials.

or blood-phials, Fig. 65. An almost acrimonious controversy has continued respecting the uses of these clay and glass phials and

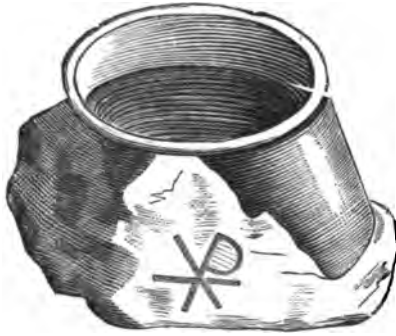


Fig. 65.—A so-called Blood-phial. From Roman catacombs.

their contents. One cause of this controversy was a decree of the *Congregatio Rituum et Reliquiarum*, issued in 1668, to the effect that the marks of true relics of the martyrs, as distinguished from the false or doubtful, shall be the presence of the palm-branch and a vessel coloured with their blood. This test was maintained as decisive by nearly all the old archæologists, and has been very vigorously defended by many in the

present century. Two opinions of the contents of these phials have been held: one, that they contained the blood of martyrs; the other, that the colouring matter found in them was due to wine used for eucharistic purposes. The question is not yet satisfactorily settled.

Many other interesting and instructive objects of antiquity are found in museums and private collections. The subject of seals and rings has received careful attention. Numismatics has become a special science, also glyptic art has contributed much toward a knowledge of Christian thought during the first six centuries. The special examination of these archæological remains is, however, precluded by the limits of this hand-book.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

SECTION I.

THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA.

§ 1. *Origin of the Christian Basilica.*

THE origin of the species of Christian church called *basilica* has been most earnestly investigated. The answer to the question, "Whence arose Christian architecture?" would also furnish a partial answer to the related questions of the condition of art feeling in the early Church, the originality of monuments usually called Christian, and the connection of the Roman Christian and Gothic architecture with the early Christian basilica in a process of organic art development.¹ The subject is one of great difficulty, on account of the fewness of surviving monuments from the first three centuries, and from the meagre references to this subject in the writings of the Christian fathers, or in Vitruvius, the only architect of the first century whose works have come down to our time. It is not, therefore, surprising that able writers should have differed in their account of the origin of the Christian basilica.

Origin of the
Christian ba-
silica.

Various opinions have divided the archæologists. 1. The first is that advocated in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Alberti,² which claims that the early Christian basilica is a close imitation of the Roman pagan basilica, with unimportant departures from the original. By placing the plan of each side by side, to the superficial observer this similarity appears quite striking and the theory plausible. This opinion was accepted by leading archæologists for three and a half centuries.³ 2. It remained almost unchallenged until subjected to a most rig-

Alberti's the-
ory, from the
Roman ba-
silica.

¹ "With respect to the discovery of new germs (of art) in the period of the downfall, the following questions especially would come under examination: First, the question in how far Christianity had a share therein?" etc. v. Mothes: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters*, etc., Bd. i, ss. 2, 3.

² *De Re Edificatoria*. Florentiis, 1485.

³ The English authorities seem to know no other theory of the origin of the Christian basilica (v. article *Basilica*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*); this also prevails in America.

idly critical examination by Zestermann¹ in 1847. This writer concedes that the resemblance of the churches of the fourth century to the Roman basilicas in respect to the rows of columns on either side, the lean-to roof, the enclosing wall, and the windows resting upon the columns beneath, justifies the classification of such Christian churches under the term basilica; but these are insufficient to establish an organic connection between the Christian and the heathen structures. He argues that the Christian basilica

was chiefly developed through the needs and spirit of the Christian church itself, and is, therefore, a distinct style of architecture. In the solution of this question

the *stoa basilica* and the *agora*, found at Athens in the time of Pericles, are successively examined with an earnestness and learning truly praiseworthy. The first of the so-called basilicas at Rome was built by Marcus Porcius Cato in B. C. 184. After this followed others, the most noted of which were the Basilicas Æmilia, Fulvia, Julia, and Ulpia. From Rome these buildings were extended throughout the entire empire. Zestermann claims that they

fall under four general classes, according to the purposes which they served; namely, the law basilicas, the private basilicas, the basilicas for pedestrian exercises, and the wine basilicas. Each of these had peculiar features adapting it to its specific uses. All alike appear to have been suggested by the Roman forum, this general type being modified only so far as might be necessary by the greater or smaller building area. This author rejects the derivation of the word from the Greek, in the sense of "a house of the king," or "a royal habitation," but claims that even in the time of Plautus the word *basilicus* had already become a distinctively Roman adjective, meaning "magnificent," "imposing," "grand." Hence, to distinguish it from other porticos, the building of Cato was called "*porticus basilicus*," the magnificent house, and afterward simply "basilica."

The Christians applied the term basilica to an imposing building used only for ecclesiastical purposes. Zestermann claims that the groundplan and the arrangement and development of all its parts had sole reference to the purposes and needs of Christian worship, and no relation whatever to Roman pagan buildings of like name. He sees the progressive growth of the Christian society revealing itself in the basilica, slowly transforming and perfecting it, as new wants arise, until the

¹ *Die antiken u. die christlichen Basiliken nach ihren Entstehung, Ausbildung, u. Beziehung zu einander.* This was crowned as the prize essay by the Belgian Academy of Arts, Literature, and the Fine Arts.

imposing structures of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were the outcome. In harmony with this opinion he professes to be able to group the early churches into five classes, each one of which represents a stage in the attempt to properly adapt them to the needs of Christian worship :

Classification
of early Christ-
ian churches.

- (1.) Buildings of an oblong form with a middle and side naves.
- (2.) Those of oblong form with middle and side naves and an apse.
- (3.) Those of oblong form, middle and side naves, apse, and transept.
- (4.) Those of oblong form, middle and side naves, apse, and transept; but without an atrium, and having the porch leaning on the main building.
- (5.) Those having the characteristics of the last class, but having several apses.

This writer defends his theory with great learning, and concludes that "the origination and development of the Christian basilica are completely explained by, and find their justification in, the activities and needs of the Christian spirit."¹

3. A third opinion has been defended with much earnestness and with great wealth of learning. It holds that the early Christian basilica was developed from the ancient private house and the Greek hypæthral temple.² The following considerations are urged in favor of this origin : After their complete separation from the Jewish Church the Christians assembled in private houses for worship. This is distinctly stated in the Acts of the Apostles, in the Epistles, and by the early Christian fathers. The accepted and regular form of the Roman house at the beginning of the Christian era can be well ascertained, and the adaptation or adjustment of such a room to the purposes of a Christian assembly can be easily traced. The resemblance of these

Hypæthral
temple.

Private house.

¹ Zestermann has a zealous disciple in J. Kreuser: *Christlicher Kirchenbau*, 1851 and 1860; and still more positively in his *Wiederum Christlicher Kirchenbau*, 1868. This author holds, 1. That the Christian basilicas had nothing to do with the attic royal hall. 2. Under the term, hypæthral temple, he can understand nothing more nor less than a building that is open and free to the light and air. Diogenes's tub in the street might be an example of a hypæthral building. 3. Zestermann is the foremost and best author who has written on the basilica, and his explanation of its origin is the only correct one. 4. Egypt had the first basilica. From two passages in the Talmud it is evident that this name was peculiar to Egyptian works of architecture. 5. The Egyptian, or, more strictly, the Africano-Palestine, method of building was copied in Rome, and from these arose the basilicas for holding the courts of law.

² W. Weingärtner: *Ursprung und Entwicklung des christlichen Kirchengebäudes*. Leipzig, 1858.

to the early Christian churches is seen in the peristyle, and the so-called *œci* lying behind it. These two rooms were related to each other both in space and situation very nearly as were the parts of Herod's temple at Jerusalem, which was built in the Grecian style. After the destruction of this temple, and the spread of Christianity over the known world, it was natural that the Christians, when erecting independent houses of worship, should take their suggestions from the Græco-Roman temples, which contained all the essential parts of a Christian church. It was also natural that the form should be selected which had been most perfected, and most nearly satisfied the demand for the observance of their own religious services. This was the hypæthral temple. It was open to the sky, thus giving abundance of light, and had a recess, the *cella*, where could stand the high altar for the celebration of the eucharist. This *cella*, which was taken from the circular or polygonal burial temples, was demanded by the Christian societies, since soon afterward a place of worship, and a place of burial for the martyr or saint to whom the church was dedicated, were combined in the same building. With the exception of the greater elevation of the middle nave, the outer form of the hypæthral temple corresponded to that of the Christian church. Still more close was the likeness of their interior arrangement. This influence of the pagan temple upon the Christian building was most apparent in the time of Constantine. It was seen in the use of like terms, in the adoption of the circular or polygonal groundplan, and in working out the details of the interior. The ground outline, the rows of columns, and the consequent division of the interior space into naves, the lower porticos, the choir and its general arrangement, the sacramental table, the baldachin, the place of burial for the martyr, the crypts beneath, the apse, and, later, the *ambos*, or reading desks near the front railing, are all prefigured in the Roman pagan temples. The purest form of the continuation of the antique temples were the Roman basilicas, which maintained their peculiar characteristics as late as the twelfth century.¹

This writer thus attempts to show the intimate relation and dependence of the early Christian churches on the private house, and especially on the hypæthral temple, both in external form and interior arrangement. He holds that the law basilicas of the Romans were so entirely different from the Christian that it is unscientific to regard the latter as the continuation and perfection of the former, and claims that the Christian church could only be derived from the ancient private house, with such sug-

¹ v Weingärtner: *Op. cit.* pp. 136, 137.

gestions as were afforded by the hypæthral temple of the Greeks.

4. A fourth theory of the origin and development of the Christian basilica has been suggested and very ably defended Messmer's theory. by Dr. J. A. Messmer.¹ He starts from the well attested fact that the earliest Christian societies were accustomed to assemble in the private house of some one of their number, and in the room most spacious and convenient for their services, and which at the same time would best afford protection from sudden interruptions by their enemies. Plainly this would be the triclinium, or banqueting-room. Among the Romans this was a rectangle, whose length was twice the breadth. From the triclinium. The more wealthy the owner of the house the more spacious and elegant, was this room, and the more nearly did it resemble the form of the basilicas which were found in the palaces of the more noted Romans. These dining-rooms of the nobles are so minutely described by Vitruvius that we cannot be in doubt with regard to their form, arrangement, and decoration (*v.* Fig. 78). Rows of columns, both Corinthian and Egyptian, often supported architraves and beams on which a place for promenading was constructed, while above were other columns supporting a roof or a wall pierced with windows for lighting the interior. In these rooms public business was frequently transacted and legal causes determined. We also read of a church in the houses of wealthy public men who had accepted Christianity, as in the case of Pudens and Aquila.²

Jerome assures us that the noble Lateranus opened his private basilica for the assembly of the Christians, and that it afterward was transformed into one of the most Examples of noble Christians. splendid churches of Rome. Ammianus Marcellinus³ says that a like assembly found a stated place of meeting in the Basilica of Sicinianus, another noted Roman. There is trustworthy evidence that such change from the triclinium of the house of a wealthy citizen, named Theophilus, to a Christian church took place at Antioch in the first half of the third century; and it seems incredible that the pseudo-Clement could mention in his romance these transformations of private basilicas into Christian churches unless the fact was well known. Thus, while the triclin-

¹ *Ueber den Ursprung, die Entwicklung, und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst.* Leipzig, 1854. Also and more thoroughly in an article, *Ueber den Ursprung der christlichen Basilika*, in the *Zeitschrift für christliche Archæologie und Kunst*, 1859, vol. ii.

² I Cor. xvi, 19. *v.* also p. 30.

³ Ammian. Marcellin., xxvii, 3. "Et in concertatione," etc.

ium of the private house and the private basilicas of the more wealthy were used for the assembly and worship of the early Christians, it was found that they combined, more fully than any others, elements of architecture which were afterward developed into the distinctive edifice known by the generic name of Christian basilica. While the Roman name was retained, the building was transformed by the peculiar power of the new religion. Thus was provided a type of church architecture peculiarly adapted to the genius of Christianity, and in many respects the most convenient ever devised. Christianity became the heir to the late Roman art, but its inheritance was improved and perfected by a new and living spirit.

5. A fifth theory, very ably advocated by Dehio,¹ finds the germs of the Christian basilica in the private house, in which for two centuries the early Church was accustomed to meet for worship. He attempts to trace this development, step by step, from the simplest structure of the common Roman dwelling-house to its perfected form in the imposing basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries.

6. The latest theory is that recently advanced by Professor Lange, of Halle,² and substantially accepted by Professor G. Baldwin Brown,³ of the University of Edinburgh. This theory traces the beginnings of Christian architecture to the pagan *scholæ*. While the architectural evidence cited in support of this view is not decisive, it is believed that from the outward resemblance of the Christian communities to the various religious organizations and clubs of the heathen world,⁴ and from the confounding of these by the legal authorities, it would naturally follow that their places of assembly must have been similar in outward appearance and in internal arrangement. The adaptation of these *scholæ* to the needs of Christian worship is pointed out, and the fact that the protection of government given to the clubs would thus be extended to the Christian assemblies is emphasized.

These different theories of the origin of the Christian basilica illustrate the difficulties of the subject. It seems probable that each contains a partial truth, and that by a judicious eclecticism a juster view of the beginnings and growth

¹ *Die Genesis der christlichen Basilika.* München, 1883.

² *Haus und Halle.* Leipzig, 1885.

³ *From Schola to Cathedral.* Edinburgh, 1886.

⁴ Hatch: *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1882, has developed this subject, using with great effect the monumental evidence.

of early Christian architecture may be gained. Let us look at some well-established facts.

The first Christians assembled for worship in the temple,¹ in private houses,² in upper rooms, through fear of disturbance and persecution from their enemies,³ in the synagogues of the Jews,⁴ and by the river side.⁵ In the synagogues, which had been founded in every chief city of the empire, the apostles could address a multitude composed of Jewish and non-Jewish elements.⁶ Doubtless the free republican spirit which characterized the service, in marked contrast with the exclusiveness of the temple, was another reason for the assembling of the apostles and first Christians in these buildings. Moreover, the synagogues were places for consultation, and for discussion of questions upon which the opinions of the rabbis were divided; so that persons of vigorous intellect and of inquiring spirit were often attracted to them. This is manifest from the accounts given of the Berean Jews,⁷ as well as from the fact that Paul could speak freely in the synagogue at Ephesus "for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading as to the things concerning the kingdom of God."⁸

Advantages of
the synagogue.

The fact that some of the Judaizing sects, as the Ebionites, still resorted to the synagogues for worship⁹ may suggest one reason why, during the first century, the pagan world regarded the Christians as only a sect of Jews, and why the fierce opposition of the latter to the Christians was judged by the Roman governors to be of little importance in the eye of the civil law.¹⁰ While despised by the pagan world, the Jews had, nevertheless, received at the hands of some of the emperors very favorable regard, and were granted some most valuable immunities. The inscriptions and art remains of the Jewish catacombs at Rome entirely confirm the testimony of the literary monuments touching this point. With this erroneous conception respecting the true nature of Christianity was connected a decided advantage to its first adherents. There can be little doubt that thereby the early Church secured exemption from sweeping persecution just at the time of its greatest need. Even at the close of the second century a Christian father of eminent ability recognises this obligation.¹¹

Christians
judged a sect
of the Jews.

Privileges of
the Jews.

Incidentally
advantageous
to the infant
Church.

¹ Acts iii, 1; v, 12.

² Acts xii, 12, *seq.*

³ Acts i, 13; xx, 7-9.

⁴ Acts ix, 20; xiii, 5, 16, *et al.*

⁵ Acts xvi, 13.

⁶ Acts xiii, 16, 26, 44, 46, 48; xiv, 1; xviii, 4.

⁷ Acts xvii, 11.

⁸ Acts xix, 8.

⁹ Irenæus: *Adv. Hæres.* lib. i, c. 26.

¹⁰ Acts xviii, 12-17.

¹¹ Tertullian: *Apolog.*, c. 21.

But from the first it was manifest that Christ had established a Church whose spirit could not be confined within the narrow limits of Judaism. The events at Ephesus are instructive. The awakened hostility compelled the withdrawal of the Christians from the synagogue, and they assembled in the school of one Tyrannus,¹ where these meetings were "continued by a space of two years." A somewhat similar state of things existed in Corinth.² Various passages in the history of the apostolic Church clearly prove that the A separate place of gathering in private houses. customary places of meeting were in upper rooms³ or in private houses.⁴ This was the case at Troas;⁵ and Aquila and Priscilla,⁶ "with the church that is in their house," send salutations to the Corinthian brethren. Also Paul sends greetings to "Nymphas and the church which is in his house,"⁷ and to Philemon and "the church in thy house."⁸ His own custom for two years was to receive all who came unto him in his own private house at Rome, "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ."⁹

The continuance of the custom of gathering in private houses The custom continued. after the apostolic age is clearly evidenced from the literary monuments both Christian and pagan. It is well-nigh demonstrable that the worship of the Christian Church for nearly two hundred years was chiefly a private service, avoiding the publicity permitted to a religion already recognised and protected by the state.¹⁰ So far as can be known, to the close of the second century no stately or characteristic buildings for the ceremonies of Christian worship had been erected. Probably some houses had already been erected and set apart for Christian services, but they must have been unpretentious, and probably mostly of the nature of private halls, or of the class of buildings called *scholæ*, which were either given by the wealthier Scholæ. members, stately thrown open for the use of the societies,¹¹ or built by means of a common fund. Doubtless, however, these unpretentious buildings contained evidences of the art susceptibility which had already found expression in the earlier pictures of the catacombs.

In consequence of the high esteem felt for the confessors and

¹ Acts xix, 9.

² Acts xviii, 7.

³ Acts i, 13.

⁴ Acts vii, 15.

⁵ Acts xx, 7, 8.

⁶ 1 Cor. xvi, 19.

⁷ Col. iv, 15.

⁸ Philem. 2.

⁹ Acts xxviii, 30, 31.

¹⁰ Pliny: *Epist.*, lib. x, ep. 96.

¹¹ The houses of Pudentiana and of Lucina at Rome, and of Briccius and Eutochius at Tours, are familiar examples.

martyrs, the practice of burial feasts and festivals soon arose. Celebrated in the houses, and during seasons of persecution in the catacombs, these exerted a powerful influence on the architectural arrangement of the places of meeting, and on the furniture and art of the church. Feasts in honor of the dead were very common among the pagan peoples, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Christians found in them many suggestions for their own practices. From the reign of Marcus Aurelius burial festivals became especially frequent, on account of the great number of devoted men and women who were victims of the terrible persecutions. It is plain that the arrangement of the meeting-houses and the nature of the services were modified through the great reverence for those whose remains were deposited in crypts beneath the altars of the churches, or in the small chapels where the hunted Church gathered for the celebration of the meal in memory of the sainted dead.

There is abundant evidence that at the beginning of the third century private houses were still in general use for divine worship, and for the meetings of the Christian societies. Optatus is very specific in his information touching this subject, speaking of various members in whose houses such assemblies were accustomed to be held.¹ But the changed social condition of the Church, which now reckoned among its adherents some of the noted families of the capital and of the empire, was more favorable to the erection of buildings devoted exclusively to Christian uses. It is impossible to determine their number, size, and degree of elegance. Optatus informs us that the schismatics destroyed forty churches which had been the property of the orthodox party at Rome. He calls them "basilicas," but their peculiar character he does not indicate. We also have the account of the erection of a very imposing structure at Nicomedia in the last part of the third century,² as well as of its destruction at the beginning of the execution of Diocletian's edict to raze all the Christian churches and burn the sacred books.

It must, however, be remembered that not until the reign of Commodus did entire families of the Roman aristocracy pass over to the Christian Church, and that, two generations after Constantine, Christianity could claim hardly a majority of the prominent families of Rome. For the first two hundred and fifty years

¹ *De schism. Donat.*, i, 14, 23; v. also *Acta Martyrum*, cc. 8, 9.

² Eusebius: *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, lib. viii, cc. 1, 2.

the adherents of Christianity were largely of the middle and lower classes, and were, therefore, accustomed to the simple Roman dwelling-house, or were crowded together in the many-storied tenant houses of Rome and of the larger towns. While there is good reason to believe that, from the second century, converts from noble families opened or devoted their spacious dwellings to the Church for Christian worship, this number must, nevertheless, have been comparatively insignificant. In times of peace the common dwelling-house was the usual place for the celebration of the sacraments, and for the instruction and edification of believers. It is incredible that these forty so-called basilicas at

Few noble and wealthy Christians.

Rome, near the close of the third century, were elegant dwellings furnished by the richer and nobler members. Rather must we suppose that the main features of the rooms in which the Christians were accustomed to assemble, and of the service which had been adjusted to this environment for two and one half centuries, would impress themselves upon the more imposing churches which were erected during the peaceful interval of forty years between the reigns of Decius and Diocletian, and after final exemption from persecution had been ensured. It is, therefore, important to examine the form and arrangement of the ordinary dwelling-house of the empire.

Relations of the private houses to the churches.

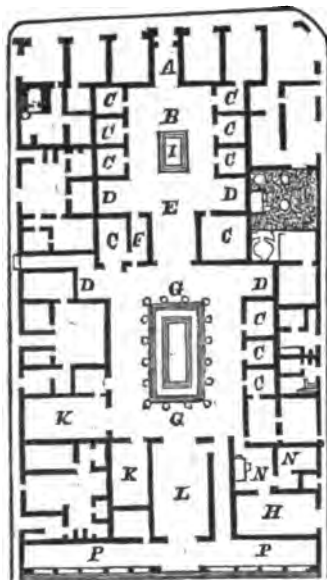


Fig. 66.—The House of Pansa (*Casa di Pansa*), Pompeii. An elegant Roman house.

There was a general uniformity in the internal arrangement of the early Greek and the Italian private house.¹

The chief sources of information are Vitruvius, the *Capitoline Fragments*, and the houses which have been disinterred on various sites, as Pompeii, Herculaneum, etc. From these we infer the most important portions of the Roman house. First was the *vestibulum*, which was a vacant space before the door, forming a kind of court, one side of which opened upon the street, the other sides bounded by the house itself. From the vestibule a passage or hall, called the *ostium* (v. Fig. 66, A), led to the main room of the interior, which

The Roman dwelling-house.

Its arrangements.

¹ Mommsen: *History of Rome*, vol. i, pp. 46 and 307.

went under the names of the *atrium* and *cavædium*, B (*cavum ædium*). This was roofed over, with the exception of an opening in the center, the *compluvium*, toward which the roof sloped to conduct the rain into a cistern in the floor, the *impluvium*, I. In the rear of the atrium was the *tablinum*, E, and right and left the *alæ*, DD. On the sides of the atrium were found the sleeping-rooms, *cubicula*, CC, and behind and on either side the triclinium were the servants rooms, CC. The triclinium is open, and allows an uninterrupted view of the other parts of the house. Vitruvius refers to five kinds of atria,¹ representing as many stages in the development of the Roman house. The *atrium Tus-* Five classes of the atrium.

canicum was the earliest and most simple (Fig. 67). In this the roof was supported by four beams, crossing at right angles, thus forming the compluvium. It is plain that this construction was available only in the smaller houses. The *atrium tetrastylum* differed from the first in that the beams were supported at their intersection by columns, instead of extending to the walls of the house. This would admit of an enlargement of the atrium. In the *atrium corinthium* the beams were supported by rows of columns, thus giving opportunity of farther enlargement.²



Fig. 67.—Atrium Tuscanicum.

In the *atrium displuviatum* the roof sloped outward toward the walls, instead of inward toward the compluvium—thus carrying the water away from the interior impluvium (v. Fig. 68). The *atrium testudineum* was entirely roofed over, and lacked the compluvium, and consequently the interior impluvium (v. Fig. 69). The atrium was the chief room. In the ordinary dwellings it was devoted to a variety of uses, to the customary intercourse and the festivities of the family; in the houses of the wealthy it was fitted up with magnificence, and was the reception room where the patron was accustomed to meet clients, hear petitions, and dispense favors.

Description.

Uses for the atrium.

¹ vi, 3.

² In fig. 67 these columns and the changed interior thus resulting can be easily supplied by the imagination.

At the further end of the atrium, opposite the entrance, was the deep recess or room, called the *tablinum*, which could be made private by means of folding doors or hangings. It was the place of honor, the seat of the householder. On either side of the atrium, leading right and left, were small recesses or rooms, called *alæ* (v. Fig. 67). Such seems to have been the simple arrange-

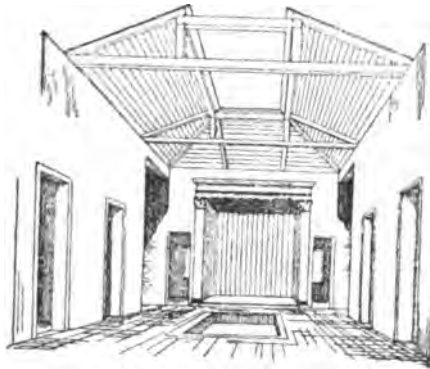


Fig. 68.—Atrium Clispluviatum.

ment of the Roman house at the end of the republican period. In the country, and during the early history of the cities, it was of one story, or, at most, it added a second story in which were the *cubicula*, or bed-chambers, whose breadth and height to the cross beams were one third or one fourth the length of the atrium.

But in the period of the empire, when the crowded condition of the towns made

building sites expensive, and the increasing wealth of leading families created a demand for more elegant dwellings, the construction of the Roman house underwent an important change which is connected with the history of early Christian architecture. The enlargement of the dwelling could be attained only by increasing its length; hence the more elegant Roman houses, after the manner of the Greeks, added to the simple atrium a large space in the rear. This, the *peristyle*, (Fig. 66, GG), was a court open to the sky in the center, which was surrounded by columns, and was somewhat larger than the compluvium of the atrium. In the center of this peristyle was a plot for grass and flowers, and at the sides the *triclinia*, KK, or rooms in which the couches and tables were usually placed for social or religious feasts.¹ At the rear of the peristyle in the larger and more imposing houses was found the *œcus*, L, which held the same relation to the peristyle as did the

Enlarged in the Imperial period.

The peristyle and triclinium.

¹ Fortunately the excavations have revealed examples of each class of the Roman house. The so-called *casa di Sallustio* (Sallust's house), in Pompeii. Examples from Pompeii. has a groundplan almost precisely answering to our description of the atrium, with its *alæ* raised to admit the light; while the *casa di Pansa* (Fig. 66) is a fine example of the more pretentious houses, with the peristyle and its architectural accompaniments.

tablinum to the atrium. It was sometimes semicircular.¹ From the *œcus* a passage led to the porch, PP, whence was a way to the garden in the rear.

Doubtless the private basilicas of the more wealthy families that had embraced Christianity contained architectural elements which afterward found expression in the churches of the Constantinian and post-Constantine periods, but it is difficult to believe that they furnished all the essential norms of the Christian architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries.²

The lighting of the dwelling-house is connected directly with the history of Christian ecclesiastical architecture. In the simplest Roman house the atrium was lighted from the vestibule. At a later stage of the development, the *alæ* were extended to the roof and sides, thus admitting abundant light to the interior. When the houses in the towns became continuous, and the sides were bounded by continuous walls, a new method of lighting the inner rooms was required. The most obvious way was to admit light through the compluvium. But the defence against moisture and cold required that this central opening be protected, while light might still be admitted. The construction of a gabled roof, supported by columns above the compluvium, thus shielding the interior from cold and rain and yet allowing a free admission of light, was the next step in the solution of the problem. This gave rise to a structure represented by Fig. 68, which is a conjectural reproduction of the form which the atrium *displuviatum* would thus assume. From this figure it may be seen how the spaces on the enclosing walls, as well as on those separating the atrium from the lateral apartments, were preserved, and which afterward furnished opportunity for the extended ornamentation introduced into the churches.

The more recent excavations in Rome, Syria, and North Africa have brought into prominence other architectural forms which had manifest influence on the development of the Christian basilica. They are the *curia*, the *cella*, and the *schola*. These terms were applied to the meeting-houses of associations, where the members were accustomed to assemble for business purposes

¹ The celebrated villa of Herculaneum, the largest and richest which has yet been excavated, lacks the *œcus*. The villa in the Farnese garden and the house of Livia on the Palatine have no peristyle; while the recently discovered atrium of Vesta, which is one of the most elegant dwelling-houses yet excavated in Rome, has a very spacious *œcus*, but lacks the peristyle.

² This is virtually the theory of Messmer.

Lighting the interior.

Guarding the compluvium.

The *cella* and *schola*.

From Herculaneum and Rome.

or for advancing the interests of their organization. These societies were very numerous, and were carefully guarded by legal enactments. The places of gathering were called *curiæ*, or *scholæ*,

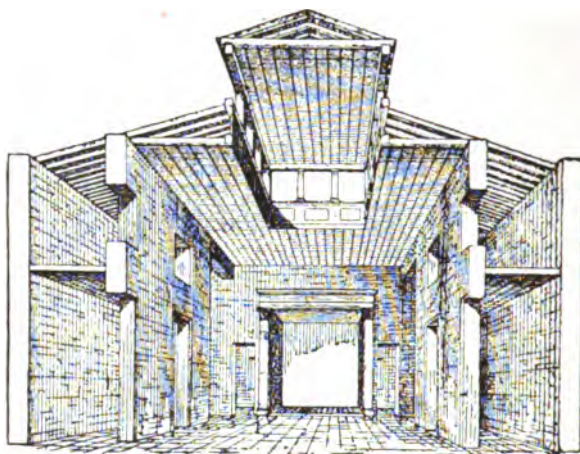


Fig. 69.—Atrium displuviatum with covered compluvium.

according to the dignity and importance of the body therein assembling; usually the term *curiæ* being applied to halls of greater size which were used for public business, the term *scholæ* to buildings occupied by private clubs. Among the more important of such organizations were the burial guilds. On account of the great regard of the Romans for their dead, special privileges were granted to these associations to hold groundplots

for the interment of their deceased members. On them (which

were beyond the city walls) a building was erected for the celebration of the memorial feasts, and still others for the occupancy of the persons specially charged with the care of the cemeteries. This space, having the technical name of *area*, usually enclosed by walls and often embellished with statues, flowers, etc., was a spot of peculiar privacy and sacredness.

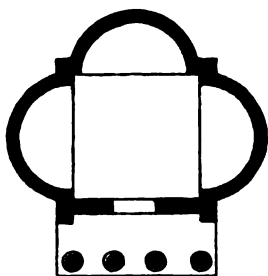


Fig. 70.—Heathen schola, Via Appia, Rome.

On the Via Appia are found the remains of these *scholæ* of heathen origin. Fig. 69 is the groundplan of such a one.¹ It was a building of square form, with three semicircular niches, fronted by a columned portico.

¹ v. Canina: *Via Appia*, Tav. xx.

One represented by Fig. 71 is likewise on the Via Appia. Here are six niches, and the tendency is to the circular form. This portico is lacking in columns.¹ Some whose outlines closely resemble those of the earliest Christian churches have also been excavated at Pompeii. Moreover, the testimony of the inscriptions is full and explicit respecting these structures. Much information is given concerning their legal tenure, the donors of the grounds and of the buildings erected thereon, the purposes to which they were devoted, the character of the feasts, etc.

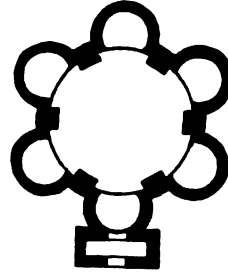


Fig. 71.—Heathen schola, Via Appia, Rome.

Structures of like form and used for like purposes have also been discovered in connection with Christian cemeteries in various parts of the Empire. Two such cellæ, measuring about thirty feet on each side of the square, have been found in the open-air portion of the catacomb of San Calisto in Rome² (Fig. 72); also the oratories in the cemetery of San Pretestate are of like general character.

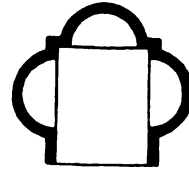


Fig. 72.—Christian schola above San Calisto, Rome.

Many suggestions relative to the forms and arrangement of these earlier Christian meeting-places are found upon the sarcophagi, in the buildings which are depicted in the great mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, and Thessalonica, and sometimes in objects of less striking character. Fig. 73 represents a

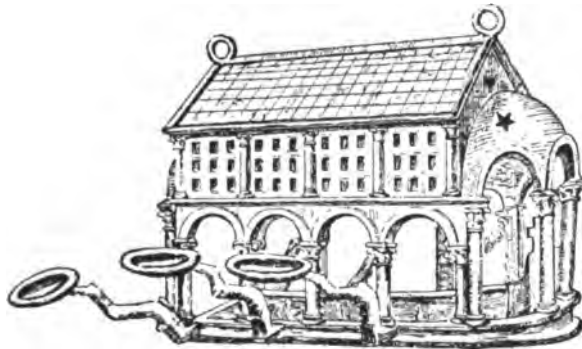


Fig. 73.—Form of an early basilica, a bronze lamp found in Africa.

¹ Canina: *Op. cit.*, t. ix.

² De Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, iii, p. 468. Ritter calls them "the first early Christian churches built above ground."

bronze lamp discovered in Africa.¹ It is in the form of a primitive basilica or schola. Almost precisely the same form is met in the great mosaics of St. George, Thessalonica.² By a comparison of these with the plans and outlines of buildings found in the Capitoline fragments and at Pompeii, little doubt can be felt relative to the resemblance of the early Christian meeting-houses to the scholæ and curiæ of pagan Rome. By a comparison of Figs. 70 and 72 the likeness of the heathen burial chapel to the Christian cella will be obvious. That like principles of construction and arrangement held in each must be manifest.

The cella of San Sisto at Rome, situated in the midst of an open air cemetery (Fig. 74), affords a good illustration of the form of these burial chapels, and of their relation to the places of sepulture and the enclosed area. It was a principle, hold-

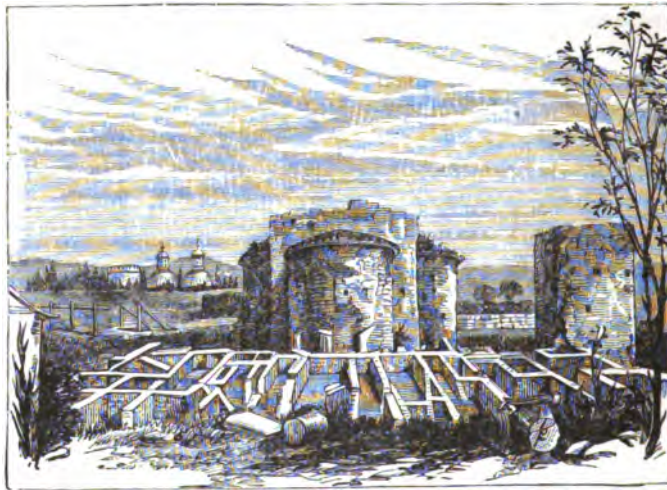


Fig. 74.—Cella and arrangement of graves above San Sisto, Rome.

ing in the arrangement of the cemeteries controlled by the burial clubs, that the area of the open-air plot should exactly correspond to that of the subterranean space. Great care was observed that no society should intrude upon the rights of another. It will be seen that this cella terminates in a semicircular apse, whose upper portion suggests the beginning of the semidomical or conchoidal style. It also shows the probable location of the altar, and the space for the distribution of the couches, etc., in the celebration of the burial

¹ de Rossi: *Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, 1866.

² Texier et Pullan: *Arch. Byzantine*, pl. xxx-xxxiv.

feasts. The principle of the cella, oratory, or schola finds further illustration in the room discovered in 1868 in the cemetery of Santa Generosa, near Rome (Fig. 75). The apse is almost perfect. In the extreme rear part is found another smaller recess or apse for the cathedra of the bishop; back of this is a window. Further excavations behind the window revealed a cubiculum on whose walls were frescos, the style of which points to the seventh century as the time of their origin.

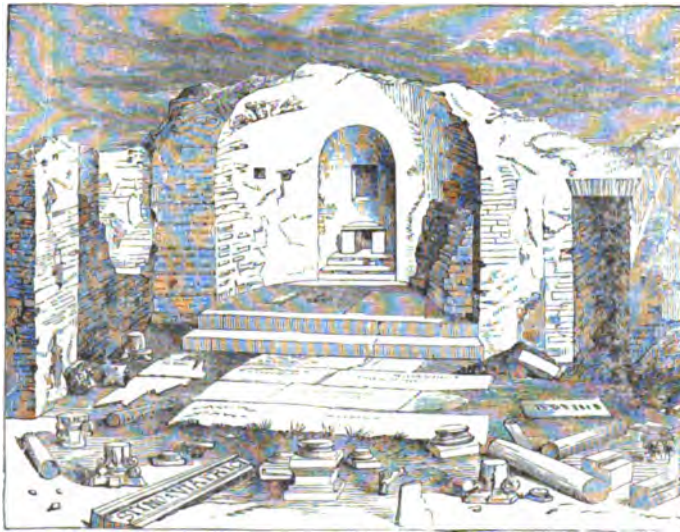


Fig. 75.—Basilica in Santa Generosa, Rome.

Another interesting example of an excavated Christian basilica, illustrating the same structural arrangement, is Santa Petronilla, at Rome, Figs. 76 and 77. The vestibule, the four rows of columns, dividing the interior space into five naves, the terminal semicircular apse, are clearly preserved. Moreover, the mural paintings, of a style not inferior to the best contemporary art, the ornamentation in stucco, crypts of great extent, not hewn in the rock as elsewhere, but carefully and elegantly constructed out of terra-cotta and building stone, with pilasters and other architectural details, show that the Church was not opposed to art, nor in a condition of extreme poverty and persecution, but all the reverse. Also a large number of inscriptions, not materially different in form from the best heathen work, whose dates in some cases reach back to the second century, further confirm this view.¹ De

¹ Kraus: *Roma Sotterranea*, ss. 87, 88.

Rossi¹ has shown that this Petronilla belonged to the Flavian family, and lived in the first century. The groundplan (Fig. 76) shows the complexity of the structure.

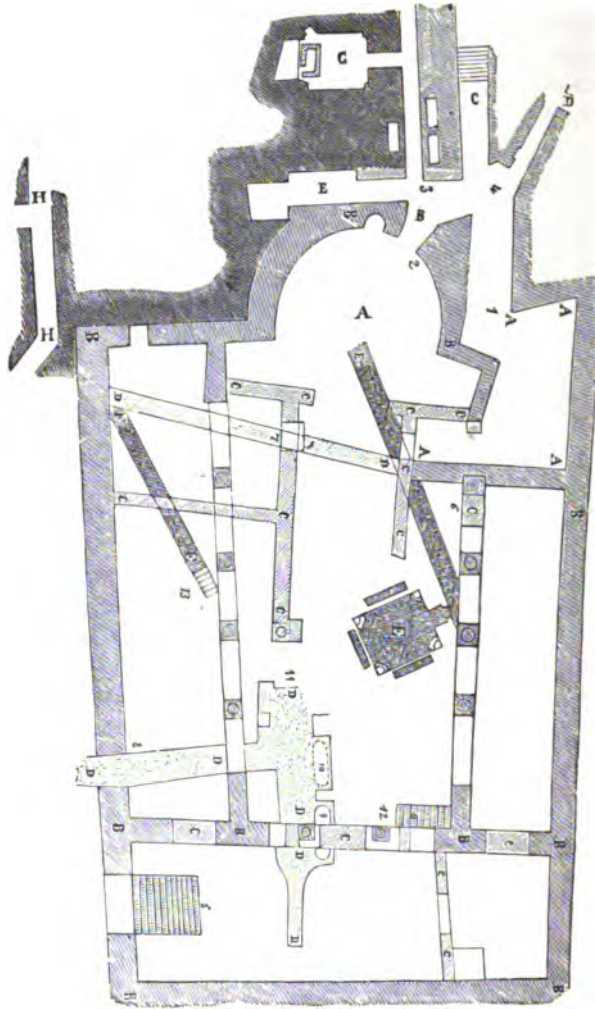


Fig. 76.—Groundplan of basilica in Santa Petronilla, Rome.

De Rossi² reported a most important discovery made at the entrance of the most ancient catacomb at Rome, Santa Domitilla.

¹ v. *Bullettino Arch. crist.*, 1874, 1875.

² *Bullettino Cristiano*, 1865.

The use of the interior space was suggested by the stone bench which runs along the walls; "an immense triclinium for a great number of guests; in fine, a *schola sodalium* very like ^{Santa Domi-} to those of the pagan brotherhoods founded for burial ^{tilla.} purposes." Somewhat similar triclinia have been discovered at Pompeii, whose internal arrangements bear a very ^{Also at Pom-} close resemblance to this anteroom to the cemetery ^{peil.} of Santa Domitilla.

We must here consider the structure of the pagan basilicas, and determine their influence upon early Christian ar- ^{Origin of the} chitecture. They are believed to have been derived ^{pagan Roman} immediately from the Greeks, but had been brought ^{basilica.} to their greatest perfection at Rome during the later period of the republic, and the reign of the first emperors. The resemblance of the Roman basilica to the Roman forum is well known. Their uses, also, somewhat corresponded.

The opinion that the basilica derived its form from the forum has good foundation. Vitruvius connects the basilicas with the markets, and says they should be built in the warmest places in order that the traders might there meet in winter.¹ In this statement he seems to mistake the object of these buildings, since among the Romans, as among the Greeks, they were certainly used as halls of justice.² So far as can be known the first basilica was built at Rome, B. C. 184, by Marcus Porcius Cato, from whom it was named the Basilica Porcia. Seven of rare magnificence are mentioned during the republic.

The law basilicas of Rome were oblong, rectangular buildings, whose length was usually twice their breadth. They ^{Form of the} were of one, three, or five naves, were usually without ^{law basilica.} roof, and open to the sky. The rectangular space was inclosed by a wall. This has been questioned by some writers³ ^{An enclosing} who believe that the early basilica lacked the full en- ^{wall.} closing wall. This opinion is chiefly supported by the remark of Plutarch, that the Roman knights and armed men stormed through the Basilica of Paulus. But the passage can be easily explained by the existence of numerous doorways or openings in the side walls, while the positive testimony of equally trustworthy⁴ writers in-

¹ I. C.

² Hirt: *Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, 1827, Bd. iii, ss. 180, 181.

³ v. Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildende Künste*.

⁴ Vitruvius, Quintilian, and Seneca among the ancients. Among modern writers see Otfried Müller, Bunson, Zestermann, and Messmer. The excavations make it probable that the Basilica Julia lacked this outer bounding wall.



Fig. 77.—View of basilica in Santa Petronilla, Rome.

duces the belief that the Roman law basilicas generally had the enclosing wall.

The early Roman basilica terminated opposite the entrance in a semicircular niche, called the apse or tribune (see Fig. 78).¹ This was not an unusual form for other Roman

The apse.

buildings. It is seen in the baths of Titus and of Diocletian, while in the baths of Pompey the long hall terminated in a clearly defined semicircular niche, which formed a half-domed recess above. A like arrangement is noticed in many of the temples, where the semicircular niche was often occupied by a pedestal, on which was a statue of the god.² Vitruvius distinctly mentions this recess or apse as connected with the Roman basilicas, and his description of the tribune leaves no doubt as to its location and purpose. The semicircular termination of the pagan basilica³ corresponded to its purpose, and to its derivation from the forum. The latter structure has clearly preserved this arrangement in a semicircular portico supported by columns. To the same result would point the representation of the Basilica Ulpia, found on the Capitoline Fragments, where a like outline of the tribune is clearly seen. The Basilica of Constantine the Great also contains the same form. The latter monument is of great value for the determination of this question, since its loca-

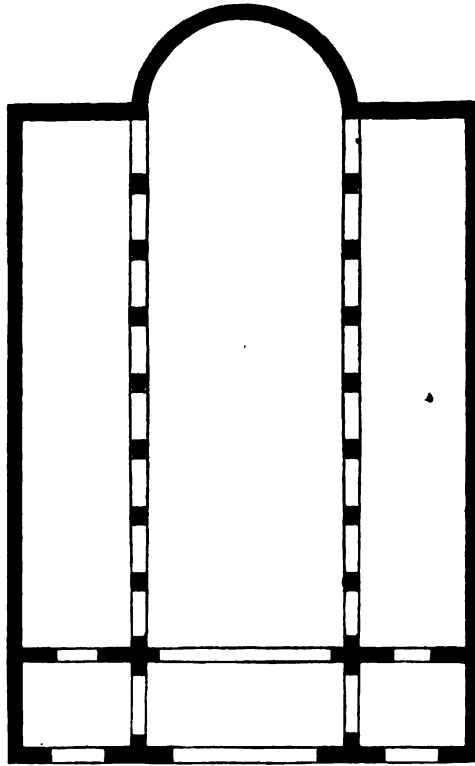


Fig. 78.—Plan of basilica from the villa of Quintilian.

Basilica Ulpia and of Constantine.

¹ v. Canina; *Via Appia*, t. xxxii.

² v. Otf. Müller: *Archæologie der Kunst*, ss. 344–346.

³ *Contra*, v. Zestermann and Kreuser: "The old basilica had no apse." Kreuser: *Christlichen Kirchenbau*, s. 28.

tion, the time of its erection, and its founder are well known. Its ruins are also so well preserved that it may be regarded as a fair example of an ancient basilica, and one, too, which probably was afterward devoted to Christian purposes. Also the Basilica of Otricoli entirely corresponds to this form. From all the evidence to be gathered from baths, halls, curiæ, temples, and even from porticos, the conclusion may be safely reached that the semicircular termination was a peculiarity of this style of Roman architecture. History, ancient authors, and monuments unitedly furnish good reason for concluding that the public basilicas of the Romans often, if not generally, terminated in a semicircular apse.¹

Upon an elevated platform, opposite to the entrance, the high judge, surrounded by his assistants, presided. Below and on either side were the judges; in front were the witnesses and advocates, while the remaining space of the apse was for the use of the people who gathered to hear the causes. On the rows of columns, dividing the interior into three or five naves, rested either entablatures or that type of round arch seen in the palace of Diocletian at Spolatro, on the coast of Dalmatia² (Fig. 79). Above, a second row of columns supported a wall, on which rested the rafter-work and the ceiling supports. According to Pausanius the ceiling of the Basilica Ulpia was bronzed. The ceiling of the temple at Ephesus was wrought out most elaborately in cedar, while the interiors of some of the public buildings of the west were made most beautiful and impressive by the rich carving and gilding of the ceilings. The portico was quite the ordinary arrangement in the more pretentious public buildings of Rome, such as palaces, temples, and basilicas, and in some private houses.³

The Christian basilica of the fourth century was evidently the result of growth. The theory which attributes its immediate origin to the toleration of Christianity granted by Constantine and his sons, or which supposes a direct and slavish adoption of the Roman law basilica, or claims a widespread conver-

¹ Of many who substantially agree with this view may be cited Otfried Müller: *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 291. Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, 1856, Bd. i, ss. 280, 281, 354. Schnaase: *Geschichte d. bildenden Künste*, Bd. iii, ss. 44, 45. Carrière: *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwicklung*, Bd. iii, s. 96.

² Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, iii, 23, 24. "The long rows of columns no longer support an architrave, but arches; the wide wall surfaces are ornamented with rows of round windows, or niches, between lofty columns which support corbels." Compare Mothes: *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters*, Bd. i, ss. 12-24.

³ v. Otf. Müller: *Op. cit.*, s. 384.

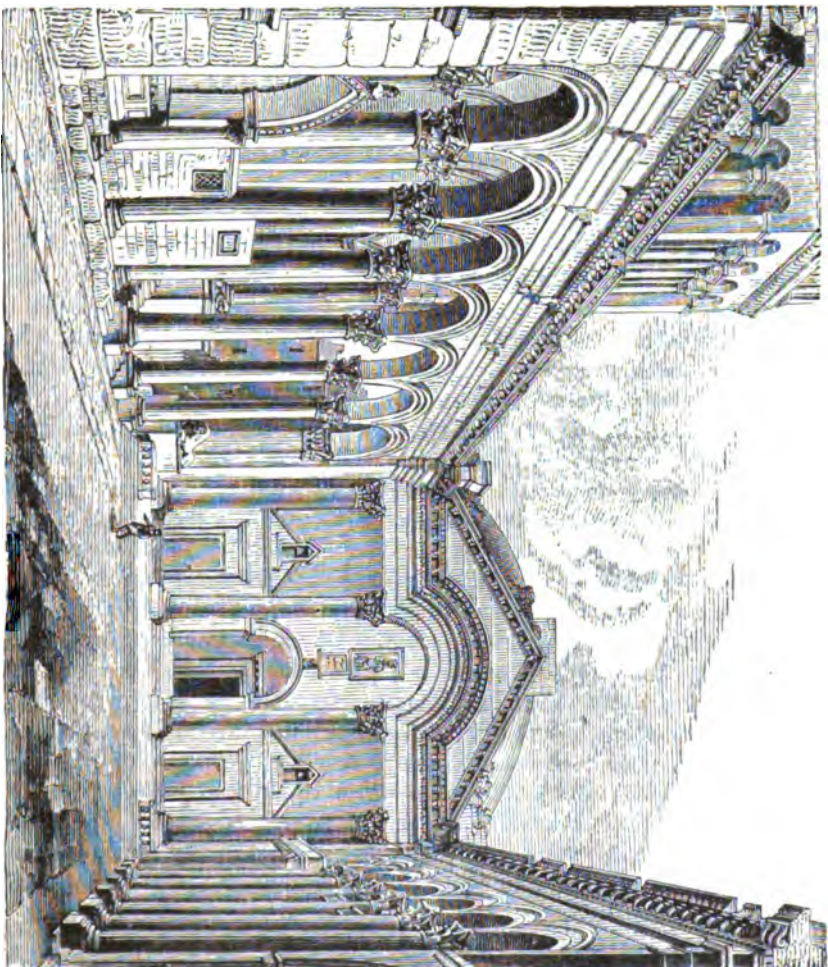


FIG. 70.—Palace of Diocletian, Spolito.

sion of the heathen law basilicas into Christian churches, lacks historic foundation. The main elements of the Christian basilica had been well known from the first, and the churches which are met in the fourth century are the result of two and a half centuries of growth and seemingly unconscious appropriation to its wants of whatever was useful.

On comparison of the Roman law basilica with the Christian Church of the same period, certain general resemblances are noticed, giving rise to a theory of its origin which was unquestioned for two and a half centuries, and is still embraced by a large class of writers on archæology.¹

There is no earlier notice of the use of the basilica for distinctively Christian purposes than that in a letter written to Macarius of Jerusalem by the Emperor Constantine, whose attention had been directed to the peculiar beauty and magnificence of a Christian basilica in that city. The theory that the name βασιλική was derived from the Emperor Constantine, βασιλεύς, is untenable. The letter of Constantine would show that the peculiar class of buildings to which he refers was well known to Macarius himself, hence must have been widely diffused at the time.² Moreover, the statement of Optatus regarding the forty basilicas at Rome at the time of Diocletian strengthens this opinion. It is noteworthy that no attempt to trace the derivation of the word is met before the seventh century. When Isidorus Hispanus says, "Formerly basilicas were called dwelling places of kings, hence the name, since βασιλεύς is a king and basilicas are royal habitations; but now divine temples are named basilicas because therein are offered service and sacrifice to God, the King of all," we may find a useful suggestion to the later Christians, but it scarcely affords a satisfactory explanation of the origin of a name which had characterized a whole class of structures from the fourth century. That the same name was attached to the heathen building and to the Christian is probably owing to their partial resemblance and likeness of arrangement.³

¹ v. J. Richter: *Christliche Architecture u. Plastik in Rom vor Constantine dem Grossen*. "Notwithstanding the most thorough investigations it cannot be positively denied that the Christian basilica was derived from the pagan hall of justice."

² We cannot, with Konrad Lange, *Haus und Halle*, s. 324, understand this to refer to the then existing basilicas which were used as halls of exchange, or to some modifications of these to adapt them to the purposes of Christian worship, but to churches which had previously existed.

³ Messmer: *Ueber den Ursprung, die Entwicklung, und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst*, Leipzig. 1854, ss. 15, 16.

The naved and columned church resembled the heathen basilica in being an oblong rectangular structure, whose interior was divided into three or five naves by two or four rows of columns extending throughout its length. Resemblance to pagan basilica. In some of the older churches these columns were taken directly from heathen monuments, thus introducing into the composition an element of strange incongruousness.¹ The columned arrangement would be as readily suggested by the banqueting hall of the more wealthy Romans as by the law basilicas themselves. In this case the result would be a three-naved building, which was the more usual form.

The Christian Church was a body of believers, an organism, in which the dependence of each part on every other was so vital that "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it" (1 Cor. xii, 26). The Christian church an organism. In it there must be chosen men to minister in holy things. The sacerdotal character of this ministry had already been recognized. The Church of the fourth century, therefore, required a place of assembly, and a high altar where the sacrifice of the holy eucharist could be made, and whence the divine will and purpose could be declared. In the Constantinian churches, the thought of the worshipper was directed toward the spot where communication was believed to be established between the invisible, eternal, all-wise God and the body of believers, through the ministrations of the priesthood. In the Christian basilica this spot was the semicircular niche opposite the entrance, where stood the high altar with its accompanying furniture, and where the bishop and his attendants conducted the imposing ceremonial. In Christian literature this niche is called the apse. The apse the unifying member. The term is found in common use by the early Christian writers, and always in the same sense.² The name was evidently of Roman origin, and is important in the study of the development of Christian architecture.

We have already seen that the law basilica likewise terminated in an apse. But the principles governing the two structures are entirely different. Different principles govern in the heathen and Christian basilica. While business of diverse character might be transacted in various parts of the heathen basilica, in the Christian church the

¹ Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, s. 48. "The columns taken from buildings of the pagan period are very seldom entirely alike, but often of different materials and various dimensions. In order to have the height of the capitals equal, the columns which are too high are shortened or sunk into the earth; such as are too short are placed upon a higher base."

² For numerous authorities confirmatory of this statement see especially Kreuser: *Christliche Kirchenbau*, ss. 84-87.

interest of the entire assembly was one and common. In the heathen basilica, therefore, the apse assumed no such importance as in the Christian church. This is manifest from the difference in the columnar structure. In the heathen basilica the columns were extended across the side opposite to the main entrance, making the colonnade continuous on the ground floor and in the galleries, thereby obscuring the view of the apse; in the Christian basilica, on the contrary, the columnar arrangement is absent from the apsidal termination, its place being often supplied by the triumphal arch (v. Fig. 82). Thus was secured an uninterrupted view of the apse, which was the center of all religious interest, toward which all lines of the building converged and the thought of all worshippers was directed. Here was the throne of the bishop, who was supported on either side by his presbyters, while near at hand were the deacons ready for service. Facing the east the bishop officiated at the altar in front of his chair, while the attention of the entire congregation was concentrated on this point of supreme interest, without architectural hindrance. For this reason a class of writers have found the origin

The apse suggested by the tablinum.

was wont

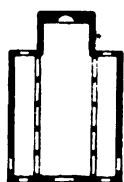


Fig. 80.—Basilica from villa of Hadrian, Tivoli.

apse is rectangular with a breadth of more than sixteen feet. Another room connected with this villa is single-naved and terminates in a semicircular apse (Fig. 81).

In the heathen basilica the second story was usually a place of promenade from which the visitor gained a view of the business transacted on the ground floor. The columnar arrangement corresponded to that of the first floor. This is seen in the Basilica Sessoriana (Fig. 88), and in the palace of Diocletian

of the apse in the cella of the burial chapels.¹ But it would seem to have an earlier suggestion in the *tablinum* of the private house, where the householder was wont to preside, and where, without doubt, was the seat of the officiating bishop during the period when Christian worship retained its household character. The fact that in a few structures the rectangular form of the apse, especially in its exterior outline, is still retained would seem to further strengthen this opinion.² This is seen in the basilica preserved in the ruins of the villa of Hadrian, at Tivoli (Fig. 80), whose

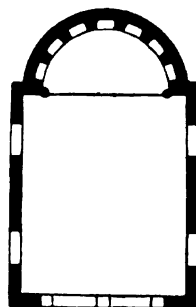


Fig. 81.—Basilica from villa of Hadrian, Tivoli.

¹ See the able article "Basilika" by Kraus in the *Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, pp. 118-120.

² v. Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst*, 1te Lief., s. 336.

(Fig. 79), and seems to have been preserved in a few oblong Christian basilicas, as in the five-naved church St. Demetrius at Thessalonica (v. Fig. 100). But this was not the law governing the second story of the Christian church. Instead of a gallery for the free intercourse of visitors, or for promenade, as in the law basilicas, in the Christian churches above the first row of columns was usually a continuous wall whose upper part was pierced with windows for lighting the interior. By this construction opportunity was afforded for more extended decoration, as is noticed in Santa Maria Maggiore, San Apollinare in Classe, and other churches of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. It hardly seems credible that so important a modification could have occurred suddenly on the transition of the Church from a condition of persecution to that of toleration. Rather, may not this wall expanse be but a slight modification of the essential features of the *atrium displuviatum* (Fig. 68), where the walls of the lower portions are changed to columns, while the upper portions are preserved as wall expanses? Also the arrangement of the roof of the three and five naved churches seems to be derived from the private house and the private basilica, rather than from the perfected law basilicas of Rome.

Moreover, the construction of the ceiling in the two classes of buildings was at times widely different. The heathen basilica very uniformly preserves a symmetrical division of the space into squares, with rosette ornaments. The ceiling of the main nave of the early Christian church, while sometimes adhering to this classical type,¹ more frequently consisted of open rafter-work and beams ornamented with gilt, bronze, and colors, to inspire the feeling of hope and aspiration² (San Pietro in Vaticano, see Fig. 92), or were of the cylindrically vaulted type, as in the churches of Egypt and Syria.

We therefore regard the oblong Christian basilica as a growth from elements with which the Church had been familiar during the first two and one half centuries of its varied history. The ordinary private dwelling-house, the triclinia of the more elegant houses of the nobler families that had embraced Christianity, the lodge-rooms, the cellæ of the burial chapels, and the imposing interior arrangement of colonnades in the heathen law basilicas, are the sources whence are derived the germs which, under the fostering and inspiring spirit of the new religion

¹ In Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome the ceiling is of later origin.

² Old San Pietro was a fine example of this open rafter-work. v. Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, ss. 48, 49.

This radical difference not suddenly realized.

The difference in ceiling construction.

Conclusion.

during periods of toleration and peace, were developed into a distinctively Christian architecture, whose chief characteristics continued for a thousand years.¹

§ 2. *The Parts of the Basilica.*

The adaptation of the basilica to Christian needs will appear from a more full description of its parts, and of the particular uses to which they were devoted.

The unifying power of the apse has already been noticed. The tendency of all lines of the building toward the semicircular niche was indicative of the concentration of attention on this focal point of interest to the worshipers. So, also, the transformations which we have already noticed show the supreme importance of the tribune and of its attendant parts. As the new wine of the Gospel could not be contained in the old bottles of Roman thought and life, so the Christian spirit was not content to simply enter into existing structures and use them for worship, but by its superior power it moulded these heathen elements into forms essentially new. The symbolic character of much of the ritual demanded fit means for its embodiment. From a general adaptation the basilica was adjusted in all its details to the needs of the church.

The simple semicircular recess of the pagan basilica was, in the Christian, elevated and covered by the conchoidal or vaulted roof; the altar was protected by a baldachin, supported by four columns, from whose under side, in the form of a dove descending upon the altar, hung the vessel containing the eucharistic elements. Somewhat further toward the middle nave a space was cut off from the rest of the building by railing for the use of the lesser clergy and the singers.² On the north side of this space stood the *lectorium* (ambo), or reading-desk, for the gospel; on the south side, that for the epistle. The apse and the triumphal arch were highly decorated; the pavement was wrought out in marble mosaic; the rafter work of the ceiling

¹ The conclusion reached by Konrad Lange, *Haus und Halle*, s. 323, "that the Edict of Milan is the determinate event for the introduction of the basilica form in place of the single-naved church which had before prevailed, and that the year 313 (and, in a broader sense, the year 323) is the birth-year of the Christian basilica, whose introduction is the monumental expression of the elevation of Christianity to be the religion of the state," seems to us untenable. It disregards the great law of historic development, and does not accord with the monumental and literary evidence.

² To aid in gaining a clearer conception of the parts of the basilica, consult Figs. 82 and 83.

added picturesqueness to the interior space (*v.* Fig. 82). Following outward from the altar, the main nave was entered, at whose farther end doors led to the vestibule or entrance portico. In the earlier form, this vestibule was an open space bounded by rows of columns, in whose center stood ^{The vestibule.} the fountain (cantharus) for the purification of the entering wor-

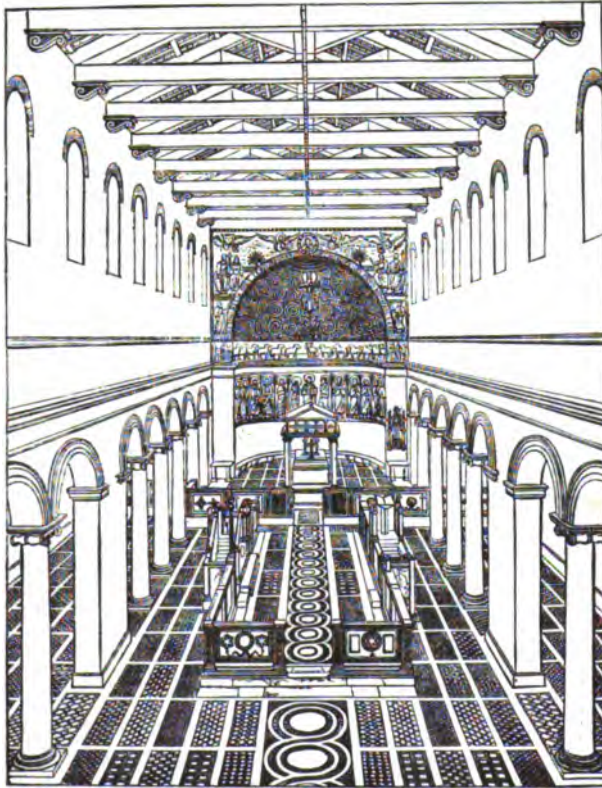


Fig. 82.—Interior of San Clemente, Rome.

shippers (*v.* Fig. 83). In later structures this open space was covered, and became an appropriate spot for meditation and penitence, or was more thoroughly incorporated into the main structure, as in San Lorenzo (*v.* Fig. 94). The vestibule was always present in the eastern churches; in some of the western it was lacking. From this circumstance some writers have believed that in the portico were found traces of the Jewish spirit and influence.

While a careful comparison of the Roman with the early Christian basilica reveals a general resemblance, there is an almost total

want of likeness in the details, and in individual members of the buildings. In outline each old Roman basilica had a marked individuality; the oblong Christian basilicas, however, with wide liberty respecting minute details, have a stereotyped plan which controls the entire development.¹ So

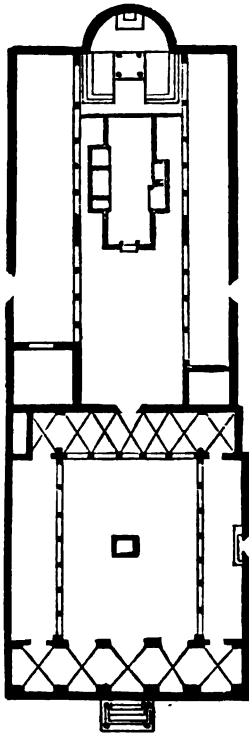


Fig. 88.—Groundplan of San Clemente, Rome. Vestibule and Cantharus in front.

in the Christian basilica, the form, the garment, were Roman; but the dedication of the building to a distinct purpose, by making the sanctuary the central and controlling thought of the entire structure, caused it to lay aside the old and assume a new and distinctive character. The whole building now had a richer significance. From a tribunal of justice and place of business it became the house of the King of kings, the Victor over the world and the grave. This completes the transformation of the Roman into the Christian basilica. Now for the first time the earlier explanations of its meaning seem appropriate. It is now, indeed, the dwelling-place of the one eternal King—the only wise Lord God Almighty. The tribunal of the imperial prætor has lost its significance; it has now been transformed into the seat of concord and unity, where Christ, the Mediator, insures the truest and highest peace between God and man.²

In the earlier and smaller basilicas the southern nave was usually set apart for the men, the northern for the women; in such cases the middle nave was occupied by the clergy for the responsive and choral service. In the more spacious and elegant basilicas this arrangement was no longer necessary, since the tribune itself was of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the officiating. In the western church the separation of the sexes gradually fell into disuse, but continued in the East.

The middle nave with its independent and loftier roof-construction, and the side naves with their lower ceilings and dependent roof, constitute a harmonious balancing of the parts. The side naves become the complementary numbers of

¹ Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 4.

² Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

the main nave right and left, as do the apse and the entrance portico in the direction of the length.

The early Christian basilica impresses by its chaste yet noble simplicity; in it the student of delicate art sensibility may discover the germs of that richer and fuller development which was afterward realized in the Gothic cathedral. Here is seen ^{The problem} the solution of the most important problem of sacred ar- solved.

chitecture; namely, to develop the form through the influence of the religion whose rites were therein to be celebrated; in other words, to effect a harmony between the containing material and the contained and inspiring spirit.¹ This significant victory was achieved by the Christian religion. Herein is noticed the difference between the

Greek and the Christian idea of architecture.² The spir- ^{The Christian} itual significance of the interior of the Christian basilica ^{vs. the Greek} is in strong contrast with the imposing grandeur of the ^{spirit.}

exterior of the Greek temple. Subjective truth and beauty are here shown to be of more worth than material splendor. Instead of passing from a perfect exterior to an unmeaning interior, the basilica obeys the law of all true development and growth in first invigorating and purifying the subjective spirit, and then, by virtue of the transforming power of truth, subordinating to this the exterior form.

It was not to be expected, therefore, that the somewhat conglomerate character of the earliest Christian basilica would remain unchanged. By degrees the heterogeneous elements disappeared, and from the original form was developed a new type of Christian architecture.

The most important departure from the fundamental form resulted from the introduction of the transept. ^{The later de-} The monotony caused by the long extent of unbroken space ^{velopment.}

in the naves was relieved by opposing to it the transept of equal height and breadth of the middle nave. This would furnish an appropriate termination to the longitudinal extension, and give to the sanctuary still greater dignity and impressiveness.

^{The transept.} The enlargement of the transept to the width of the entire church soon followed. At length the walls of the cross nave were projected beyond those of the main structure, giving to the foundation the form of the Latin cross.³ The transept thus became

¹ Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

² "At all times the ruling idea in architectural art has been essentially determined by the prevailing position of religion in the general spiritual life of a people." v. Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, s. 15.

³ This is seen in the noted Basilica of St. Paul, and also in that of St. Peter's, at Rome. v. Fig. 92.

an intermediate member between the apse and the middle nave, and connected the sanctuary with the space occupied by the body of worshippers. At the place of intersection of the transept and main nave, a lofty arch, reaching from one wall to the other, spanned the intermediate space (see Fig. 81). This so called triumphal arch rested upon two columns at the terminus of the middle nave, and constituted a most important feature of the later and more elaborate basilicas. The spaces on the ceilings were generally ornamented with forms of Christ and his apostles, of saints and of angels wrought out in painting or rich mosaics, while imposing pictures of Christ usually filled the altar niche.¹ At a still later period the naves were intersected by two or more transepts. By this means two or more triumphal arches resulted, and an increased wall and ceiling surface was secured for more elaborate ornamentation. The wide departure from the simplicity of the early Christian basilica during the later mediæval period resulted in serious architectural decadence.

§ 3. *The Influence of the Christian Basilica on other forms of Christian Architecture.*

The parts of the basilica were brought into still more harmonious relations by means of the vaulted roof, while the whole was unified in idea by the sanctuary. This marks the further transition from the earlier form of the Christian basilica to the round-vaulted or Roman style of church architecture. The development of the basilica did not at first admit of the round-arched vaulting, but of that which resulted from the intersection of the main nave with the transept. The thrust or pressure upon the lateral walls was too great to allow of a cylindrical vaulting over the middle nave, except where these walls were of unusual thickness, whereas the arches resting upon the terminal columns of the middle nave, and extending diagonally to like columns or pilasters at the boundary of the apse, would distribute one half of the pressure from the imposed mass in the direction of the line of the wall (v. Fig. 84).² Thus the support of the triumphal arch would be secured without unduly increasing the thickness of the enclosing wall.

The intersection of the vaulted roof of the main nave with that of the transept necessarily so divided the space as to compel the use of the cross vaulting rather than the cylindrical. A like

¹ v. Schnaase, Kugler, Quast, and others on this transformation.

² Messmer: *Op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78.

necessity to distribute the thrust of the supported roof in the direction of the series of columns led to the construction of diagonal ribbed arches, and the consequent transformation of the cylindrically vaulted ceiling into a series of cross-vaulted spaces, which mark the first stages in the development of Gothic architecture.¹

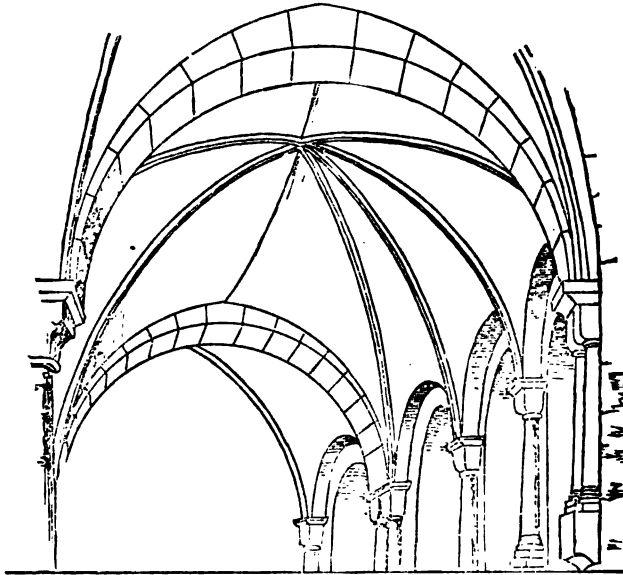


Fig. 84.—Showing the development of the cross-ribbed arches, and distribution of the pressure.

Thus by successive changes and transformations the contradictions and incongruities of the early Christian basilica were removed, the various parts were brought more and more into harmony, until the richer, more complete, and glorious Gothic style was the final outcome of all the struggle of the preceding centuries.

In the simple basilica were contained those germs which, under the quickening influence of the Christian religion, developed into the style of architecture which may be called preeminently Christian, in which every minutest part equally with every necessary member finds its truest significance in being included in a richer and more complete organism. This is in exact accordance with the philosophy of the spiritual edifice "built upon

¹ Rudolph Wiegmann: *Ueber den Ursprung des Spitzbogenstils*, s. 28. A careful comparison of Figs. 84 and 86 with Figs. 91 and 95 will help to an adequate conception of the process of transformation from the early Christian basilica to the Gothic cathedral.

the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone ; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord : in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit" (Eph. ii, 20-22) ; or of the bodily organism which suggested the other : "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. 1 Cor. 12, 13.

What the ancient basilica contained in itself as a possibility the Gothic cathedral realized in its rich efflorescence and crowning unity. This interior unity first appeared in the pointed arch, and in the architectural style which it originated. In the pointed style the basilica, which was the normal type of Christian architecture, was developed into the greatest beauty, the richest variety, yet the purest simplicity. The essential features of the original groundplan and outline were retained and brought to their highest possibilities. The longitudinal extension, and the tendency of the whole interior toward the sanctuary, were not changed, but rather found in the polygonal termination of the choir of the Gothic cathedral their structural unification and goal. The simple apse was transformed into the unifying choir; the vestibule was closely and constructively joined to the main and side naves, and as the supporting member of the towers it became the real entrance to the sanctuary, the point of transition from secular thought to genuine worship. Thus, in no way had the original portico been dispensed with, but by its completeness of development it became a constituent part of the structural whole. The threefold western entrance into the basilica was thus transformed into those enchanting portals which, by their deep oblique recesses and glorious crowning of gables, so greatly contributed to the majesty of the mediæval cathedral. The supporting and enclosing walls no longer constituted the essential mass of the structure, as in the original basilica. The wall is no longer continuous; the parts are bound together by opposing buttresses; while all is spiritualized and transfigured by the lofty painted windows in the main and side naves.¹ The columns, as well as the intervening pilasters, have now a deeper significance. The germinal form was circular. These, however, by the necessities of connecting the main and side naves, and of supporting the vaulted roof, were developed

Further transformation.

¹ Messmer: *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

into polygonal or clustered forms (Fig. 85). On these rest the slender ribs that connect the ceiling with the wall. With this final connection of all parts of the ceiling structure by means of the ribs with pointed arch, was completed the interior unification, just as in the ancient gable-roof of the basilica was found the external completion of that building (v. Fig. 86). What at the beginning was only an architectural germ was thus developed into a rich, beautiful, and unified style. In this respect, therefore, is the basilica entitled to be called a Christian form, emphatically *the* Christian temple, since it has been unfolded by a



Fig. 85.—A clustered column.

living Christian principle to meet the wants of the Church in the celebration of its perfected worship. Just herein lies the triumph of Christianity. By interpenetrating indifferent foreign forms with its own spirit it developed a style of such perfect artistic harmonies that further improvement may well be despaired of. In this respect can Christian architecture be justly called original.

How far was the Christian basilica a creation?

§ 4. *Some of the Earliest Christian Churches.*

Unfortunately, not a single early Christian basilica has been preserved in its integrity. Numerous additions and transformations, which the misdirected zeal of princes and popes effected, have, in many instances, entirely destroyed the original features of these churches. Their reconstruction from the few remaining portions, from the meagre notices of early Christian writers, and from comparative studies, is a work of extreme difficulty. Even the remains of these early basilicas are few and questionable. Some fell into decay, others were destroyed by the enemies of Christianity,¹ while still others were superseded by more imposing edifices during the reigns of Constantine and his successors.

Few remains of pre-Constantine churches.

Ciampini² has given a very full description of the Basilica Siciniana as it remained in the seventeenth century. This was probably the most perfect example of a heathen basilica transformed into a Christian church³ whose description has been preserved. From Ciampini's drawings⁴ a good knowledge of the original form and decorations can be gained. The plans show an oblong, rectangular

¹ Especially during the Decian and Diocletian persecutions.

² *Vetera Monimenta*, Pars i, pp. 9, 10.

³ Probably San Andrea in Barbara.

⁴ Tab. xxi-xxv.

structure with a portico and broad apse, without interior columnar division; hence a single-naved basilica.¹ Its walls were adorned with mosaics and paintings which commemorated, as many believe, the triumph of Anthony. These mural decorations preclude the supposition that it was originally used for Christian purposes; but

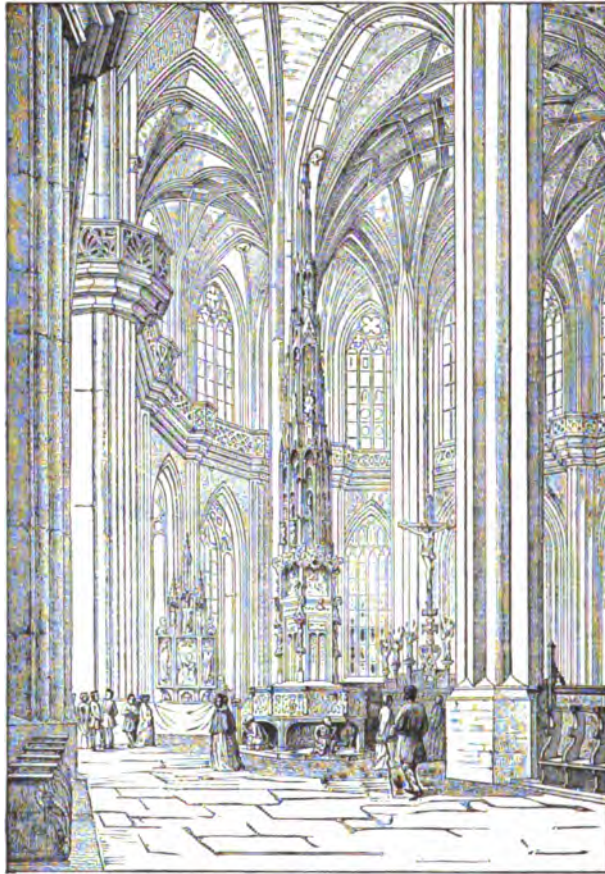


Fig. 86.—A Gothic Interior. To show the unification of the supporting and supported members.

they plainly point to a Roman monument. It is believed to have been built by Junius Bassus, A. D. 317.² The mosaics of the apse were introduced after its dedication as a Christian church. A. D. 470.

¹ de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, plate 67, gives the groundplan of a similar church in Bahonda. It is from the fifth century.

² Dehio: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, p. 82.

Another original private basilica was San Clemente, at Rome.

In the ninth century Pope John VIII. introduced the marble balustrades of the presbyterium, together with the chancels, high altar, and seats. Excavations¹ show that the present church is a reduction of a larger one, which, in turn, stood partly upon a very ancient wall of binding masonry of tufa (possibly from the time of the kings), and partly upon a brick wall that probably belonged to the dwelling-house of Clement himself (v. Figs. 82, 83, and 87). This foundation furnishes a good example of the form of the private Roman basilica.²

A third example is the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome. At the request of Helena, mother of Constantine, the pagan Basilica Sessoriana was changed, as tradition says, into a depositary for a piece of the true cross. This building (Figs. 88 and 89) is three-naved, and preserves more nearly than others the peculiar features of the Roman law basilica. The galleries, from which a view of the lower floor could be had through the spaces between the columns, are conformable to the original type, and the

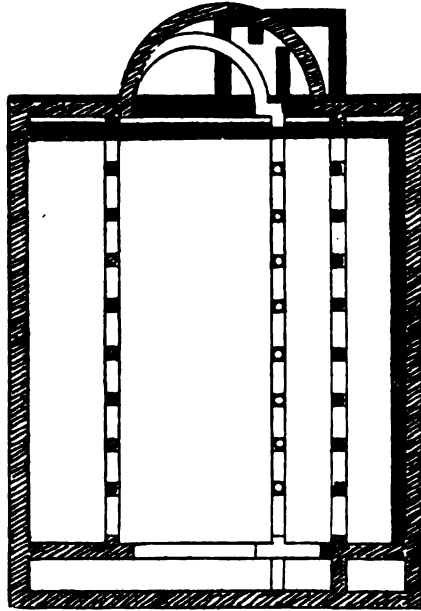


Fig. 87.—San Clemente, Rome. Groundplan, showing variety of structures.

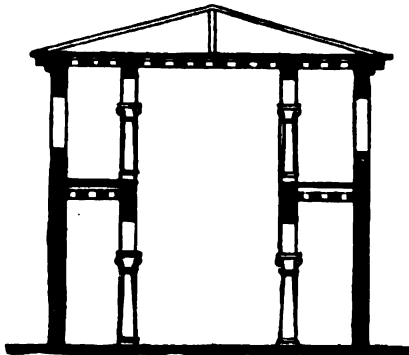


Fig. 88.—Cross-section of Basilica Sessoriana, or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

At the request of Helena, mother of Constantine, the pagan Basilica Sessoriana was changed, as tradition says, into a depositary for a piece of the true cross. This building (Figs. 88 and 89) is three-naved, and preserves more nearly than others the peculiar features of the Roman law basilica. The galleries, from which a view of the lower floor could be had through the spaces between the columns, are conformable to the original type, and the

¹ v. de Rossi: *Bullettino Arch. crist.*, April, 1863.

² The single-lined parts of Fig. 86 give the form of the original church; the double-lined represent the old tufa wall from the time of the kings; the black portions show the remains of the Clementine palace, while the blank outline is the modern church.

equal height of the ceiling of the main and side naves also suggests its pagan origin. According to the restorations, as given by Hübsch (Fig. 89), the vestibule was decorated with six columns; the apse was of unusual breadth, reaching almost to the outer enclosing walls, leaving only a narrow passage-way to rooms at the extremity of the church; the outer boundary walls were rectangular, thus giving no suggestion of the spacious semicircular apse within.

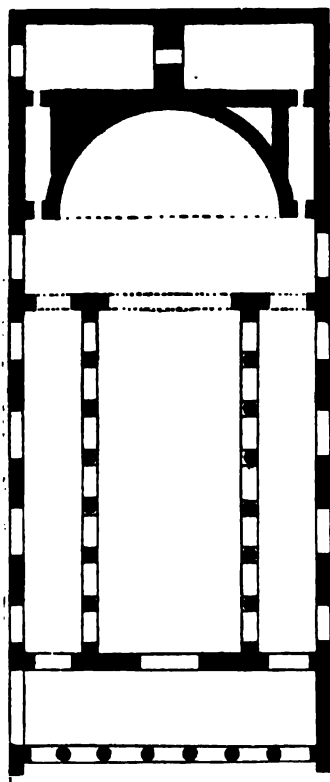


Fig. 89.—Groundplan of Fig. 88.

Among the very earliest and most noteworthy monuments of Christian architecture, Hübsch¹ ranks the Church of Santa Pudenziana, at Rome. Its traditions reach back to the apostolic times. It is said that the senator Pudens lodged the apostle Peter in his palace on this very site, that his sons built baths therein, and that at the earnest request of St. Prexedes, Pope Pius I., about A. D. 145, in honour of St. Pudenziana, converted this palace and the baths into a Christian church, under the title of SS. Pastor and Pudens.²

Without being able to account for all the motives, it is plain that the transformation of a secular building into a place of Christian worship lay at the foundation of this tradition.³ The opinion expressed by Hübsch that this refers only to the small chapel of the church, Santa Pudenziana, in which, at present, the altar of St. Peter is pointed out, is entitled to respectful attention.⁴ This church (Fig. 90)⁵ is an oblong parallel-

¹ *Altchristliche Kirchen*, Carlsruhe, 1862, fol., s. 6, taf. vii, viii. de Rossi has examined this church with much care, and has also traced the argument for its great age. v. *Bullettino crist.*, 1864, 1867, 1869, 1875.

² v. J. H. Parker: *The House of Pudens in Rome*, in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, 1871, pp. 42, 43.

³ Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 48.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, s. 7.

⁵ The dark lines mark the boundary of the church; the other lines are the outline of vaulted rooms adjacent, and very ancient.

ogram, of about the same size as the *Basilica Siciniana* (San Andrea in Barbara). It has been made ugly through recent restorations. The interior is three naved with a portico. The vaulted space behind the apse is very ancient, also the before-mentioned chapel, whose apse appears to be connected with the wall of an ancient foundation which belongs to the best period of Roman architecture. With little doubt it may be regarded as a portion of the ancient senatorial palace.¹ The side naves were one-storied, whose roof was a lean-to, but which, by the unusual elevation of the enclosing wall, became nearly equal in height to that of the middle nave. In front of the present entrance is found a very ancient portal with twisted columns. The shafts of the columns bounding the middle nave, of dark gray marble, have been taken from some ancient monument, while the capitals and bases seem to have been wrought out expressly for their present use.² For the study of the original derivation and structure of the Christian basilica this church is of first importance. Its arrangement enables the archæologist to distinguish the changes which pagan buildings underwent to adapt them to the purposes of Christian worship. The resemblance of the apse of this church to that of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is most striking and suggestive (v. Fig. 89).

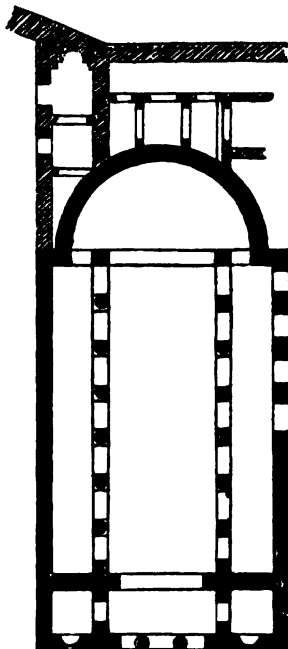


Fig. 90.—Groundplan of Santa Pudenziana, Rome.

Perhaps the most perfectly preserved monument of a pre-Constantine Christian basilica is the crypt of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. It seems to have been built within the enclosure of an ancient heathen temple. It is certain that the present church, founded by Hadrian I. in the eighth century, and enlarged and beautified by Calixtus II. in the twelfth, contains several parts of the original building. Noteworthy are eight fluted columns, which are clearly of antique origin. The pre-Constantine portion is subterranean, having a length of thirty-four palms (Roman) and a breadth of seventeen palms. The smooth, vaulted ceiling of large

¹ Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, s. 49.

² Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, ss. 48, 49.

blocks of travertine¹ rests immediately upon capitals whose rudeness proves them to be of different origin from the shafts themselves. The six columns of marble and granite, standing in the nave and aisles, were evidently taken from the temple on whose site the basilica was built. In the wall are seen small niches, resembling a columbarium,² which were used, as the learned Crescimbeni conjectures, as places of prayer and meditation. This church was built, it is believed, as early as the third quarter of the third century by Dionysius, Bishop of Rome. Its severe simplicity of style and arrangement, as well as its high antiquity, give to it the greatest importance among Christian art antiquities.³ The suggestions it furnishes with respect to the activity of the Church and the toleration of the Roman government prior to the Christian emperors are most valuable.

§ 5. *Basilicas of Roman Origin in the Time of Constantine.*

Amid the conflicting opinions respecting the character of Constantine, and the motives which influenced him to make Christianity the religion of the Roman state, there is more substantial agreement respecting the wonderful influence of his conversion on the fortunes of the Christian Church, on its doctrine, polity, and life. In many important respects his reign was epoch-making: the more profoundly it is studied the more clearly do the high, statesmanlike qualities of this great ruler appear. He may justly take rank among a score of noted men whose influence has been indelibly impressed upon human history, since his clearly conceived policy affected the fortunes of the Christian Church for a thousand years.

To what extent remorse for the fearful crimes of which he was guilty, in causing the death of Crispus, of young Licinius, and of his own wife, Fausta, may have influenced Constantine to favor the Church and to encourage the building of basilicas, may not be known. The donation of the Lateran palace to the Roman bishops, the building of St. Peter's, and the pilgrimage of Helena, the stricken, suffering mother, to Jerusalem, and the erection of the basilicas at Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and on Olivet, where tradition had located the three most important events in the life of Christ, appear to have been nearly coincident with these crimes which were perpetrated during his last visit to Rome. Our subject is more directly concerned with the fact that from this time Christian art received remarkable encouragement from the emperor.

¹ Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, s. 264.

² Förster: *Id. l. c.*

³ Hemans: *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art*, pp. 8, 9.

From the Church of the catacombs to be the Church of the empire was an unparalleled transition. Yet even such a change could but slowly and gradually transform the prevalent fashions and tastes. It is generally true that "institutions lag behind the circumstances that furnish opportunity for their growth and development." The social, moral, and political inertia ^{The transformation gradual.} of an age prevents it from immediately leaping to the embrace of all its possibilities. Hence history furnishes few violent catastrophes. Even barbarian invasions can bring but partial ruin, and the resistance to change which is inherent in the race causes an ebb and flow in human affairs rather than a destructive cataclysm. Architecture likewise obeyed this general law. Here, too, transitions were gradual. The opportunities and demands for more impressive forms of religious service, and the greater numbers that from various motives now crowded the places of worship, created a need for further changes in the interior of the buildings already dedicated to Christian uses, and furnished the occasion for the new and imposing structures erected during the Constantinian and post-Constantinian period. Here, too, the needs of worship, ^{imposing} and not the demands of art, begat the fundamental churches. form.¹ Its origin is, therefore, due to the religious feeling and to the spirit of worship, rather than to the æsthetic feeling.² In the readjustment of the existing churches, as well as in those newly erected, the Christian artists of the fourth century were unconsciously planning a building that would, through the efforts of succeeding centuries, be developed into the glory and perfection of ecclesiastical architecture.

At first the oblong rectangular basilica was extended throughout the whole empire. Not until the fifth century did the central system give rise to any imposing churches, while the distinctively Byzantine did not reach its full development ^{little from Constantine's time survives.} till the sixth. The west, however, adhered closely to the basilica type for a thousand years. Rome furnishes the best examples; unfortunately, however, of the many churches built during the reign of Constantine little has been preserved.

The most trustworthy accounts lead us to believe that during the first five centuries more than a hundred churches were built in Rome and its immediate vicinity. The originality of these ^{Lack of originality.} structures was at first very slender. The appropriation of pagan structures to Christian worship, and the use of columns and ready prepared materials for building new churches, was not favor-

¹ Schnaase: *Op. cit.*, 2te, Ausgabe, Bd. iii, s. 53.

² Rosengarten: *Handbook of Architectural Styles*, p. 170.

able to original production. At first the new spiritual life only
 Decay of the sanctified what was at hand. The four hundred temples
 heathen tem- that had so long been a stumbling-block to the purity
 ples and wor- ship. of the Church, and whose rites must have caused deep
 regret to the followers of Christ, became nearly empty and forsaken.
 Upon their ruins were to arise "the houses of the Lord." "During
 one portion of her history Rome was as a defiling, putrefying corpse;
 during an equal period she renewed her youth. Thus she had a
 double being in the history of humanity, whose capital she was
 twice called to be."¹

From historic notices we must believe that, of all these churches,
 San Pietro in Vaticano, built upon the site of the circus
 of Nero, was the most imposing (Figs. 91, 92). It was
 five-naved, with a straight entablature. The naves were of unequal



Fig. 91.—San Pietro in Vaticano, Rome. Front elevation.

height, the ceiling was
 finished with open
 rafter-work; the roof
 of the side naves
 abutted against the
 wall of the main nave
 so that it was continu-
 ous above both the
 side naves. The height
 of the ceiling of the
 side naves was deter-
 mined by the slant of
 the roof. This church
 was thoroughly reno-

vated and greatly enlarged in the ninth century, and continued to
 be the most conspicuous example of an early Christian basilica
 until it was supplanted at the beginning of the sixteenth century
 by the present imposing church of St. Peter's. It was also cruciform,

being about 351 feet long, and about 190 feet broad, the
 middle nave being over 70 feet wide. The twenty-three
 columns on each side of the middle nave were 26 feet 7 inches high.²

In many parts of the structure were unmistakable proofs of
 the practice of incorporating heathen handicraft into
 Christian temples. The particolored fragments placed
 in the walls showed the lack of competent artists to guide the

¹ Gregorovius: *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, Bd. i, ss. 5, 6.

² Platner u. Ulrichs: *Die Basiliken d. christlichen Rom*, TT. i-iii. Platner u. Bun-
 sen: *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Bd. ii, s. 50, seq. Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*,
 Bd. i, c. 384.

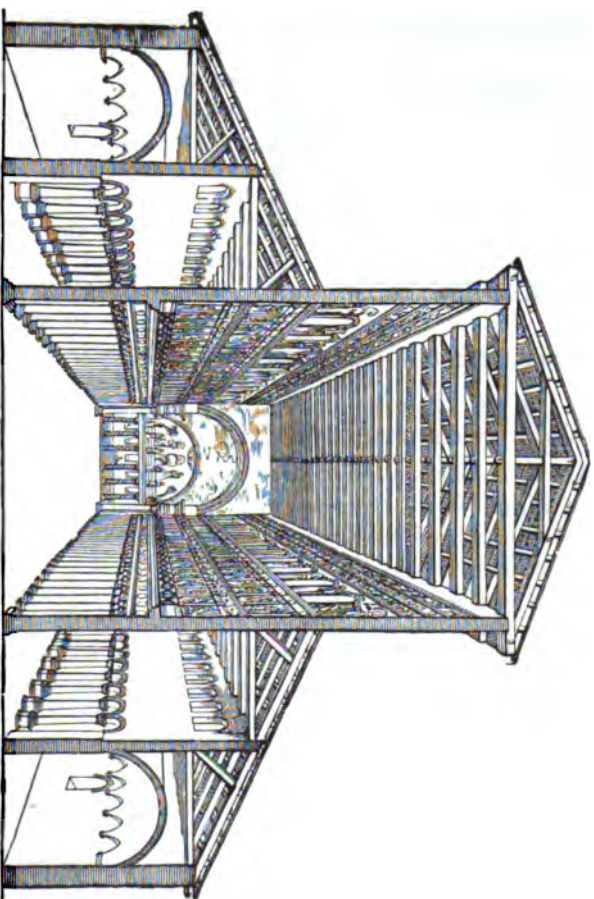


Fig. 82.—Cross-section of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, showing nave, pier-work, mosaic decorations, etc.

taste of Christians in the ornamentation of their public buildings. Figure 92 also shows the arrangement of the triumphal arch and of the sanctuary, together with the method of ornamentation with mosaics, etc. From the notices that have been preserved it is believed that in front of the church proper was a vestibule, or atrium, which was enclosed by a peristyle. In the center of this

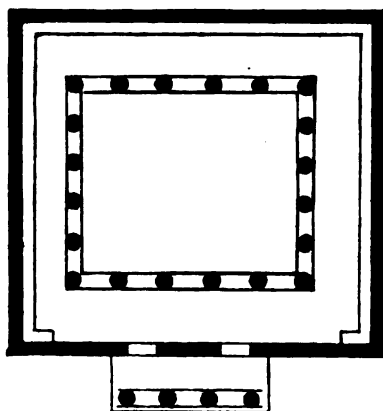


Fig. 93.—Atrium of Sylvanus, Via Appia, Rome.

enclosed space was the fountain, around which were seats for the use of those who kept the burial feasts when funeral rites were celebrated. A description of such feasts in his time has been given by Paulinus of Nola. The arrangement very closely corresponds to that found at the entrance to the Catacomb of Domitilla, before referred to (v. pp. 175, 175), and has an almost exact counterpart in the pagan schola. Fig. 93 is the representation of

a schola from the republican period. It is known as the Atrium of Sylvanus, discovered on the Appian Way. It has the portico, the fountain in the center of the enclosed square, and the stone benches running around the walls, which could be used by those who celebrated the burial feasts.¹

Another interesting church of its day was San Giovanni in Laterano, otherwise known as the Basilica Constantiniana or in Laterano. Salvatoris. It is doubtful whether any portion of the original survives in the modern gorgeous building. Some have claimed that the octagonal baptistery, with its eight antique porphyry columns, belongs to the age of Constantine; but more probably this was erected by Sixtus III. about the year A. D. 432. From every account of the historians this Lateran palace, which had belonged to Fausta, was the gift of the great emperor to the Bishop of Rome. The palace and church of the Lateran, rather than St. Peter's and the Vatican, became the center of Christian and papal Rome. This, and not St. Peter's, was the cathedral church where all the Roman councils have been held.² It was the early residence of the Roman pontiffs, and is still the place where they are enthroned and crowned.³

¹ Canina: *Via Appia*, t. 42, p. 174.

² The Vatican Council assembled by Pius IX. is an exception.

³ v. Stanley: *History of the Eastern Church*, Lecture vi.

On the Ostian Way just outside the city walls, over the spot where tradition says the pious matron Lucina had prepared in the subterranean passages on her estate a grave San Paolo fuori de la Mura. for St. Paul, Constantine had built a small basilica.¹ It was soon after (probably near the close of the fourth century) displaced by the magnificent basilica of St. Paul—the San Paolo fuori de la mura of a later day—which, notwithstanding numerous restorations, retained many of its original features till its destruction by fire in 1823. Fortunately full descriptions and plans of this noble monument have been preserved, from which an adequate notion of it may be gained. It was five-naved with a transept, three hundred and ninety-two feet long and two hundred and two feet wide. The middle nave was seventy-eight feet wide. Round arches connected the rows of twenty columns separating the Description. naves. The columns bounding the main nave well illustrate the methods of church construction after Christianity had become the religion of the state: they were thirty-two feet high. Twenty-four of the most beautiful, of Corinthian order, were taken from some building belonging to the best period of Roman architecture. The others were of very inferior workmanship.² Those in the side naves, seemingly prepared expressly for this church, mark the sad decadence of art in the time of Constantine and of his immediate successors. Prudentius informs us that the ceiling was decorated with gilt rafter-work.³

Reference has already been made (p. 197) to the motives of Constantine in building votive churches on the sacred sites in Palestine. He aimed to conciliate the East, which he had conquered from his rival Licinius. Special privileges and aid for church building were granted to the bishops of the most influential dioceses in Asia Minor and Syria. Notices of many of these have been preserved by Christian writers, especially by Eusebius and Prudentius, and the ruins of a few still remain to attest their magnificence. Of the beautiful basilica built by Paulinus at Troy, and described by Eusebius,⁴ nothing survives. So, also, with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Fortunately, the church at Bethlehem, built over the cave where tradition locates The Church of the Nativity. the birthplace of the Saviour, has partially survived. It seems fairly established that most of the present structure is

¹ Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, s. 275.

² H. Gally Knight, vol. i, plate iv.

³ *Peristephanon*, Hymn xii.

⁴ *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. x, cap. iv. v. Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Baumerk von Ravenna*, ss. 29, 30.

original. It is five-naved, with Corinthian columns supporting a straight entablature on which rests the wall. On it outlines of earlier paintings can still be traced.¹ At the end of the naves are a spacious transept, choir, and apses, well lighted by a series of windows in the upper part of the church. One is immediately carried back to such a Roman basilica as was built by Constantine for

A good example of the basilica. Christian worship, but which by being developed and transformed became the point of departure for the religious architecture of the subsequent centuries.²

Few visitors to this venerable building are not deeply impressed by its noble art and massive grandeur. It stands as a mute yet eloquent witness to the power of the religion whose spirit yet finds expression in this monument which has survived the rude shocks of fifteen centuries.

§ 6. *Some Basilicas of the Post-Constantine Period.*

The establishment of two independent empires, each having its own capital, gave opportunity for the development of each in harmony with its own peculiar genius. While originally receiving its inspiration from the East, the Latin soon became more purely and intensely Latin; the East, the mother of all, became more and more Oriental. These contrasts reveal themselves alike in State and Church. The Byzantine empire degenerated into an Oriental absolutism; the West steadily developed a practical and efficient constitutionalism. The Greek Church was content with immobility in doctrinal and political forms; the West was ever agitated by earnest struggles respecting life, doctrine, and polity. The practical mind of the West aimed to keep institutions abreast with the growing spirit of freedom among the people; the speculative spirit of the East was often content to exhaust itself in controversies whose effect was scarcely felt beyond the local church or the cloister.

A like contrast is noted in the art of the two empires. Each pursued its own chosen course of development, and each alike was influenced by the different conditions of social, political, and religious life. The West soon felt the modifying power of the invading tribes, while the East produced its peculiar art forms almost uninfluenced by its neighbours. Ravenna formed a middle ground where, through the patronage of remarkable rulers, the Teutonic spirit, modifying both the Eastern and the Western thought, produced some most interesting and instructive architectural monuments.

¹ Lützow und Lübke: *Denkmäler der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1879, Text, s. 116.

² De Vogüé: *Les Églises de la Terra Sainte*, Paris, 1860, ch. ii.

Excepting the temporary interference by Julian, Christianity in the West enjoyed the patronage and protection of government. Although it was a period of serious art decadence, the churches increased in number and splendour. The decline of the old faith and the increasing spread of the new contributed to these results. The pagan temples were transformed into Christian basilicas, while new churches rose upon sites made sacred by the ashes of saints and martyrs. The untrammelled spirit of Christianity now further modified the basilica, and fashioned it into forms fit for the expression of the sublimest truths. Herein is the significance of Christianity in the art history of this period. Although on the one hand a decaying and on the other an embryo art contributed to their construction, these Christian basilicas produced, in the main, a sublime and inspiring effect, which is chiefly attributable to the beautiful simplicity of their essential features.¹

The reign of Constantine was characterized by an abounding splendour and luxury in court-dress and equipage. Its magnificence also appears in the buildings of his reign and those of his successors. But this spirit did not at first so much effect a change in the form of the basilicas as in the extent and magnificence of their decorations and furniture.

Of the churches of the fourth century still preserved in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore is among the richest and most instructive.² It was originally built in A. D. 352, and renewed in A. D. 432. It is believed to be the first church dedicated to the Virgin. It is two hundred and sixty-two feet long and ninety-nine broad. Notwithstanding many attempts to modernize it, it still retains parts of the original structure. Its imposing ranks of columns, well-preserved ancient mosaics, and horizontal entablature make it most notable among the churches of Rome. Its ceiling follows the classical rather than the early Christian style—being divided into squares and ornamented with rosettes rather than finished in rafter and timber work.

Santa Maria in Trastevere disputes with Santa Maria Maggiore the honor of being the first church dedicated to the Virgin. If we are to accept the tradition, very early and resting upon some foundation, it was first founded in A. D. 340, while Santa Maria Maggiore was built twelve years later. Among the most in-

¹ Rosengarten: *Architectural Forms*, p. 170.

² Bunsen: *Basiliken d. ch. Roms*, tt. ix, x. Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, ss. 264, 265. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 386. H. Gally Knight: *The Ecclesiastical Buildings of Italy*. Valentini: *La Patriarcale Basilica Liberiana*.

teresting features of the interior are the twenty-two granite columns which divide the church into three naves. They are of different heights and thickness, and surmounted with capitals of different styles, on which are wrought out figures of Jupiter, Juno, and other gods of the Grreeks. This arrangement illustrates the entire freedom with which the Church of the fourth century incorporated into its houses of worship materials already at hand.

Portions of several basilicas of the fifth century remain, whose peculiarities are interesting and important in the history of ecclesiastical architecture. Among the most noteworthy in the West is Santa Sabina. Santa Sabina, believed to have been founded in the first quarter of the century. It is the best example of the original basilica that has survived. It, too, has twenty-two antique columns of pagan origin. They are of remarkable beauty, having Attic bases, Corinthian capitals, and somewhat slender shafts, fluted through one third of their length. A very considerable portion of the pavement belonging to the original structure is still preserved.¹



Fig. 94.—San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Showing arrangement of vestibule and roof.

Of considerable architectural importance is the church San Lorenzo fuori le mura (v. Fig. 94). It was begun in the fourth century, but underwent many changes in the sixth and thirteenth centuries. It is a good representative of the class of Christian churches which preserved the side galleries in the second story, in imitation of the peculiar feature of the pagan law basilica (v. Fig. 95). This was not, as we have already seen, introduced into the earliest churches, since, instead of a gallery, the walls

¹ Bunsen: *Basiliken der christlichen Roms*, t. viii, B. Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, ss. 284, 285.

bounding the middle nave were continuous to the roof, thus affording greater space for interior decoration.¹ To the same class belongs Santa Agnese fuori le mura (Fig. 95), built, according to the tradition, by Constantine above the catacombs where the remains of St. Agnes were found. The side galleries in the second story are well preserved in this church also.

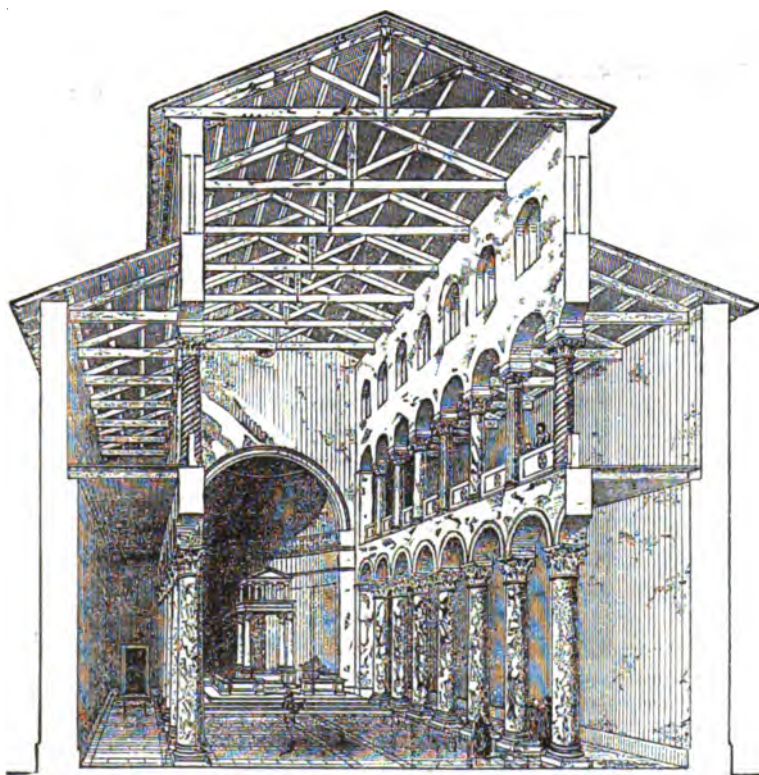


Fig. 95.—Santa Agnese fuori le mura. Interior view.

Another extra mural church of the fourth century is Santa Sinfiorosa, nine miles from the city gates. It is of special interest, as illustrating the growth of important churches of the basilica form from cellæ, beneath which the bones of martyrs were supposed to rest. It has been elsewhere stated that the burial feasts were celebrated in or near these cellæ, or in exedrae, and that where sites were of especial sacredness multitudes were accustomed to leave the city to engage in these festivals. To accommodate the

¹ Dehio und Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, text, ss. 107, 108; taf. 16, 4. Bunsen: *Op. cit.*, tt. xii, xiii, xiv. Förster: *Op. cit.*, ss. 257, 258.

increasing numbers the simple cella in time expanded to the imposing church, and the services assumed a character of dignity and impressive grandeur. The exploration of Santa Sinforosa revealed the existence of a cella, of the usual from, From a burial chapel.

lying directly back of the apse of the basilica, and connected with

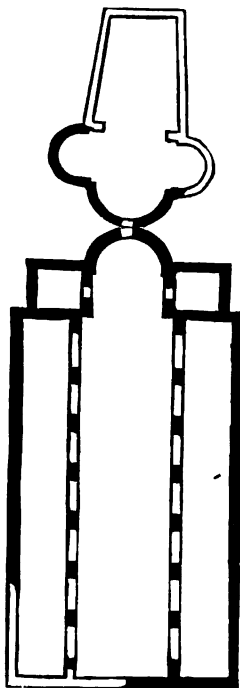


Fig. 96. — Groundplan of Santa Sinforosa.

it by a passage-way (v. Fig. 95). It is believed that this basilica originated in the manner above indicated, and that it was especially hallowed by its immediate proximity to the resting-place of St. Sinforosa and her seven sons.¹

Like the churches of San Lorenzo, Santa Agnese, and Santa Sinforosa, so, also, are the two most important basilicas of Rome — San Pietro in Vaticano, and San Paoli fuori le mura—believed to have originated in sacred shrines outside the city walls. Of the fifth century is also San Pietro in vin- San Pietro in vincoli.

coli, a three-naved basilica, with flat ceiling of wood, and with twenty antique columns of finest Parian marble, whose severe Doric style gives to the interior an air of impressive simplicity.

Outside of Rome are found remains of several churches of the basilica type of architecture from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Ravenna is among the most rich and instructive centers. It is a favorable circumstance that their complete history is found in the *Biographies of the Bishops* Good historic and monumental evidence.

of Ravenna, by Agnellus.² These churches have more fully preserved their original form than those of Rome or Constantinople, where the unwise zeal of succeeding popes, patriarchs, or emperors has in many instances modified nearly every feature of the original structure. It is, therefore, highly important to understand the nature and teachings of these architectural monuments.

Compared with those of Rome, the oblong basilica churches of Ravenna had usually a very simple ground plan. They were mostly three-naved, without transept or galleries. Simple in outline.

¹ *Bullettino cristiano*, 1878, p. 75. G. Baldwin Brown: *From Schola to Cathedral*, pp. 64, 65. Delio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, text, s. 104; taf. 17, 2.

² v. Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*.

In contrast with most of the ancient churches of Rome, they seem to have been built of materials specially prepared for them. Instead of the curious conglomeration of styles in the columns, with respect to order, diameter, and height, and of the materials of the buildings, in Ravenna a general harmony and consistency are noticed.¹ The style is, therefore, more distinct, Generally harmonious. and the stage of architectural development more clearly marked. The interior arrangement is likewise simple and harmonious. The architrave is entirely wanting, the entablature being uniformly supported by the round arch. The capitals do not immediately support the arches, but are crowned with an abacus (*v.* Fig. 99). The tribune is generally well defined and carefully decorated. In marked contrast with modern churches, the exterior was simple and undorned, the material being usually brick.

Quast² divides the Christian architectural monuments of Ravenna into four periods. The first extends from the introduction of Christianity to the downfall of the Western Empire in A. D. 476; the second from the Roman downfall to the death of Theodoric, A. D. 476-526; the third from the death of Theodoric to the death of the Archbishop Agnellus, A. D. 526-566; the fourth period from the death of Agnellus to the termination of art activity in Ravenna—A. D. 566 to about A. D. 900. Kugler³ divides into three periods, corresponding to the three chief periods of the history of the city. To the first period belongs the cathedral church of the town, the *Ecclesia Ursiana*, which was built near the beginning of the fifth century. Unfortunately, on its reconstruction at the beginning of the eighteenth century the original structure was totally destroyed. Yet, from trustworthy notices that have been preserved, we learn that it was a five-naved basilica, which preeminence it enjoyed with only three of the most noted churches of Rome. Certain expressions of Agnellus lead us to believe that the entire church area was covered with a vaulted ceiling. It was originally dedicated to the resurrection of Christ. Its pavements and walls were adorned First period. Ecclesia Ursiana. Its decorations. with costly marbles and rich mosaics. The arrangement of the choir resembled that of San Clemente at Rome.⁴ The surviving baptisterium is elsewhere described.

¹ *v.* Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 44. Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 394.

² *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerken von Ravenna*, ss. 2, 17, 27, 40

³ *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 395.

⁴ Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842, s. 2. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, Taf. 17, Fig. 4. D'Agincourt: Pl. lxx, Fig. 21.

To the same period belongs Santa Agata, a three-naved church closely conforming to the typical oblong basilica, yet possessing little of special interest.

Santa Agata.

The period of civil commotion following the death of Valentinian III. was unfavorable to the patronage of ecclesiastical art. The fearful inroads of Attila and Odoacer had brought destruction in their pathway until the triumph of the Ostro-

Second period.

gothic king, Theodoric, in A. D. 495. This remarkable ruler restored to Italy a measure of the prosperity enjoyed before her desperate struggles with the barbarians. Though unlettered, he was a patron of learning, and greatly beautified Ravenna and other cities of his realm by the erection of many new churches. His task was one of extreme difficulty. An Ostro-

The policy of Theodoric.

gothic king, he must not only reconcile the two fiercely contending peoples, but also pacify the orthodox and Arian parties in the Church. The Gothic tribes had largely embraced the Arian doctrine, and Theodoric was himself its defender. His nobility of character is shown in his carefully refraining from persecution of opponents, and by granting to the orthodox party the privilege of building and owning their own churches, and of using their own confession of faith and forms of worship. The architectural interest of his reign is connected very largely with the churches of the Arian party, some of which were built outside the walls of the city, and some at the port of Classe. Several within the city have been preserved to our time, and constitute an interesting group of ecclesiastical monuments. Among the most noted is San Apollinare Nuovo, formerly called Basilica San Apollinare San Martini in cælo aureo, so named from its great splendour. It was connected directly with the royal palace, and seems to have been regarded as specially the court church.¹

His tolerant spirit.

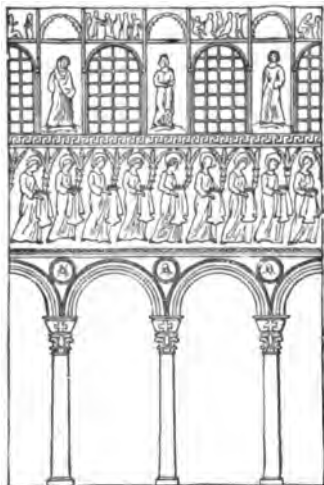


Fig. 97.—San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, showing interior structure and decoration.

The exterior of the upper part of the middle nave has been preserved entire. The same style of round arch, built of brick, which we have before met in the churches of

¹ Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 19, Taf. vii, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4. Dehio und Bezold: Taf. 16, Fig. 5. D'Agiucourt: Plate xvii, 17-22.

the first period (as in Santa Agata), is here repeated. The columns of the interior (v. Fig. 97) have Corinthian capitals with a square abacus quite in the Byzantine style.¹

The splendid churches built by the Catholic party belong properly to the third period. The most noted had been commenced during the Gothic supremacy, but were finished and decorated at a later date. For the most part they were no longer constructed under the direction of kings and rulers, but of the ecclesiastics who held allegiance to Constantinople. From this time, therefore, the Byzantine influence is much more pronounced in the buildings of Ravenna.

The Christian archæologist, in search of new illustrations of the life and vigor of the early Church, meets few more impressive monuments than the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe. During the three-mile walk from Ravenna



Fig. 98.—San Apollinare in Classe.

to Classe amid scenes so full of historic and literary interest, the memories of events decisive in the world's history troop before the visitor like specters from the entombed generations. This church stands out in its solitariness, the sole survivor of all the edifices that crowded the busy port of Classe, where Augustus moored his conquering fleets. Its tower still stands to point the faith of men to the Author of a religion that shall never know decay, while beneath it sleeps the dust of forty generations.

¹ For description of mosaics see pp. 125, 127. Fig. 97 gives a good idea of the construction of the columns, the form of arches, the rich mosaic decorations of the entablature, etc.

Even to the portico, the building remains in all its original integrity.

The interior. Only a portion of the marble which lined the interior walls has been removed (v. Fig. 99). It is a three-naved basilica with elevated choir, to which lead stairs of the entire breadth of the middle nave. It is one hundred and eighty-six feet long and one hundred feet broad, having on either side twelve tapering columns of Grecian marble with Corinthian capitals.¹

The furniture, altar, etc., are still preserved. The original mosaics in the tribune (v. Fig. 99) and on the side walls remain etc. in all their freshness to tell the story of the religious thought of the sixth century. On the beautiful frieze above the



Fig. 99.—San Apollinare in Classe. Interior view.

columns bounding the middle nave is a series of mosaic medallions (v. Fig. 99) of the bishops of this church from the time of St. Apollinarius. They are most noteworthy. The capitals of the columns, as of the pilasters, have much value and interest in the history of architectural development, since they are the first examples of an ornamentation which was subsequently widely diffused.²

Exterior construction. The exterior of the church is of brick, whose joints of mortar are nearly as thick as the bricks themselves. The vestibule, apparently contemporary with the main structure, is

¹ Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, ss. 389, 390. Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 34–37, Taf. ix. D'Agincourt: *Plates* lxxviii and lxxix. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, Taf. 16, Fig. 8.

² Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 35, taf. ix, Figs. 3, 4.

of great interest from containing the remains of many successive bishops of this church. In San Apollinare in Classe, in common with several other churches of Ravenna, a growing External beau- attention to exterior beauty and harmony is noticed. ty.

Previously the basilicas had very broad and open windows; a construction unfavourable to the support of the heavy weight resting on the architraves; but when the round arch was generally introduced this difficulty no longer existed. The windows were The windows. made narrower, the light admitted became less and less, until the passion for "a dim religious light" led to the entire absence of windows in the upper part of the middle nave.

Of much interest are the cathedral church of Novara, from the sixth century, and the cathedral of Parenzo, in Istria, Cathedrals of Novara and Parenzo. from the seventh. They are distinguished by having a forecourt and a baptistery very closely incorporated into their architectural structure. This feature is believed by Hübsch to have been first introduced during the sixth century. The latter church has been well preserved, is rich in mosaics and Mosaics. paintings, and retains the original marble pavement in the middle nave. While the mosaics of the façade are weather-beaten and much faded, from their outlines a fair idea of their subjects and style of treatment can be gained.

In the non-European lands are still preserved many examples of the oblong rectangular basilica, whose original may be St. Reparatus. traced from the fourth century down. Prominent among these is the Basilica Reparatus, discovered on the site of the ancient Castellum Tingitanum (the modern Orleansville), in Algiers.¹ It was a five-naved church with semicircular apse which projected toward the middle of the church, thus forming rooms on either side, while the exterior boundaries of the church were straight lines.²

Ruins of like churches are also found at Tafaced (Colonia Tipæsa), at Annuna, etc. Farther toward the East, at the old port of Apollonia, three ruined basilicas have been found, whose art remains are interesting for showing the commingling of Christian and Egyptian symbolism.³ Also in many parts of Egypt ruins of In Egypt, also. these early Christian churches of the basilica form are still met. They are not confined to the cities nor to the Nile

¹ For the chronology of this church see p. 33, note 2.

² The form of this apse is very similar to that of San Croce in Gerusalemme, Fig. 81.

³ Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, ss. 373, 374. These have been well described by H. Barth, in his *Journeys through the Coastlands of the Mediterranean*.

valley, but are found on oases in the Lybian desert, as at El-Hayz, El-Gabuat, and El-Zabu.

In the Nile valley, extending far south, churches of the fourth and fifth centuries still preserve many very interesting ^{Extensively} and instructive features. Their number and size, their ^{diffused in the} Nile valley. rich art remains, their connection in some instances with extended convents and religious communities, are confirmatory evidence of the widespread influence of Christianity among the Egyptian peoples, while their peculiar architectural features seem to furnish some foundation for the theory that Egypt was the native home of the basilica, being appropriated by the Greeks, and then, in modified form, becoming a ruling type in the West-Roman Empire.

Also the church of St. Demetrius (Fig. 100), at Thessalonica (modern Salonika), belongs to the fifth century. It is a five-naved

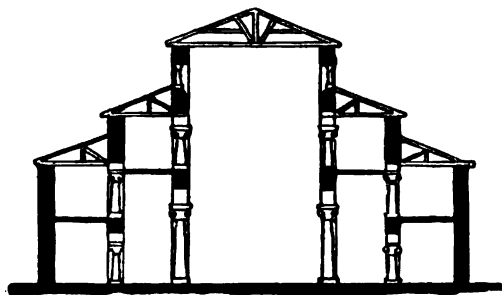


Fig. 100.—St. Demetrius, Thessalonica. Cross section.

structure with a transept. It departs, in some respects, quite widely from the usual basilica form. The spaces between the columns are spanned by semicircular arches surmounted by an entablature covered with paintings. Above this is a second row of col-

umns with a like entablature, and above this a third, in which are the windows for lighting the interior. Like many of the conspicuous churches of the Orient, it is now a Mohammedan mosque.¹

Contemporary with St. Demetrius is another church of Salonika, now called the mosque Eski-Djouma. It is three-naved with a transept, and its general features are similar to those of St. Demetrius.

Of still greater interest are the churches of central Syria. These ^{Central Syria.} have been made better known through the diligent re- searches of the Count de Vogtlié.² It is evident from his discoveries that during the fifth and sixth centuries, while the West was in a condition of disruption and fearful decadence, Christian art in Syria was in a state of unwonted activity. The number

¹ Texier and Pullan: *L'Architecture Byzantine*, p. 134, pl. xvii-xxvi. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 433. Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 47.

² *Syrie Centrale: Architecture Civile et Religieuse du 1^{er} au 7^e Siècle*. Paris, 1865-1877. 2 vols., fol.

of churches, the chaste simplicity of their style, and their close adherence to the oblong basilica type, argue a period of peace and of remarkable prosperity of the Church. Prior to the fourth century little survives, but from the fourth to the seventh the Christian architectural monuments are almost innumerable,¹ being built in great measure of materials already at hand. "We are transported," says de Vogüé, "into the midst of a Christian society. We are surprised at its life: not the covert, hidden life of the catacombs, not an existence humble, timid, suffering, is here generally represented, but a life generous, rich, artistic; spacious houses built of brown stone, conveniently arranged, with galleries and covered balconies; beautiful gardens planted with the vine, presses for making wine, and stone vats and casks for its safe storage; immense subterranean kitchens, and stables for the horses; beautiful squares, surrounded with porticos and elegant baths; magnificent churches, adorned with columns, flanked with towers and encircled with elegant tombs."²

The Church in
a state of pros-
perity.

In nearly all the basilicas of Africa and Syria there is a departure from the style of the West with respect to the ceiling finish and decoration. Instead of the open beam-and-rafter work so usual with Roman basilicas, we find the semicylindrical vaulted ceiling. It is believed that this peculiar construction was determined by the character of the materials at hand—the Egyptian and Syrian lands being destitute of timber suitable for the ceiling decorations, while at the same time both stone and brick were abundant and cheap. A like ceiling vaulting is sometimes met in southern France. While hewn stone was seldom used in Italy (brick being the material in general use for the purposes of ceiling vaulting), it was quite common in Syria and the East.³

The vaulted
ceiling.

Among the numerous monuments scattered thus over Syria, those of Kherbet-Hass, El-Barah, and Tourmanin are very conspicuous. Each comprises a group of buildings for religious observances, including one or more churches, chapels, and houses for meditation, or convents for Christian orders.

The group at Kherbet-Hass consists of a larger and a smaller church, both three-naved, with distinct internal semicircular apse, and opening upon spacious courts. Besides these are found rooms for the school, for the library, for lodging the various Church officials, and a place of burial for the chief ecclesiastics.⁴

Kherbet-Hass.

¹ *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 7. ² *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 9. ³ Delio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 130.

⁴ De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 96; t. ii, plates 59, 61.

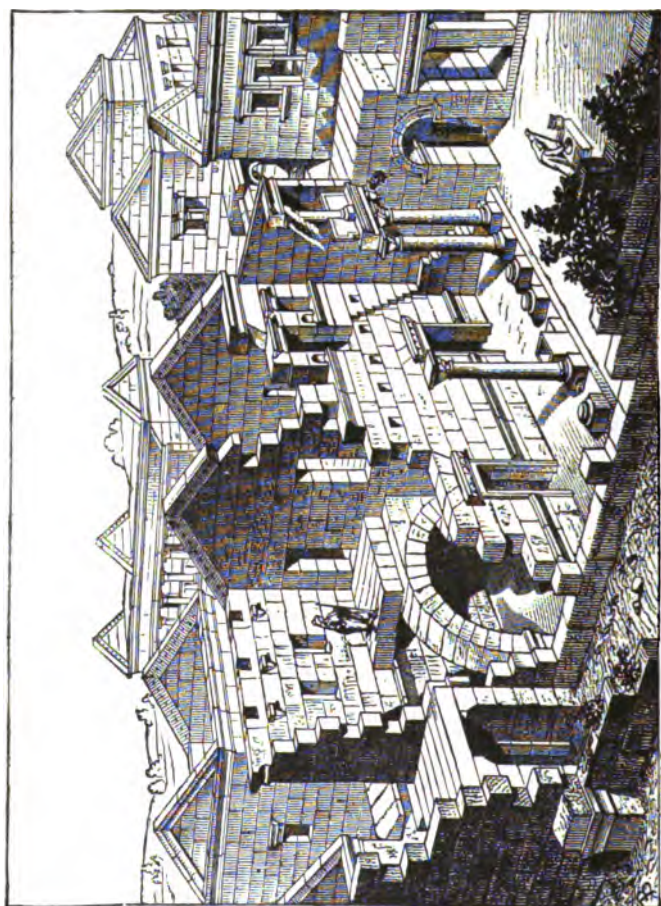


Fig. 101.—Basilica at El-Barah, Central Syria.

At El-Barah are three churches in close juxtaposition. Fig. 101 represents this collection of religious edifices.

El-Barah.

The principal church, with its adjacent chapel, has on the front and sides spacious courts with irregular colonnades. Near to this church are the school, the rooms for the various servants, for the ecclesiastics, and for the library. The entire group of buildings shown in Fig. 101 is connected with this imposing ecclesiastical establishment, and well illustrates the flourishing state of the Syrian churches in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The curious assemblage of buildings at Tourmanin comprised a church, and an immense structure which seems to have been an

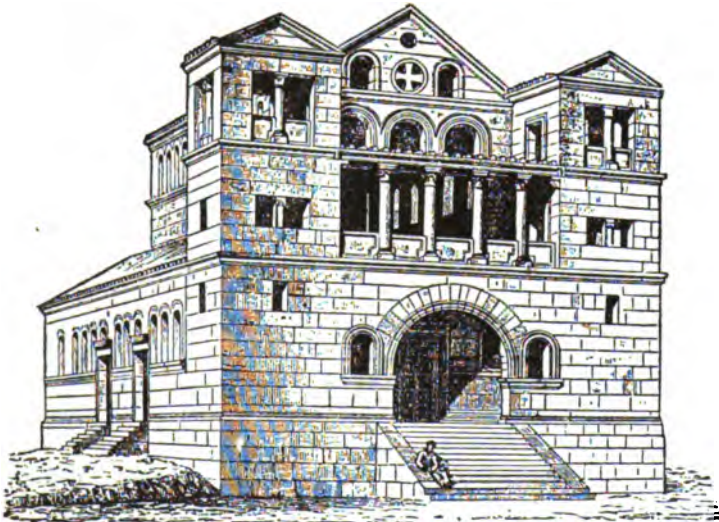


Fig. 102.—View of the church at Tourmanin, Central Syria. Restored from the ruins.

ecclesiastical hostelry for lodging pilgrims. The church, restored from a careful study of the surviving portions (Fig. 102), follows the general plan and arrangement of most Syrian churches of the sixth century. The *façade* has an imposing character,¹ while the disposition of the lines gives to it a picturesque effect. The careful balancing of parts resulted in a building of great solidity, whose permanence was almost entirely independent of cement. The interior is the usual oblong basilica of three naves. The apse has the form of a regular half-dodecagon. The internal arrangements and decorations show that architecture at this

¹ v. De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 138-140; plates cxxx-cxxvi.

period had attained a very high order of excellence, and indicate a very prosperous condition of the Syrian Church during the sixth century.

All the churches both at Kherbet-Hass, El Barah, and Tourmanin are of the pure oblong basilica type which so generally prevailed in Syria and Egypt. As before said, they lack the wood rafter work in the ceilings, instead of which they employ cut stone for the vaulting. These churches varied very little in their general outline and plan, the architects being content to introduce variety into the decorations and subordinate members. In the disposition of the interiors there is great uniformity. The columns are generally monoliths, with bases which remind us of the classic style, while the imposed mass is directly supported by the capitals without the intervention of the abacus.¹

The grandest monument of Central Syria are the church and convent of St. Simon the Stylite. It is now called Kalat-monastery of Sem'an—the Chateau of Simon. It is situated in the north-east corner of central Syria, a short distance north of Djebel Cheikh Bereket. It was built in honor of that most singular character, Simon the Stylite, who died A. D. 459. The date of the church is somewhat uncertain. From considerations drawn from the style of the decorations, de Vogüé is disposed to place its erection in the latter half of the fifth century.² It was a cruciform, three-naved basilica, whose three arms are of equal length; the fourth, containing the apse, being thirty-six feet longer than the others. The arms of the cross at their intersection form an octagonal court one hundred feet in diameter, which was open to the sky. The longest arm terminated in a semicircular apse not only for the main but also for the side naves. The length of the church from east to west was 336 feet, from north to south 300 feet. The width of the main nave was 36 feet, that of the side naves 18 feet. The principal entrance was from the south through a porch of imposing magnificence. This church, with its attendant chapels, oratories, and sarcophagi, is a reminder of the best classical period. Although in treatment it is somewhat bald and meagre, the style of the capitals is decidedly original. The oblique direction given to the return of the leaves is quite common to the Byzantine architecture. In this and other respects the capitals resemble those of San Apollinare in Classe, in Ravenna, and those

¹ De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 97: t. ii, pl. 60.

² *Syrie Centrale*: t. i, pp. 141-154: t. ii, plates 145-151.

employed in the principal entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.¹ The interior decoration of this and other Syrian churches of the fifth and sixth centuries cannot be ascertained with certainty. From a few specimens of painted cornice found on the spot, de Vogüé has, however, inferred that the color was applied directly to the stone, and ^{The coloring.} that much of the brilliancy of the classical buildings might have belonged to these Syrian ecclesiastical structures.² He does not believe that these churches were ornamented to any considerable extent with mosaics of gilt and glass. The smooth, polished faces of the stone in the choir, which was the only place ^{Destitute of} where mosaics could be used, forbid the supposition of ^{mosaics.} their employment for ornamentation. Yet the mass of pieces of colored marbles, found in connection with the ruins of this church, suggests the probability that the pavement may have been wrought out in beautiful mosaic patterns.

SECTION II.

THE CENTRAL OR DOMED STYLE.

Contemporary with the oblong, naved, rectangular basilica was another style of Christian architecture, the so-called central or domed structure. This was not unfrequent in the West, but in few if any instances does it seem to have been used in buildings originally designed for Christian churches. It was rather limited to those structures of pagan origin which were appropriated to Christian uses, or to buildings subordinate to the main church edifice, as ^{Not powerful} burial or memorial chapels, baptisteries,³ etc. Hence ^{in the West.} in the Occident it seemed to be wanting in power of growth and development; it had at best a feeble, sickly life, and the mediæval architecture received from it but a scanty inheritance. In the Orient it was far otherwise. Here the church adopted and fashioned it to satisfy its own peculiar wants. One type ^{Its peculiar} appeared in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at ^{home in the} Jerusalem, and another, after a rapid and brilliant development, attained its goal and highest perfection in St. Sophia of Constantinople.⁴ From the so-called Byzantine architecture was properly derived the constructive principle which enabled the me-

¹ De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 150, 151.

² *Id.*, t. i, p. 152, plate 151.

³ Schnaase: *Gesch. d. bildend. Künste*, iii, 48; Dehio u. Bezold, i, 20, 21.

⁴ Dehio und Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1884, 1te Lief., s. 21.

diæval architects to transform the flat ceiling of the basilica into the vaulted, and ultimately into the beautiful, soaring, pointed style of the Gothic cathedral.¹

§ 1. *Origin of the Domed Structure.*

The origin of the domed principle in architecture is even more obscure than that of the oblong rectangular basilica. While the Etruscans were familiar with the vaulted roof, as this was applied to the cloacæ and aqueducts, they have left no works of marked architectural character which lead us to believe that they are the originators of the dome structure as it was found in the West just prior to the Advent. It is very remarkable that the most beautiful and complete dome of the world is the Pantheon of Rome, a sort of architectural Melchizedek, without father or mother, and also wanting, so far as can be determined, the long antecedent process of development which such perfection presupposes. It is likewise curious that the oblong basilica is the most persistent form for the Christian church in many parts of the Orient, which has usually been accounted the native land of the so called Byzantine architecture.

Of the churches of central Syria, described by de Vogüé, only two of importance are of the domical form, and these from the sixth century.² It is claimed that they were constructed on an entirely different principle from that governing in St. Sophia. They were compact and unified; their parts were members of a living organism. Each was firmly bound to the other, each was the natural and necessary complement of all. St. Sophia, on the other hand, was a vast concretion of brick and mortar, and of rough blocks of stone, distributed into arches, vaulted surfaces, cupolas, and hemicupolas, whose expansions, resting upon fixed points, and balancing one part against the other, were brought into a condition of perfect equilibrium. The principle of construction was not different from that in the Roman baptistery, developed, enlarged, and made more light and soaring through the boldness of two men of eminent genius,

¹ We believe, therefore, that the concluding paragraph of the statement of Professor G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, 1886, p. 143, needs important qualification: "Rome possessed a world-famed cupola several centuries before the first Byzantine dome, and during those centuries dome construction had advanced on parallel lines in the West and in the East, so that the Middle Ages inherited in the West as genuine a tradition in regard to the cupola as any which flourished in the East."

² De Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale Architecture civile et religieuse*, plates 21, 23.

both of whom were Greeks. Their work, too, was Greek in the sense that it was the result of the application of the logical spirit of the Greek school to a new and foreign principle, which became most fruitful of results. These two artists originated a style which completely supplanted the preceding in all the countries which were afterward submissive to Byzantine rule. Yet essentially Greek. The opportunity it furnished for the employment of mediocre workmen, and for utilizing the cruder materials, as brick and lime, as well as the gradual introduction of Oriental tastes, assured its success. It characterized the Byzantine period, properly so called, and was the last evolution of Greek art, destined in turn to be absorbed in the Saracenic.¹

Whether the central architecture of the West was an indigenous product, or was the result of Greek influence whose monumental expression has perished, or whether both the Roman and the so-called Byzantine were alike the revival of an old eastern type which had fallen into partial decay,² it may not be possible to affirm. The subject is beset with peculiar difficulties, and awaits more thorough investigation. It is, however, evident that the Christian baptisteries and burial chapels have a strong resemblance to the contemporary pagan baths and mortuary monuments.³ An interesting example of this is found in a portion of the baths of Diocletian (Fig. 103). This was converted, in the sixteenth century, into the church San Bernardino de' Termini. The semicircular niches were perpetuated in the Christian structure. The more prominent features of this building recur from time to time in the Central style.

The description of circular temples by Vitruvius would imply their prevalence in his day. In a few Christian mosaics, both in Rome and Ravenna, the domical form appears in connection with

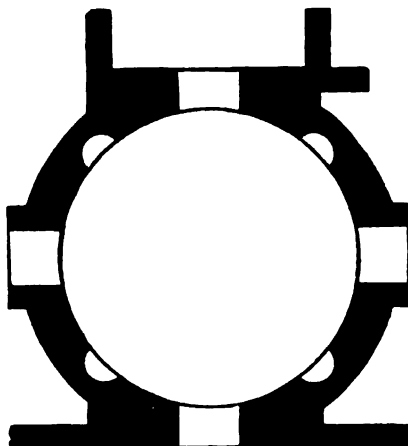


Fig. 103.—Baths of Diocletian, San Bernardino. Groundplan.

¹ De Vogüé: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 17, 18.

² The Sassanid domes of Persian palaces.

³ Rosengarten: *Architectural Styles*, p. 172.

more imposing structures which are believed to represent the buildings for Christian assembly, while in Christian literature are found quite detailed accounts of noted churches that have entirely disappeared. Of these the circular domed building erected by Constantine in the early part of the fourth century

Central building in Constantine's time.

over the traditional site of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem,¹ and the magnificent church at Antioch which Eusebius has described at length, were among the most notable and influential. He says: "At Antioch, the capital of the Orient, he (Constantine) built a thoroughly characteristic church. He enclosed the whole by a peribolos, within which he built an oratory of unprecedented height. It was of octagonal form. To the exterior round about he added many chapels and exedra, as well as crypts and galleries. The entire work was completed by ornamentation in gold as well as in ivory and other costly materials."² The relation of this and similar structures to the development of church architecture at Ravenna and other centers is most intimate. It becomes of great value in interpreting the forms met in the churches of San Vitale in Ravenna, San Marco in Venice, SS. Sergius et Bacchus in Constantinople, etc.³

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre served as a model for burial chapels, while that of Antioch was a model for buildings for congregational assembly. The great importance of the latter in Christian architecture arises from the circumstance that its chief features were copied into other structures, both East and West, and gave an impetus to (if it was not the genesis of) the style afterward characterized by the name Byzantine.

Importance of the Church of Antioch.

§ 2. Classification.

Different principles of classification of these buildings have been proposed by writers on the history of architecture. Principles of classification. The adoption of the simple rotunda as the normal form, and the development of the central construction from this norm, has much to recommend it.⁴ According to this view, the first step in the development was the addition of members in the form of niches in the enclosing walls. Both artistically as well as constructively this was of importance. The bounding of a space within narrowest possible limits, as well as the securing of better architectural effects, would thus result. For the most part the number of these niches does not exceed eight, being all of the

Addition of niches.

¹ Eusebius: *De Vita Const.*, iii, 31.

² *Vita Const.*, lib. iii, cap. 50.

³ Quast: *Die Altchristlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, ss. 30, 31.

⁴ v. Delio und Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, i, ss. 19, ff.

same form or having alternating rectangular and semicircular niches.¹ Sometimes these simple rotunda interiors were further enriched by columns placed in the niches, which also served a useful constructive purpose (v. Fig. 112). A further development is noticed in the attempts at enlargement of these circular buildings, by breaking through the walls of the niches, thus securing a series of attached rooms by means of an outward enclosing wall. This occurs in Figs. 116 and 120. It is believed that this change was first introduced into the churches from liturgical rather than artistic considerations—especially to secure more privacy for the high altar—but by continuous modifications it became the occasion of developing some of the most beautiful and imposing architectural effects.

A fourth type of the circular church architecture is that in which the domical portion, supported by columns, is surrounded by a corridor of lesser height than the central structure. The addition of a corridor.

This has sometimes, without sufficient reason, been characterized as an application of the basilica principle to the central style—hence called the circular basilica—and has been claimed to be the most distinctive and original product of the early Christian Church. The claim seems, however, to lack firm support, since some of its features manifestly find many suggestions in pagan architecture, while it is difficult on this theory to account for its somewhat limited dissemination, and for the fact that the oldest examples of this type of buildings are the most striking, thus indicating a retrogradation rather than a real development.²

Under the class of the central or domical architecture some writers reckon the cruciform buildings, whether with equal Cruciform structures. arms, or, by the lengthening of the main axis, in the form of the Latin cross. While this form was more usually found in burial chapels, it was also incorporated into other and more imposing buildings.³

§ 3. *The Simple Rotunda.*

Of the simple rotunda form but few examples survive. These are chiefly of baptisteries attached to churches. A plain hexagonal building of this kind is the baptistery of the basilica in the Colli di Sto Stefano in Tivoli; another is the octagonal baptistery of the cathedral of Parenzo.⁴ A few chapels in the catacombs approach this simple outline.⁵ Examples of simple rotunda.

¹ For examples of uniform semicircular niches, see Fig. 103; for uniformly rectangular niches, see Fig. 105: and for rectangular alternating with the circular niche, see Fig. 104. ² Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 31, 32. ³ *Idem*, ss. 43, 44.

⁴ Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., s. 24, t. 1, Fig. 10, and t. 16, Fig. 2.

⁵ Hübsch: *Op. cit.*, t. i, Fig. 6. Peret: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, pp. 36, 39.

§ 4. *With Niches and Columns.*

Most of the circular domical forms add, however, the niches and columus, and thus pass to the second stage of development. To this general class may be referred some of the most interesting Christian architectural monuments of the first six centuries. The prominent features of the class are likewise met in the pagan monuments; but to claim that the Christian were only a copy or slavish imitation of the heathen structures were unhistorical and misleading. While it is evident that the Christian baptisteries and burial monuments found suggestions in the baths and sepulchral monuments of the classical world, with respect to this as to other branches of art the spirit of the new religion often modified, transformed, and adjusted them to the needs of the Church.

No slavish imitation of heathen buildings.

Fig. 104 is the groundplan of the so called Temple of Romulus,

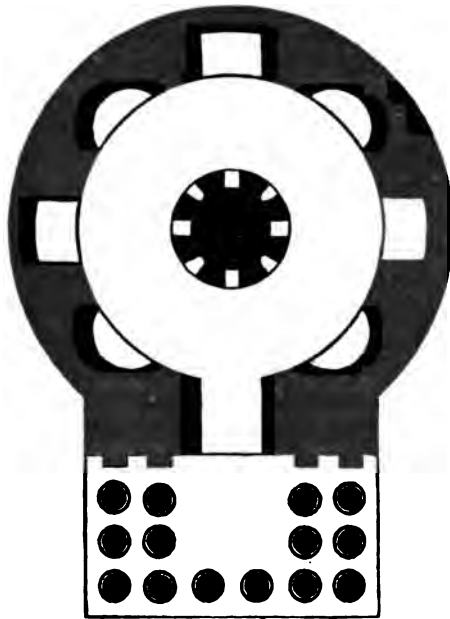


Fig. 104.—Temple of Romulus, Via Appia, Rome. Groundplan.

son of Maxentius, found on the Via Appia,¹ Rome. Here are found the circular enclosing wall, the niches alternately rectangular and semicircular, the portico enclosing the area in front, etc., most of which elements were continued in buildings of Christian origin.

Prominent among the Christian monuments of this class is the baptistery of the Ecclesia Ursiana, in Ravenna, now known under the name of San Giovanni in Fonte.

It is an octagonal building, having two entrances and four niches or tribunes. The whole is covered by a somewhat flat-

tened dome. The interior construction and decoration are noteworthy. The harmonious arrangement of the columns, and the spanning of larger by smaller arches, as appears in the second story

¹ Canina: *Via Appia*, tav. x, pp. 77, 78.

of the exterior, and in the arrangement for the support of the dome in the second story of the interior, seem like a prophecy of the Gothic architecture; while the form of the capitals and many minor details clearly point backward to an earlier age of Greek art.¹ It has two stories. The lower part is formed by eight pilasters in the angles, which are connected by semicircular arches. The walls are lined with slabs of porphyry and different colored marbles.

Another notable monument of this type is Santa Maria Rotonda,² in Ravenna, called also the mausoleum of Theodoric. Santa Maria Rotonda. It differs from other churches of Ravenna in being built of hewn stone instead of brick. The dome is thirty-three feet in diameter, consisting of a single stone of more than forty-five hundred tons weight.³ It must have been brought from a great distance by water.⁴ It is a work of high art, and the elevation to its place is a good proof of the excellent engineering of that age.⁵ The church is a decagon of two stories. One half of the lower part is now under water. Each side of the exterior is relieved by a niche produced by a round arch that spans the intermediate space. The arches are built of dentated stone, which is first met in the later Roman architecture, but afterward became a prominent feature of the Byzantine and Arabian art. This church has given rise to much speculation upon the influences under which it was built. In its chief members there is not a trace of the Byzantine style; in its details this sometimes appears; while in some features it reveals a decidedly Gothic impress. As a whole, it seems to stand as a prophecy and suggestion of the style which rose in such glory and grandeur five hundred years later.⁶ The interior. Exceptional architectural elements.

In this class must also be reckoned the Church of St. George of Thessalonica,⁷ the modern Salonika. The date of its erection has been elsewhere discussed (v. p. 116). It is a brick structure of more than seventy feet in diameter, having

¹ Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 4, 5; taf. i. Dehio u. Bezold: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlands*, 1te Lief., s. 25; t. 3, Fig. 9, 10; taf. 37.

² Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 5; t. i, Figs. 2, 3, 4. Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 398. Dehio und Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., s. 25; t. 3, Figs. 7, 8; t. 37.

³ Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 24-26; t. vii, Figs. 17-28. D'Agincourt: *Architecture*, pp. xviii and xxxii. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 25; t. 3, Figs. 9, 10. Rahn: *Ravenna*, ss. 38, sq.

⁴ Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 24, claims that it was brought from Istria.

⁵ Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 398. H. Gally Knight: *Op. cit.*, t. viii.

⁶ Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 25.

⁷ Kugler: *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. i, s. 432. Texier and Pullan: *Églises Byzantines*, plates xxxi-xxxiv. Unger: In *Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclopædia*, taf. lxxxiv.

eight rectangular, chapel-like niches in the wall. The enclosing

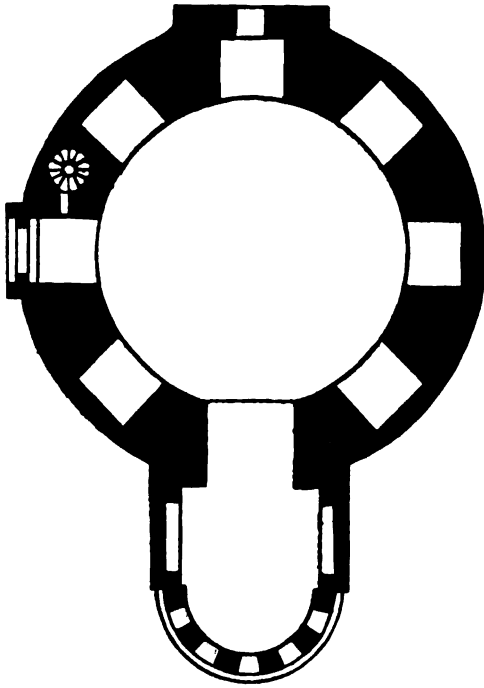


Fig. 105.—Groundplan of St. George, Thessalonica.

East, it has been converted into a Mohammedan mosque.

wall is nearly twenty feet thick, but in the niches it is reduced by the extent of their depth. One of the niches opens into the extended tribune, while another is used for entrance to the church (see Fig. 105). About the middle of the perpendicular height the wall is set back, giving the impression to the visitor that a corridor is thus secured on the interior (v. Fig. 106). In outline it has a very striking resemblance to the Roman Pantheon. Its rich and instructive mosaics are elsewhere described (v. pp. 116, 117). Like most surviving churches of the

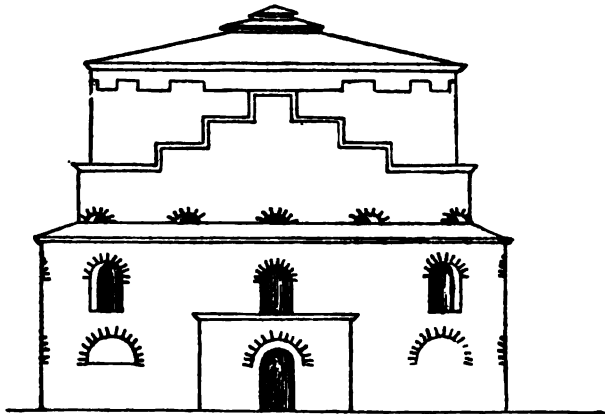


Fig. 106.—St. George, Thessalonica. Exterior view.

In passing from the simple rotunda, with rectangular and semi-circular niches, to that further expansion of the central style in

which by a more widely extended enclosing wall an added space was secured, and a more complex construction and artistic arrangement resulted, we are brought to the examination of some of the most impressive and significant churches of the first seven centuries. Among these San Vitale of Ravenna, and SS. Sergius et Bacchus and St. Sophia (Hagia Sofia) of Constantinople, are unrivalled. They are nearly contemporaneous, belonging to the reign of Justinian, in the first half of the sixth century.

Third stage of development.

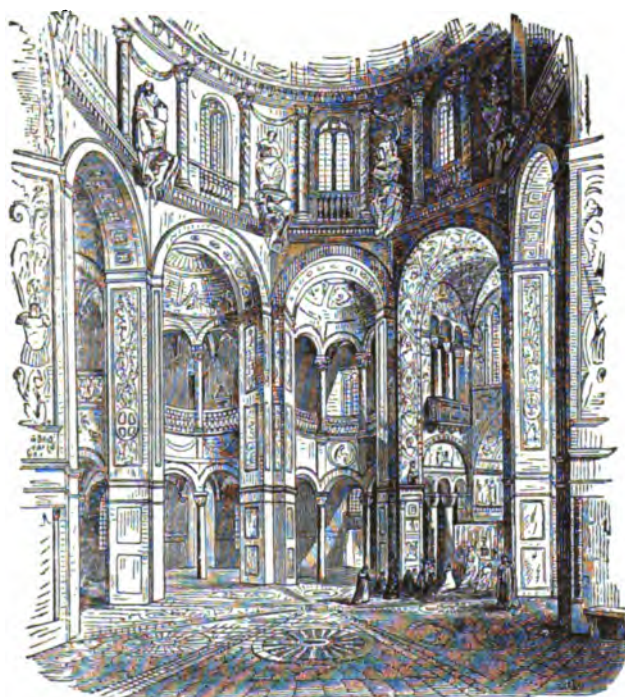


FIG. 107.—San Vitale, Ravenna. Interior view.

San Vitale was begun in A. D. 526, and dedicated in A. D. 547. It is an octagonal building about one hundred and two feet in diameter, with a tribune triliteral on the exterior, but semicircular on the interior. The second story forms an arcade supported by pillars and pilasters below (v. Fig. 107); above the pilasters and the arches resting upon them the dome rose to the height of nearly eighty feet. Some writers have held that San Vitale, and San Marco at Venice as well, are merely diminutive imitations of St. Sophia at Constantinople; but the resemblances between San Vitale and San Marco are not such

San Vitale.

Not a copy of San Marco.

as to justify their reference to a common model. In groundplan, interior arrangement, and roof construction they differ very widely. San Vitale is octagonal and two-storied; San Marco is in the form of the Greek cross and without galleries. San Vitale groups the central spaces into one which is covered by a central dome, rising high above the other parts of the structure; San Marco, on the contrary, has five depressed domes, above each arm of the cross, and over the central space where the two arms intersect.

On careful study the diversities between St. Sophia and San Vitale will also appear so great as to set aside the theory ^{Nor of St. So-} that the one was the model or the copy of the other. ^{phia.} Their relation¹ is only that of the three most noted surviving examples of the architecture of the first half of the sixth century.

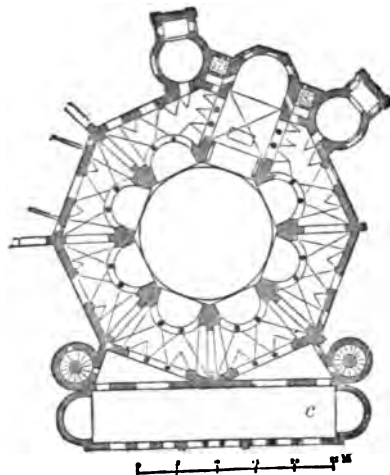


Fig. 108.—San Vitale. Groundplan.

The long-extended vestibule, C, (Narthex or Ardica), of San Vitale is peculiar to ^{Irregularity of} this church (Fig. ^{groundplan.} 108). It is not placed opposite or perpendicular to the axis of the tribune, as is usual in other churches, but makes a wide departure from the regularity of groundplan which might be expected. Many conjectures as to the reason of this have been made, but the real cause is unknown. The exterior of the church is like many other buildings of Ravenna, of brick with thick layers of mortar. Most of the mosaics, which formerly

made it one of the most brilliant in Christendom, have ^{Mosaics lost.} unfortunately disappeared; yet the descriptions given by the historians are so full that their artistic and dogmatic significance can be easily determined.

The form of the arches supporting the dome, as well as the columnar arrangement of the second story, may be seen from the section given in Fig. 109. Likewise the style of the capitals, and the rich statuary, arabesque, and mosaic effects, in pavement and ceiling, making the interior of this church exceptionally impressive,

¹ Quast: *Op. cit.*, s. 29. Compare Fig. 108, groundplan of San Vitale, with Fig. 116, groundplan of St. Sophia; the section of San Vitale, Fig. 109, with that of St. Sophia, Fig. 117.

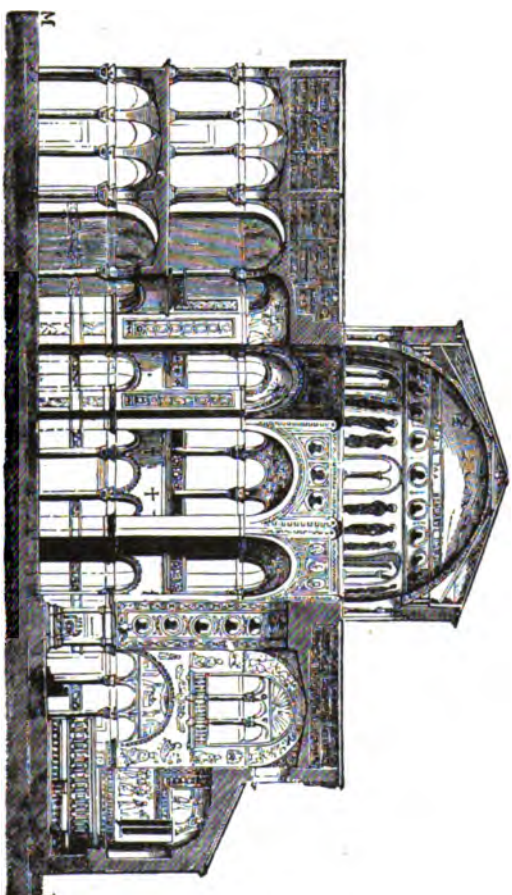


Fig. 109.—San Vitale. Longitudinal section.

are well shown in Figs. 107, 109. The contrast between this church and the Roman basilica, with its columns of varied styles, lengths, and diameters, is very marked. "Instead of simple, long-extended right lines, here is found an artistic combination of numerous curves, which, while departing from different centers, nevertheless complement each other and find in the dome the completest centralization. . . . In all this labyrinthian arrangement a most magnificent effect from this development of forms cannot be denied."¹ The church was begun under the East Gothic supremacy, and finished under Byzantine; it is, therefore, generally classified under the head of Byzantine architecture. The propriety of such classification may, however, be reasonably questioned, since neither in groundplan nor elevation, but only in decorative features, does it seem to be accordant with the Byzantine style.² The beauty of the deco-

Contrast with Roman basilica.

Not strictly Byzantine.



Fig. 110.—Capital from San Vitale, Ravenna.



Fig. 111.—Capital from St. Sophia, Constantinople.

ration of the churches as well as their likeness in details may be seen by comparing the capitals of columns from each (*v.* Figs. 110 and 111).

Nearly contemporary with San Vitale is SS. Sergius et Bacchus (Hagios Sergios) of Constantinople.³ Here, too, the dome rests upon eight immense buttresses connected together in the lower story by a richly sculptured entablature, and in the second by arches. At the four corners are semicircular niches (in which are supporting columns) that lead into rooms

¹ Schnaase: *Geschichte der Bildende Künste*, 1te aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 131, 132.

² Stockbauer: *Der christliche Kirchenbau*, s. 89.

³ Delio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., ss. 28, 29, taf. 4, Figs. 5. 6. Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, s. 90. Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, ss. 420-422. Salzenberg: *All-christliche Baudenkmale v. Constantinople*.

bounded by the exterior wall (v. Fig. 112), which is quadrangular instead of octagonal, as in San Vitale. Upon the interior face of the entablature, extending around the entire nave, is a fulsome inscription to Justinian, and to the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, who were in high repute among the Dardanians and Illyrians. In the arrangement of the ground-

plan and of the
Stronger tendency to the vaulted spaces, Byzantine.

the characteristic development of the Byzantine school is already noticed; but on careful study of details antique elements are found to predominate, so that this church must be regarded as belonging to the transition period of architecture in the Greek Empire.¹

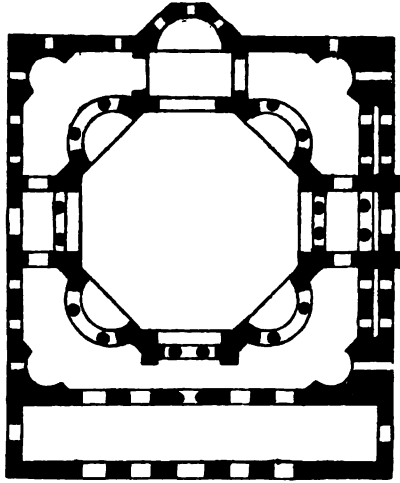


Fig. 112.—SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople. Groundplan.

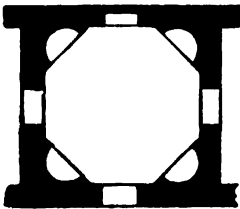


Fig. 113.—Hall in ancient Roman palace. To compare with SS. Sergius and Bacchus.

This form of the Christian church does not differ very widely from some pagan buildings. Fig. 113 is the representation of a hall in an ancient Roman palace. Here, too, the alternation in the interior of the rectangular with the semicircular niche, and the enclosure of the whole by a strong rectangular wall, are so nearly like the arrangement of SS. Sergius et Bacchus as to suggest the same general style.²

§ 5. *Byzantine Architecture.*

The removal of the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium must be accounted among the epoch-making events of history. All the secret motives influencing Constantine to this decision may not be known; some are, however, well understood. Heathen and Christian prophecies alike had foretold the approaching downfall of Rome; the Trojan coasts were the fabled native home of the Roman people; only by

Reasons of removal of capital.

¹ Salzenberg: Text, ss. 41–45, Blatt v. *Op. cit.*, Text, ss. 43, 45.

² Stockbauer: *Der christlichen Kirchenbau*, s. 90.

residence in the East could the complete overthrow of his rival, Licinius, be effected. The beauty of the situation of Byzantium was proverbial, and its military and strategical importance manifest. In the East were the sacred seats, the holiest traditions, the ablest defenders, and the richest doctrinal development of the new religion which he had befriended. The Oriental luxury and magnificence were to him most agreeable, and the absolutism of the East, unchecked even by the feeble apology for a Roman senate, comported best with Constantine's imperious nature. The principle of centralization was the kernel and essence of his empire. He would establish a new court in a place free from hoary traditions and un-

polluted by the crimes of a thousand years of bitter syncretism.

struggle. The strange commingling of Christian and heathen elements in the new capital was only the visible symbol of the religious belief and character of its great founder. Pagan at heart, and little acquainted with the central truth of the Christian system, he nevertheless saw in it the promise of perpetuity. In the center of the forum was set up the noted porphyry column, crowned with the statue of the all-conquering Phidian Apollo, and around it were clustered the gods of paganism. Here, too, was seen the statue of the goddess of fortune, on whose head was placed the cross of Christ, and at whose dedication the people sang the *Kyrie Eleison*. Opposite to this, the double statue of the emperor and his mother Helena bore a cross with the inscription, "One is holy, one is the Lord Christ, to the glory of God the Father;" but in the middle of the cross, amidst forms of incantation, was again affixed the image of Fortune. To her, to Rhea, mother of the gods, to Castor and Pollux, temples were erected, as well as Christian churches in great number and magnificence. The art treasures of the world were collected to adorn the public squares and buildings, thus making Constantinople at the same time a rich museum of ancient, and a cradle of Christian, art.¹

The western mind was mostly occupied with the consideration of contrast of practical questions of life. The customs and morals of East and West. the people were considered; the forces that measured and controlled these were carefully estimated. The Oriental mind, on the contrary, was occupied with questions of dogma and abstract speculation. It did not aim so much to elevate the masses of the people; rather by mingling the mysteries of religion with the everyday affairs of life it educated the populace to the grossest

¹ Carrière: *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwicklung und die Ideale der Menschheit*, Bd. iii, ss. 113, 114. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvii. Salzenberg: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople*, ss. 1-10.

superstition. The strong common sense Socratic philosophy, which had recognized the dignity and the responsibility of the individual, had been largely supplanted by the system of Neo-Platonism, in which the unity of the universe more than the freedom and selfhood of the individual was made prominent. A little later the spirit of Orientalism, which had more or less affected the entire Roman world, became dominant in the Byzantine Empire.

With the absolutism of imperial power necessarily resulted the decline of individual rights. The idea of personal freedom, and the worth of man as man, which was a ruling element among the Teutonic peoples, wellnigh died out. Banishments, imprisonments, tortures, and death were inflicted at the mere caprice of the sovereign. Hence all tended toward stagnation and death. After a sleep of a thousand years the Orient remained cold and lifeless, while the West had been heaving with the throes of a new and progressive life.

This dark picture of the Byzantine Empire is, however, relieved by a few bright lights. Her good offices to the world were neither few nor unimportant. She preserved the thought of unity in government, which exerted a strong and salutary influence upon the susceptible German peoples, and gave to them the true idea of nationality. Through her best ruler, Justinian, she bequeathed to the world the body of codified law which has powerfully influenced the jurisprudence of Europe even to the present hour. Through all the centuries of her insensibility and sloth Constantinople was the museum where were collected and preserved to later times most precious treasures of ancient art and literature, which the crusades were to diffuse throughout the West to enkindle a new life and stimulate to higher endeavor.

But the decadence of morals and of art was already so great that the attempts of Constantine to found schools for the education of skilled architects proved only partially successful. From this time Christian art in the Orient came under the control and guidance of an imperialism in state and Church, and crystallized into a fixedness of type that has been perpetuated to the present day. A pomp and stateliness, a splendor and even gaudiness in art, were only the reflex of a like character in the imperial state. Religion was no longer a matter of conscience and of the inner life of the individual, but of state authority and dictation. The symbols of faith were largely the creatures of the government, and the bishops were servants of the state. Instead of the former apotheosis of the deceased emperors, a divinity was made to attach to the living

ruler. Into his presence the subject must approach with signs of deepest veneration. The stately ceremonial of the court awed the visitor. Costliness took the place of classic forms and artistic beauty. Freedom had died, and with her departed the soul and inspiration of art.

The principle of centralization found its best expression in the strictly Byzantine architecture. It completed what the Roman **Byzantine** basilica had suggested and attempted. Around a central member was grouped the entire structure in essential unity. Every subordinate part pointed toward the dome, which crowns the middle of the Greek cross, as to the imperial governing power of the whole. The strengthening Orientalism caused the architecture more and more to depart from the simplicity and unity of the early Greek, and thus was developed a style which may be truly called Byzantine.

The history of Byzantine architecture is usually divided into two distinct periods. The first begins with the reign of Constantine and closes with the rule of Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century. The second extends from the reign of Justinian to the latter part of the twelfth century, or to the first revival of art through the influence of Cimabue. During the latter

period art forms were cast in an unchanging mould. In the eastern provinces they became still more contaminated by Oriental influences; while in some parts of the West new forces effected slight modifications of the original type. It has already been noticed (*o. p.* 197) that in the first period most of the churches of the Orient preserved the Roman style of the basilica, excepting the open rafter work and ornamentation of the ceiling. In a few instances the intersection of the main nave and transept had been surmounted by a small cupola, but gradually this was developed into the complete and imposing dome structure covering a square area: this is the distinctive feature of the later Byzantine architecture. From the age of Justinian this was the prevailing style in the Eastern Empire, while in the West the tower was developed to produce a like effect in the Romanesque and Gothic churches.¹ We have already met this form and growth in the churches of Ravenna. The perfection of Byzantine architecture was, however, first attained in the Church of St. Sophia. It furnished a model for all the subsequent churches of the East. The history of the empire furnishes an easy solution of this fact. After Justinian, stagnation and decay characterized the Eastern civilization. All turned backward to his reign as

¹ Salzenburg: *Op. cit.* ss. 14, 15.

to the golden age. An earlier Church of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, had been consumed by fire during a popular uprising. For its re-building Justinian drew upon the resources of the entire empire. The planning and erection were entrusted to the two most noted architects of the age, Isodore of Miletus and Anthimius of Tralles. It is claimed by a class of writers on the history of architecture, and by some archæologists,¹ that these wise architects had clearly in mind the

St. Sophia.

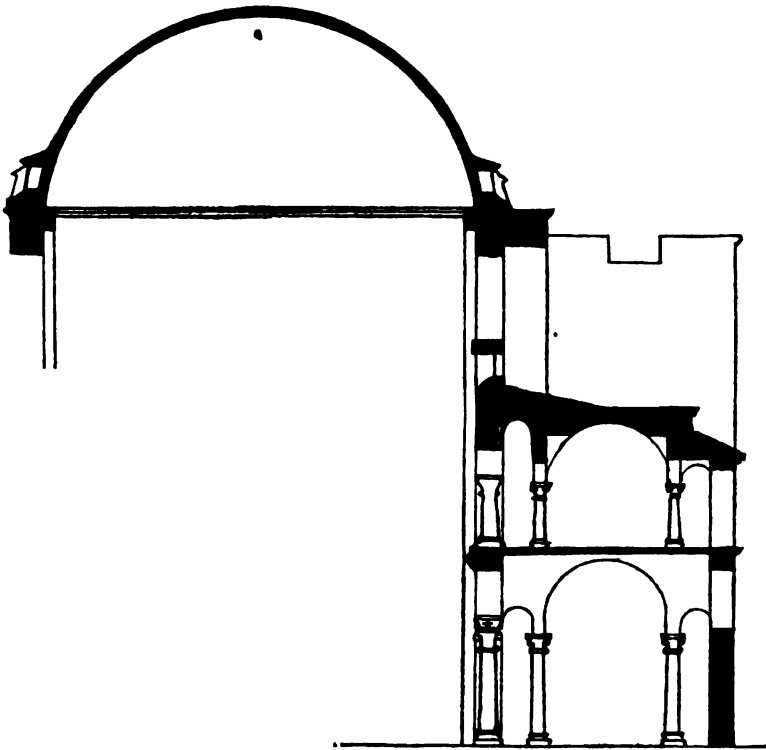


Fig. 114.—Section of St. Sophia. To compare with the Basilica of Constantine, Rome.

Church of SS. Sergius et Bacchus, and the so-called Basilica of Constantine at Rome, as models for their great work. By careful comparison of Fig. 112 with Fig. 116, and Fig. 114 with Fig. 115, the points of resemblance will be apparent. The general division of the enclosed space into nine parts, the use of strong buttresses to support the domed coverings and provide against the lateral thrust,

¹ v. Stockbauer: *Op. cit.*, ss. 92, 93, taf. v, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 29, 30, taf. 6, Fig. 1; taf. 39, Fig. 14.

the unification of the three middle compartments into one **grand and** most imposing room, etc., are some elements of likeness in these buildings. Doubtless, however, the erection of one imposing **dome**, supported by four massive buttresses, over a square space, is a **new** departure, and places upon St. Sophia the stamp of originality.

The traditions connected with the building of this most noted church are numerous and interesting. The problems ^{Difficulty of the} to be solved in the suspension of a dome one hundred feet in diameter a hundred feet in midair were most difficult.

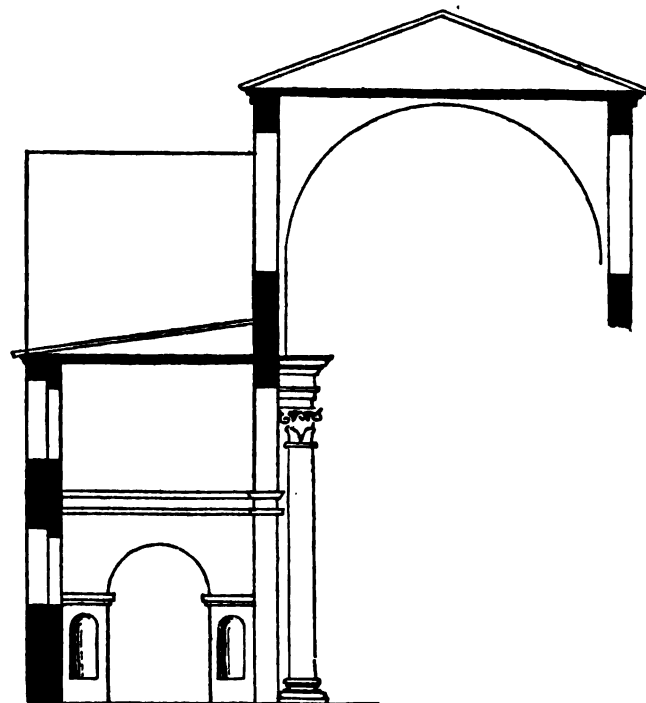


Fig. 115.—Section of the Basilica of Constantine, Rome. To compare with St. Sophia, Constantinople.

The enormous weight was a serious obstacle to the architects of that day. The reputed revelations in dreams, the discovery of bricks in the island of Rhodes of one fifth of the ordinary weight, etc., are only evidences of the perplexities felt by Justinian and his architects. But the greatest cause of wonder, even to builders of modern times, is the completion of this church in the incredibly short space of six years. It was a wonder to every beholder, and remains to our day in many respects the most remarkable architectural

monument of Christendom. Since its transformation into a Turkish mosque, on the downfall of Constantinople in 1453, it has lost much of its original magnificence. Mohammedan zeal against images in their sacred places led to the attempt to destroy the splendid mosaics which had been preserved in much of their original integrity. But happily these have been carefully measured and copied, so that we have the means of comparing this building and its decorations with the descriptions found in the Byzantine writers.¹

As before remarked (p. 233), the Church of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, had been burned in A. D. 532, during a fearful conflagration originating in a popular outbreak between rival factions. Justinian resolved to rebuild it on a scale of magnificence worthy the first temple of Christendom. A man of comprehensive plans, he was also possessed of a rare practical talent to secure the means of their accomplishment. Tradition says that the plans were ready within forty days after the destruction of the first church. To the governors of the provinces the emperor issued edicts to procure the most costly materials for this work. To beautify this church pagan temples in Asia Minor and Greece were plundered of their richest art treasures.² The historians tell us that all the available revenues of the empire were laid under contribution, and many new taxes were afterward levied for its completion. To make the building fireproof was one of the first conditions imposed upon the architects. An immense number of workmen were employed.³ Justinian himself, by daily visitations, and by encouragements or rebukes, pushed on the work with such marvelous rapidity that it was dedicated in December, 537 A. D.

The dangers from fire had been averted, but those from another source had not been foreseen. Twenty-two years after its dedication

¹ One of the best authorities on the Byzantine architecture, as it has been preserved to our time, is Salzenberg, W.: *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinople vom V bis XII Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1854. On the occasion of the extensive repairs of the Church of St. Sophia in 1847-48, the Prussian government took occasion to despatch Salzenberg to Constantinople to make careful drawings and take accurate measurements of this church. Fortunately the celebrated architect, Fossati, was superintending these repairs, and gave to Salzenberg every aid to complete his work. The extensive scaffoldings, reaching to the highest point of the dome, gave opportunity to make all necessary measurements, and the removal of the thick coats of whitewash revealed the mosaics in all their original magnificence. Thus has been preserved a complete description of the forms and interior decorations of this magnificent church.

² Salzenberg: *Op. cit.*, s. 46. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

³ The Byzantine chroniclers claim that ten thousand were thus employed.

portions of the dome and of the furniture of the church were ruined by an earthquake. Justinian hastened to strengthen the supports, elevated the dome about twenty-five feet, renovated the interior, and within five years the church was rededicated. For thirteen centuries it has stood uninjured by repeated shocks of earthquakes which have toppled many other structures to ruins.

The visitor to St. Sophia first enters the fore-court of the church, which is bounded on three sides by a row of columns, and on the fourth by the building itself (v. Figs. 116, 117). Passing by the fountain in the middle of the court, he reaches the narthex, the place for the penitents. From this space five marble doors, richly decorated with bronze, lead into a second somewhat more extended and spacious vestibule having vaulted ceilings richly adorned with variegated marbles and mosaics. Here the sexes separated. The women proceeded to the doors on either side of the vestibule that opened to the staircase leading to the second story. This was called the gynæceum, because exclusively set apart for the use of the women. The men passed through nine folding-doors to the groundfloor of the main nave.¹

The groundplan of this church is nearly square (v. Fig. 116). The inner length, exclusive of the tribune, is 234 feet, the breadth 217 feet.² Over the central portion rises the cupola to the 40 windows in the cornice; and thence a dome reaches to the vertex, about 180 feet above the pavement below. The dome is supported by four massive arches which spring from immense buttresses. Leading east and west from the square area beneath are rooms of semicircular outline, to each of which three colossal niches are connected. These immense semicircular spaces are covered by semidomes, which partly lean upon the main arches which support the central dome, and are partly supported by the cylindrically vaulted ceiling of the three niches (v. Fig. 117).

The two side niches, called exedra, are also semicircular and covered with smaller semidomes.³ The two center niches have, however, cylindrically vaulted ceilings. The east one terminates in a semicircle, covered by a concha which rises from the enclosing wall, and forms the apse or tribune. All

¹ Schnaase: 1te Aufl., Bd. iii, ss. 137, 138.

² Distinction must be made in the plan between the church proper and the annexed portions. The dome, *a b*, covers the central part of the church proper.

³ The arrangement of the parts of this remarkable building can be understood by frequent reference to the vertical section (Fig. 117).

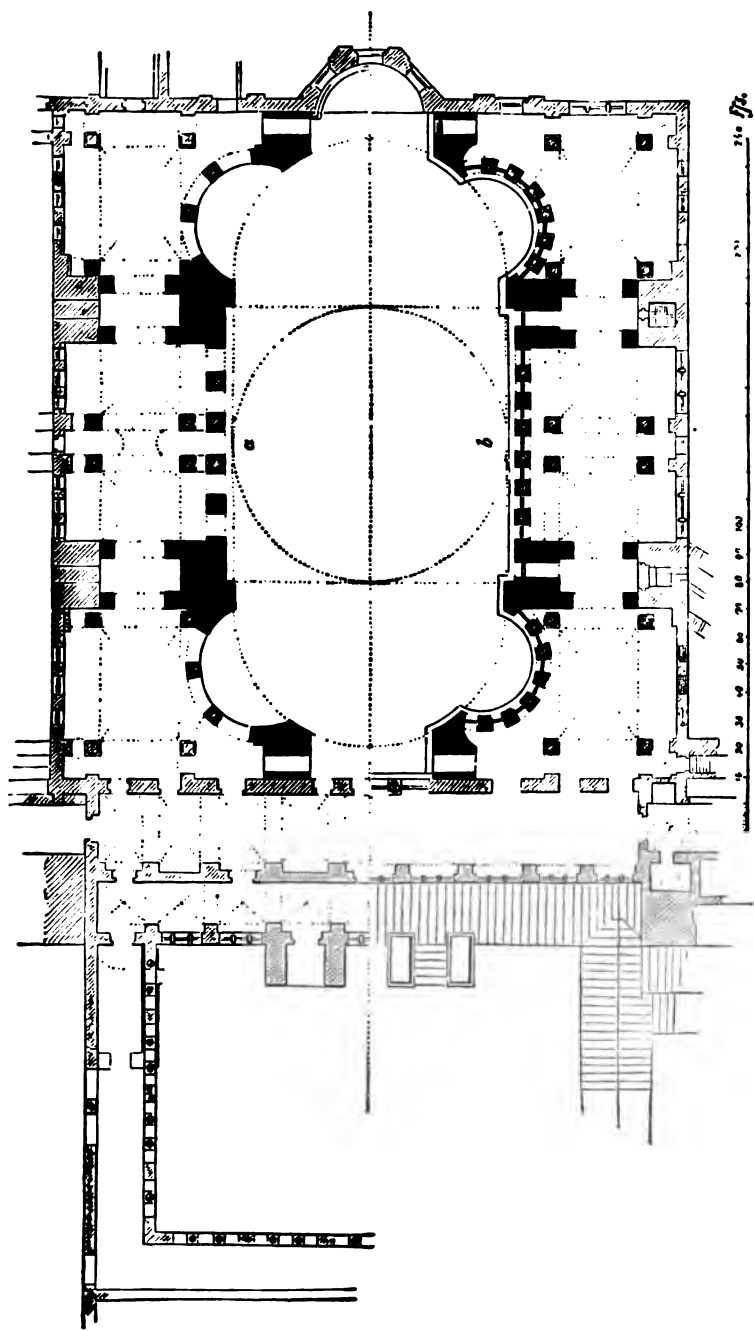


Fig. 116.—St. Sophia. Groundplan.

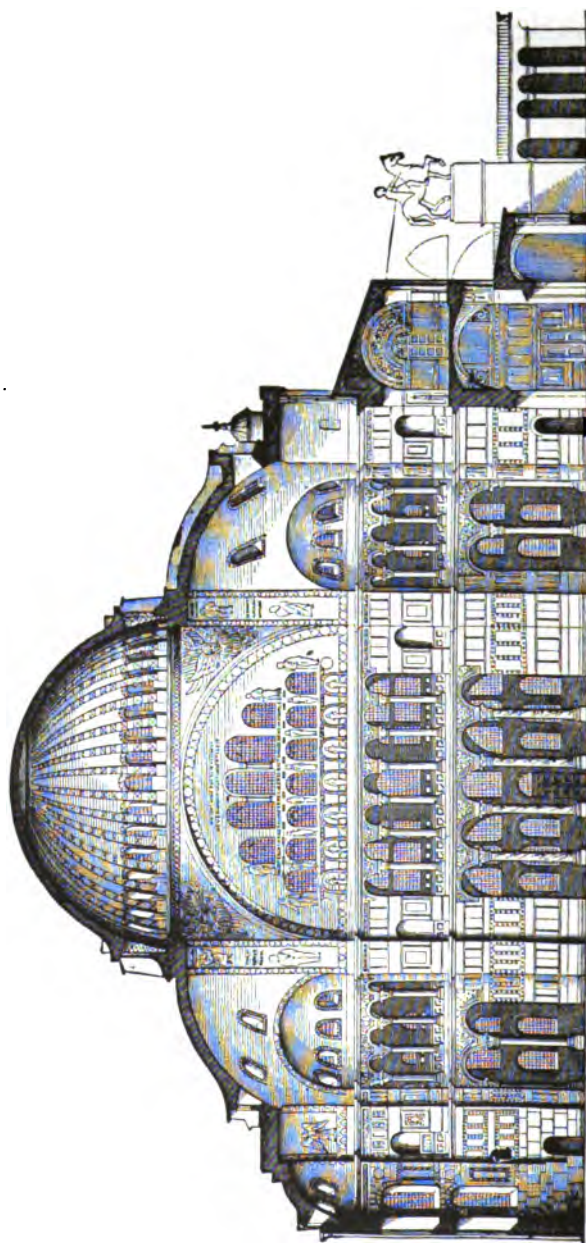


Fig. 117.—St. Sophia. Longitudinal section.

of these spaces taken together form the *naos*, or temple proper. Between this and the enclosing walls on the north and south sides extend the two-storied side halls, each of which is divided into three parts. Four colossal pillars furnish the foundation for the arches supporting the dome, while behind these to-^{Dome support.}ward the north and south, in the enclosing wall, are four buttresses connected with these pillars by arches. By a series of buttresses and connecting arches firm supports are secured for the conchas and the cylindrically vaulted ceilings. Thus the entire building, while possessing this diversity of outline, is bound together into a beautiful and harmonious unity. All ceiling spaces are cylindrical or domed. In addition to the enclosing walls and the system of buttresses these are supported in the lower part by forty columns and eight free pilasters; in the upper part by sixty columns.¹

The lighting of the interior of St. Sophia is very brilliant. Wherever space and safety permit are placed windows ^{The lighting.} in great number and of marked dimensions, so that a flood of light pours through them into the house of God.² At the base of the central dome are forty windows, and each of the half domes has five. The first rays of the morning sun stream into the nave through the six large windows in the tribune, while the setting sun, shining through the immense semicircular window over the entrance in the west, bathes the whole interior in golden effulgence. Twelve windows admit the light through the arches on the north, and an equal number on the south diffuse an abundance of light throughout the lateral halls above and below. There is evidence that some of the window spaces existing in the time of Procopius have been closed by masonry; nevertheless, the present mosque is very brilliantly lighted.³ The injunction of Justinian ^{Fireproof.} to build a fireproof church was most carefully heeded, even in the arrangement of the windows. By an ingenious and expensive combination of brick work and marble plates even the frame settings of the windows are entirely lacking in wood.

The impression made upon the visitor on his first entrance to this church is that of vastness, grandeur, and magnificence. ^{Impression upon the visitor.} The eye wanders over the immense nave, peers into the adjacent halls, rests upon the beautiful gynæceum, then is lifted to the enormous dome that seems to float in midair. At every step new beauties are revealed. The richness of the materials, and the completed unity in the midst of almost infinite diversity, entrance the beholder. In Justinian's time, when to all essentials of the structure preserved to our day were added the rich adorn-

¹ Salzenberg: ss. 53, 54, 55.² Salzenberg: a. 84.³ Salzenberg: *Op. cit.*, *id.*

ments of the high altar, the beautiful ambos, the sparkling of the vessels of gold bedecked with gems, the gleaming of countless candelabra, the splendour of the garments of the retinue of clergy and helpers, the sonorous-voiced priests as they intoned the sublime ritual, the response from the hundred-voiced choir, rolling through the corridors and arches like the voice of many waters—the worshiper must have been impressed that this was a temple worthy of dedication to the ETERNAL WISDOM, and one where his Spirit would delight to dwell.

Of the unparalleled richness of the decorations we cannot speak in detail. The pavement was wrought out into very elaborate and beautiful patterns of marble mosaic. The columns were of the richest and rarest materials. The walls were lined with slabs of marble and of *verde antique* of most exquisite coloring. The walls and ceilings in the great dome and in all the adjacent parts were enriched with mosaics of saints of colossal size.¹

St. Sophia furnished the type for all later churches of the Byzantine Empire. It brought to perfection a style that can strictly be called unique. The whole spirit of the exterior was harmonious with the theory of inperialism prevalent in the Eastern Empire and Church. Art was pressed into the service of dogma. It crystallized into stiff and unchanging types which continued in the Russian-Greek churches till the time of Peter the Great.

The transformation of St. Sophia into a Mohammedan mosque left almost unchanged the narthex, the nave, the side halls, and the gynecæum; but the other portions, especially those more immediately used in the Christian cultus, have been entirely lost. The marble railing separating the clergy from the laity, the seats of the priests, the throne of the patriarch, the ciborium, the ambos, and all the utensils of the church have perished. From documents still extant² we learn that under Justinian not less than five hundred and twenty-five persons were employed in the direct service of this church, while in the reign of Heraclius the number had increased to six hundred.³ These also cared for three other churches of the capital.

The bema probably extended to the border of the eastern half dome, while the *solea*, for the inferior clergy, occupied the entire

¹ v. the representation of the great mosaic of Christ and the emperor that was wrought out over the grand portal (Fig. 44, p. 129).

² v. Du Cange: *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iii, p. 71.

³ Du Cange: iii, 71. They are given as follows: 80 priests, 150 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 70 subdeacons, 160 readers, 125 chanters, 75 doorkeepers.

space covered by the eastern concha.¹ The ambos must have stood still farther toward the west, and must have occupied a very prominent place, from the fact that here the Scriptures were read, the sermon preached, and the emperors crowned. Near by, in the adjacent spaces, were stationed the singers under the direction of leaders. In the *exedra*, toward the north and south, were collected the deacons who were to assist in the sacred ministrations. The sacred table of gold, inlaid with gems, rested on golden columns and was supplied with golden furniture.² Over it rose the beautiful ciborium on four silver columns, between which were spread the richly ornamented hangings. The lofty octagonal dome above was crowned by a silver globe surmounted by the cross. From the ceiling of the ciborium hung the silver dove, representing the Holy Ghost, which contained the sacred elements to be distributed among the sick. From the description of Paulus Silentarius we infer that the accompaniments of candelabra, lamps, and halos for the illumination of this church must have been incomparably rich and imposing.

§ 6. *The Circular Structure.*

A fourth type of the central building is the circular, with an inner portico which surrounds the area covered by the dome.

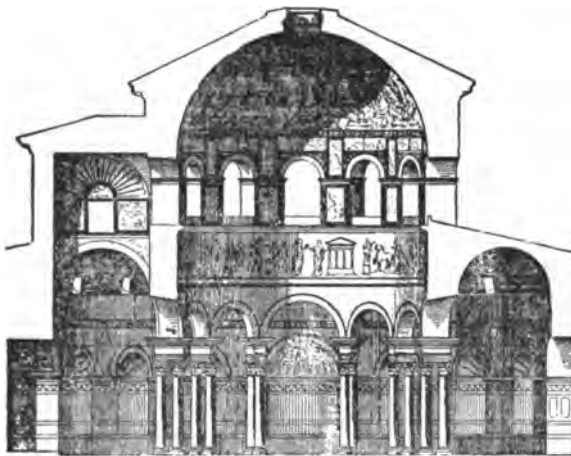


Fig. 118.—Section of Santa Constanza, Rome.

Few churches following this general plan were erected in the west during the reign of Constantine the Great.

The most typical example of this circular architecture from the

¹ Paulus Silentarius: i, v. 240, etc. Evagrius: *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv, c. xxxi.

² Paulus Silentarius: ii, v. 335.

fourth century is Santa Constanza,¹ on the Via Nomentana in Rome (Fig. 118). Tradition says it occupies the site of a former Bacchus temple. Its rotunda is sixty-seven feet in diameter. Twenty-four columns in double rows support the dome and the vaultings of the outer corridor. Here the sarcophagus² of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, was formerly preserved. It seems probable that the entire building was once used as a mausoleum to the imperial family, rather than as a temple to Bacchus.³ This building marks a transition from the classic to the mediæval spirit. The degeneracy of the old is apparent, while at the same time elements are here introduced which play a most important part in the development of Christian architecture.⁴

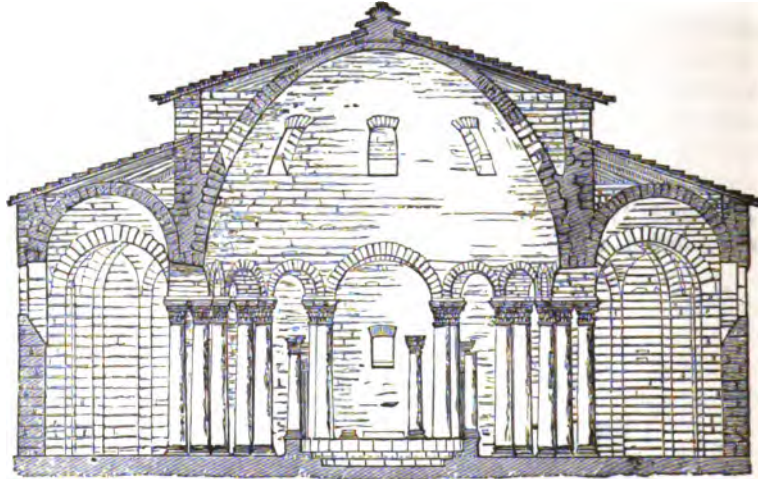


Fig. 119.—Santa Maria Maggiore, Nocera de Pagani. Vertical section.

Of somewhat similar arrangement is the church Santa Maria Maggiore, in Nocera de Pagani, near Naples (Fig. 119). This also seems to belong to the fourth century. It is a baptistery of sixteen sides. The central domed space is thirty-five feet in diameter, while that of the entire building is seventy-three feet. While its exterior is wanting in attractiveness, the interior nevertheless makes upon the mind of the visitor "an impression of the fullness of mystery in which the church of that

¹ Ciampini: *Vetere Monumenta*, Tom. i, Tab. i, etc. Kugler: *Geschichte d. Baukunst*, Bd. i, ss. 327, 328. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 34, Taf. 8, Fig. 1, 2.

² Now in the Vatican Museum.

³ Förster: *Mittel u. Unter Italien*, s. 250.

⁴ Kugler: *Op. cit.*, Bd. i, s. 328.

period must vie with the decaying splendor of heathen temples and shrines."¹ While grouped in the same class as Santa Costanza, this building differs from it in many essential features, in some respects being quite closely allied to San Vitale of Ravenna.²

A third example of this architectural type is the baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome.³ Tradition attributes the foundation to Constantine I., but it is highly probable that the building was erected by Sixtus III., in the first half of the fifth century. De Fleury argues this from its architectural features. Eight columns support an entablature upon which rests a second series of columns, by which the dome is supported. Between the central space and the enclosing wall is a broad passage-way which is lighted by windows placed in the lower section of the dome. While much pertaining to this baptistery is conjectural, it is nevertheless fairly well established that the main features were as here represented. The general custom of devoting a separate building to the celebration of this initiative rite of the Christian Church is here illustrated.

The diversity of opinion relative to the connection and reciprocal influence of eastern and western architectural principles is very manifest in the case of San Stefano rotondo,⁴ of Rome. "It is an enigma in the architectural history of Rome" (Dehio u. Bezold). By some it has been regarded as a transformation of an earlier temple of Vesta; by others (specially by some of the French archaeologists) as an apartment of the grand market of Nero; by still others (Bunsen) as an original church, while others (Hübseh) regard it as a most striking proof of the inventive genius of the early Christian architects. While lacking demonstrative evidence the opinion is nevertheless fairly established that it originated in the fifth century, probably in the reign of Theodosius the Great, just prior to the Roman downfall. It likewise possesses elements allying it to the central buildings of the Orient which originated in the reign of Constantine I. Just to what extent the liturgical needs of the Church influenced its peculiar construction may not be fully determined. Certainly its arrangement of concentric circles in connection with two perpendicular axes justifies its classification under the head of central domical buildings.⁵

¹ Burckhardt: *Cicerone*, s. 89.

² Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, 1te Lief., ss. 34, 35, Taf. 8, Fig. 3, 4.

³ Rohault de Fleury: *Le Lateran*, pl. 7, Fig. 3, 4. Bunsen: *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, Taf. xxxvii. Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, ss. 34, 35, Taf. 8, Fig. 3, 4.

⁴ Fergusson: *History of Architecture*. Bunsen: *Beschreibung d. Stadt Roms*, iii. *Die Basiliken d. Christ. Roms*, Taf. xix, B. C. Hübseh: *Die alt-christliche Kirchen*.

⁵ Dehio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 41, Taf. 11, Fig. 1, 2.

Among other noted churches of this class may be mentioned the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives, both from the Constantinian period. Unfortunately, they are known only through the descriptions of the historians. An example of the purest Byzantine style, wrought out by Byzantine artists, yet for Mohammedan uses, is the Mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem, built on the site of Solomon's temple. It belongs to the seventh century. It is the finest example of the central structure that has been preserved, and ranks among the most impressive sacred buildings of the world, not from its vastness, but from the purity of its style and the intense interest associated with its site.¹

§ 7. *The Cruciform Buildings.*

A fifth class of central buildings of the early Christian centuries

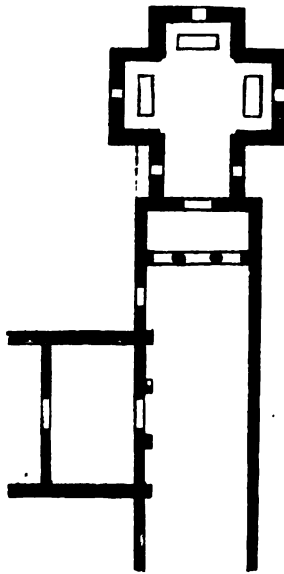


FIG. 120. — SS. Nazareo e Celso. Burial Chapel of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Groundplan.

is the cruciform. They were at first mostly with equal arms—the Latin form of the cross being later introduced into the oblong basilica through the development of the transept. Christian structures in the general form of the Greek cross were commonly used for burial chapels. Like forms are met in buildings of pagan origin, and devoted to like purposes; yet it is most probable that the Christian Church first attached to the form of the cross a deep religious significance, and found it especially adapted to the purposes of public worship.

The Church of SS. Nazareo e Celso,² of Ravenna (Figs. 120, 121), is a good example of this species of central structure. It was the burial chapel of Galla Placidia, and is still among the most instructive monuments of early Christian architecture.³ The fate of this woman, whose

¹ The controversies respecting the origin, location, and fate of the buildings erected on this sacred site have been protracted, and at times passionate. The most calm, thorough, and generally satisfactory examinations have been made by the Count de Vogüé in his *Le Temple de Jerusalem* and *Les Églises de la terre sainte*.

² H. Gally Knight: *Op. cit.*, plate vi. Quast: *Op. cit.*, ss. 10–15, tt. ii–vi. Delio u. Bezold: *Op. cit.*, s. 45, t. 12. Fig. 4, 5.

³ The church proper is the Latin cross, the upper portion of the figure; the other parts show the groundplan of buildings connected with the church.

fortunes were so strangely romantic, cannot be established with complete historic certainty, nor has the question whether she died in Rome or Ravenna been satisfactorily determined. The fact of her interment in this building is, however, generally accepted. The magnificent interior, which is in the spirit of the truest art, suggests the mausoleum of some royal personage, and indicates a period when correct art principles had not yet been supplanted by the rudeness of a later barbarism. The groundplan is that of a Latin cross (*v.* Fig. 120) like some that had already been built in Rome and in the Orient; but it is note-worthy that this is the oldest existing church in which the dome covers a quadrangular space in the form of the cross.¹ The exterior is of brick, and of very indifferent appearance. The interior form and ar-



Fig. 121.—SS. Nazareo e Celso, Ravenna. Longitudinal section.

rangement are, however, quite peculiar, approaching more nearly to the classic spirit than do other so-called Byzantine buildings in the Occident. The decorations in mosaics and marbles are rich and harmonious (*v.* Fig. 121). The figures are well executed, the details pleasing, and all contribute to the perfection of the whole. In it are five sarcophagi.² Their history is somewhat uncertain, yet by combining the traditions and all the known facts it seems probable that the building was designed for a mausoleum for Galla Placidia and her family. Under the dome, between the sarcophagi, stands an altar which is of much archæological interest in connection with the appointments of the Church of the fifth century.³

¹ Quast: s. 11, t. ii, 5.

² The position of three of these is seen in Figs. 120 and 121.

³ Quast: s. 13, t. iii, 2.

Another species of this class of cruciform structures is represented by the Cathedral of Trier, from the fourth century, A. D. 370 (Fig. 122).

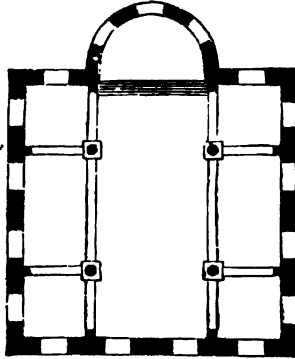


Fig. 122. — Cathedral of Trier.
Groundplan.

This cannot with strict propriety be called a central structure; nevertheless the other parts are so brought into architectural unity by the middle portion that its likeness to other buildings of the central type is striking. The intersection of four vaulted ceilings in the middle of the church, over which rises the dome, suggests a rivalry between the Byzantine style and that of the oblong basilica.

Among the most important of this species of churches is San Lorenzo of Milan, probably from the fifth century. Whether its origin was pagan or Christian has been warmly debated, nor is it

certain what portions of the present structure are original. Nevertheless, the attractiveness of its style and arrangement, as well as its probable antiquity, have justified the thorough study of its details.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY.

§ 1. *Definitions and Principles.*

EPIGRAPHY treats of the content, character, chronology, deciphering, and interpretation of inscriptions.

The term inscriptions is applied to "all non-literary remains of a language with the exception of coins, letters and journals."¹ They are found in widely separated districts, on various materials, and executed for a great variety of purposes. While some would refer these chiefly to the department of literary history,² it is evident that they are likewise invaluable in the study of political history, of private life, of religion, laws, arts, and beliefs.

When Paul, on Mars Hill, said to the Athenians, "I perceive that in all things ye are very religious. For, as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO AN UNKNOWN GOD" (Acts xvii, 22, 23), he recognized the importance and utility of epigraphical teaching. The apostolic example was frequently imitated by the Christian fathers in their apologetic writings against their heathen opponents, and afterward in the defence of the Catholic doctrines as against the heretical teachers. Not infrequently inscriptions are quoted in their exegetical works and in their sermons, while the early Church historians, Eusebius and Socrates, depend for some of their statements upon the evidence furnished by inscriptions which were well known in their times but afterwards perished.

Since the great revival of the sixteenth century this department of archæology has been very diligently cultivated. By the added evidence of epigraphical remains the history of Asiatic dynasties and of Egypt has been entirely reconstructed, and the character of these far off civilizations has been determined with a good degree of certainty. The military conquests, the social status of the people, the implements of peaceful industry and of war, the provisions for education, the condition of science, literature, and art, are often most clearly attested by these silent, unconscious witnesses. The results of epi-

¹ v. Huebner: article "Inscriptions" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th edition.

² v. Boeckh: *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, vol. i, Preface, p. vii.

graphical studies have not been less interesting or helpful in writing the history of the Christian Church. They have fully confirmed the opinion that Christianity was early embraced by members of the better families at Rome. They have more clearly illustrated the contrast between heathen and Christian morality, life, and hopes. They have greatly strengthened confidence in the integrity and accuracy of some of the early Church historians, upon whose statements unstinted ridicule had hitherto been cast. They have proved the tenacity of heathen faith and practices, and their vitality long after the time to which it had been usual to refer their decadence and death. They have confirmed the statements relative to the rapid progress of monasticism in the West during the fourth and fifth centuries, and have suggested sufficient reasons for the marvellous success of this institution. They have shown that the accounts of suffering, and of the number of martyr deaths among the early Christians, were not exaggerated by the ancient Church historians (Eusebius and others), and that the attempts (notably by Gibbon and his school) to diminish the horrors of the Neronian and other persecutions are not justified by the evidence. They have unconsciously testified to the orders and duties of the clergy, and to the number, modes of administration, and efficacy of the Christian sacraments. They have clearly proved the acceptance and strong supporting power of the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity in the midst of the most trying circumstances. They have been the means of correcting serious errors in chronology, and of determining the genuine text of the early Christian writings.¹

The number of Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries already described is very great. It is impossible to speak with precision, since hundreds are yearly added to the number. Probably more than twenty thousand have been discovered, and accessions are made almost daily.² Of these by far the larger portion (probably more than three fourths) have been found in Rome and its immediate vicinity. Great as is the

Number of Christian inscriptions.

¹ "Inscriptions are discoveries capitalized, as it were, and the income of them is only gradually realized."—W. P. P. Longfellow in the *American Journal of Archæology*, 1885, p. 203.

² In 1862 de Rossi affirmed that the number of Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries then known was about fourteen thousand, of which eleven thousand were found in Rome and vicinity, and three thousand in all the rest of the world. v. *De la Détermination Chronologique des Inscriptions chrétiennes* in the *Revue Archéologique*, December, 1862. The archæological world has long awaited the publication of de Rossi's second volume of the *Inscriptiones Christianæ*. Until this appears many things are left to mere conjecture.

number already known, it is but a small fraction of what once existed. "From collections made in the eighth and ninth centuries it appears that there were once at least one hundred and seventy ancient Christian inscriptions in Rome which had an historical or monumental character, written generally in metre, and to be seen at that time in the places they were intended to illustrate. Of these only twenty-six remain in whole or in parts. In the Roman topographies of the seventh century, one hundred and forty sepulchres of famous martyrs and confessors are enumerated; we have recovered only twenty inscribed memorials to assist us in the identification of these. Only nine epitaphs have come to light belonging to the bishops of Rome during these same six centuries; and yet, during that period, there were certainly buried in the suburbs of the city upward of sixty."¹ De Rossi believes that more than one hundred thousand Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries once existed, four fifths of which have been lost.

The early Christian inscriptions are mostly found upon stone (generally marble), bronze, or on tables of baked clay. A few examples in which the inscription is upon lead Materials on which inscriptions are found. tablets or plates have been preserved.² The letters are usually sunk into the stone; in very few cases, if at all, are they in relief. Sometimes, especially in the catacombs of Rome, Syracuse, and Naples,³ the inscription is painted, usually with red pigment; in some instances the sculptured letters are gilded.

The writers on Latin epigraphy divide the inscriptions into two classes: "(1) those which were written upon other ob- Kinds of inscriptions. jects of various kinds, to denote their peculiar purpose, and in this way have been preserved along with them; and (2) those which themselves are the objects, written, to be durable, as a rule, on metal or stone. The first class is that of inscriptions in the stricter sense of the word (*tituli*); the second is that of instruments or charters, public or private (*leges, instrumenta, tabulæ*)."⁴ Some writers on Christian epigraphy⁵ incline to a threefold division, namely: (1) Those cut in stone or bronze (*marmora, tituli, lapides*); (2) those painted in colors or sometimes written with coal (Ital.

¹ Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii, part iii, p. 3.

² In this respect they correspond to the heathen inscriptions, only very few of which are found on thin lead plates, which were rolled up, placed in the tombs, and thus preserved. v. Franz: *Elem. Epigr. Gr.*, p. 168.

³ v. Schultze: *Katakomben v. S. Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel.*, pp. 37, 50, etc. Martigny: *Dictionn.*, etc., p. 361. *Bullettino Arch. crist.*, 1880, t. i; 1881, t. vii and viii.

⁴ Huebner: *Op. cit.*

⁵ De Rossi, and his commentators and disciples.

dipinti); and (3) those which have been scratched on stone, mortar, or cement (Ital. *graffiti*). Under the second are usually classified the painted and gilded glasses and the colored mosaics, which are somewhat numerous and important.¹

It is highly probable that inscriptions of the first class were prepared in the shops of the workers in marble (*marmorarii*). The sign of such an artisan has been found in Pompeii.² The painted inscriptions and some of the *graffiti*, on the contrary, seem to have been sometimes prepared by the friends of the deceased, or by the *Fossores*. In a few *graffiti* are indications that they were prepared to ridicule the Christians and their faith³ (v. Figs. 25, 26).

In Christian epigraphy, as in manuscripts, well settled paleographic principles must be observed in order to determine the genuineness and age of inscriptions. While these principles have not been so scientifically determined in the case of Christian inscriptions as in those of classical origin, much aid is, nevertheless, furnished by them to the student of Christian antiquities to settle doubtful chronologies and to detect spurious monuments.

Three forms of writing are used in Christian inscriptions; namely, capitals, uncial characters, and cursive writing.⁴ The capitals are generally used in the earliest inscriptions, but are often found in connection with the more popular and convenient cursive writing. The uncials are related to the cursive in their inclination to round the character, but more nearly resemble the capital. This begins to appear during the fourth century, while in the fifth it is first fully popularized.

Usually, as in English, these inscriptions are read from left to right; in a few instances they are read from right to left, while in some others they must be read from top to bottom (v. Plate VI, No. 3). The lines are usually of equal length, of considerable regularity, and are broken up without respect to the division of single words. In later inscriptions, especially, the spaces between the letters are very evenly divided.


Punctuation seems to have been governed by other principles than are now recognized. Instead of indicating the sense, it marked lines, words, syllables, and even letters. No

¹ For reasons elsewhere given we have not observed this classification.

² "Titulos scribendos vel si quid operis marmorar (ii) opus fuerit, hic habes."

³ v. Garrucci: *Il Crocifisso Graffito in casa dei Cesari*. Becker: *Das Spott-Crucifix*.

⁴ v. Zell: *Handbuch der röm. Epigraphik*. Le Blant: *Inscriptions chrét. de la Gaul*, etc. Also his *Manuel d'Épigraphie chrétienne*.

regularity is observed, oftentimes punctuation being wholly wanting. The marks vary from a point to a heart-shaped leaf (Plate VIII, No. 6), a cross¹ (Plate VIII, No. 3), a star, a  (Plate VIII, No. 2), or a triangle, while the end of an inscription is seldom marked at all. In common with other ancient inscriptions, those of Christian origin are often greatly abbreviated,² either by the union of letters or their omission. The abbreviations by joined letters (*literæ ligatæ*) are presumably of later origin.

The orthography of Christian inscriptions often departs widely from accepted standards, and not seldom from that in ^{Orthography of} current use. This incorrect spelling rapidly increased ^{inscriptions.} during the fifth century, the period of the destructive invasions of the northern hordes. It consists in change of vowels, in the interchange of the linguals and labials, in the omission of letters, etc. There is frequent departure from the current syntax in the use of unusual and non-classical forms with prepositions, of relative pronouns, etc. At times attempts to correct these errors are noticed. Occasionally Latin words are written with Greek characters, and conversely; sometimes both Latin and Greek characters are found in the same inscription, and in a few instances the inscription stands in both Latin and Greek.

For historical and archaeological purposes the determination of the date of inscriptions is of prime importance. Only ^{Chronology of} thus are they helpful to mark the changes which the ^{inscriptions.} Church underwent in successive periods of its history. Since but a small number of the monuments containing inscriptions bear a

¹ Opinions differ as to the significance of the heart-shaped leaf and the cross in the midst of Christian inscriptions. The first has by some (de Rossi: *Inscriptiones*, etc., i, pp. 70, 148) been interpreted to indicate the grief of surviving friends. Both are found in connection with heathen inscriptions, and therefore can scarcely be regarded as having in themselves a religious significance. "C'est un usage antique adopté par les chrétiens, parce qu'il n'avait aucun caractère essentiellement religieux."—Martigny: *Dict.*, p. 186.

² The hermeneutical principles of classical epigraphy are equally applicable to inscriptions of Christian origin. It is to be regretted that there is no good handbook on this subject. Many valuable suggestions can, however, be found in the various collections of inscriptions. Among the older may be mentioned Morcelli: *De Stilo Inscript. lat.*; among the later, the valuable collections of Orelli, Mommsen, de Rossi, Le Blant, Boeckh, etc. In the preface of the *Corpus Inscript. Græcarum*, Boeckh has given some laws that have not been superseded. C. T. Newton: *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, has made instructive suggestions. Also, McCaul: *Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries*, in the introductory chapter, furnishes valuable information as to methods of interpretation, etc. This great want of a treatise (elementary) upon Greek epigraphy seems now to be supplied in the late work of Reinach, Salomon: *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*. Paris, 1885.

definite date,¹ it has been necessary to agree upon principles to govern in ascertaining the chronology of those lacking in this particular. Upon monuments of the West are found most frequent indications of the time of their preparation. In this the heathen and Christian monuments alike agree. The most usual means of marking the date is by the consular era, the year being sometimes expressed by figures, sometimes by letters. The usual abbreviations for *consul* and *consular* occurring on the pagan monuments are likewise used in Christian inscriptions: COS, CONS, COSS, CONSS, CC-SS, and CS for CONSVLE, CONSVLIBVS. This method of indicating dates continued until the abolition of the consular office.² In the Orient, however, there are only exceptional cases of the use of the consular era. In the fourth century first appears the title CON., CONS before the name, and the added abbreviations VC, VVCC, that is, *vir(i) clarissimus(i)*; likewise the mode of reckoning *after* the consulate: \overline{PC} , POST CON, POS, \overline{PCC} , etc., begins in the same century.

With A. D. 312³ the Romans began to reckon by the cycle of
Indictions.
indictions, that is, by cycles of fifteen years, or the time at the end of which a new census was taken and new taxes were levied. Examples of this method of reckoning occur at an earlier date in the East than in the West, no instance appearing in Rome earlier than A. D. 423, and in Gaul in A. D. 491.⁴ The usual abbreviation is IND; but besides this are met INDIC, IN-DICT, INDE.

In various parts of the Roman Empire the date was sometimes
Provincial eras.
indicated by the provincial era. In Spain the burial monuments follow the Spanish era (B. C. 38); in North Africa the *era Maurretanica* (A. D. 40⁵) is met with, etc. The Dionysian era does not appear until much later. The month, day of the month, and week are frequently indicated in accordance with Roman custom. The interpretation of dates, when recorded, be-

¹ Le Blant: *Op. cit.*, says that of 720 inscriptions in Gaul, only 147 bear any mark of date; of 200 in Trèves, only one contains a definite date; of about 11,000 described by de Rossi in his first volume on the Christian inscriptions of the first seven centuries, only 1,347 contain any chronologic indication of a date, and of this number only about 150 are earlier than 350 A. D.

² Discontinued under Justinian, and legally abolished by Leo the philosopher.

³ Some have attributed the introduction of the indiction to Constantine, others to Diocletian.

⁴ Le Blant: *Inscrip. chrét. Gaule*, No. 388. Some epigraphists insist that no example of Christian inscriptions reckoning by indictions appears at Rome earlier than A. D. 517.

⁵ Some writers say B. C. 33. v. p. 33, note.

comes therefore a matter of comparatively little difficulty. But it is far more difficult to fix the chronology of inscriptions that bear no date. Herein appear the value and necessity of epigraphical science.

Inscriptions
without dates.

By patient and protracted comparative study of inscriptions whose dates are well ascertained, the epigraphist has discovered means of determining with considerable accuracy the chronology of others. Well-established criteria have thus simplified the study of epigraphical remains, and sound scientific methods have been developed and successfully applied. For the chronology of Christian inscriptions the following particulars have been found especially important; namely, the character of the writing, (*paleography*), the formularies, the proper names, and the presence or absence of symbolic characters, as the cross, the monogram of Christ, $\chi\rho$, the Λ Ω , the dove, the fish, the peacock, etc. Also the peculiar cycle of the subjects of the paintings with which the inscriptions may be found associated.¹

General principles.

Brief and simple formulas, without statements relative to the character of the person, or the place and time of burial, as HIC IACET, HIC REQUIESCIT, etc., are presumably of highest antiquity. The introduction of special circumstances, such as HIC IACET IN NOMINE CHRISTI, HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE, etc., usually indicate a later date.² Also minute descriptions of the age, and of the day of death and burial, the enumeration of praiseworthy qualities, the metrical form, and the stately eulogium are indications of a later origin.³

Special indications.

With respect to the date of the introduction of the various symbols there is wider difference of opinion. More thorough study of these interesting Christian remains inclines the historian of art, as well as the epigraphist, to give to them a greater antiquity than was formerly allowed. The dove was formerly believed to be found on no Christian monument of an ear-

Date of symbols.

¹ v. De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, etc., pp. cviii and cix. "Illud restat inquirendum, quomodo inter hos ipsos terminos singularum inscriptionum ætas pressius possit definiri. Id examinatis litterarum formis," etc.

² Of the close of the fifth and the following centuries. v. Le Blant: *Manuel d'Épigraphie chrétienne*, etc., p. 35; also Hübner: *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Christianæ*, p. ix.

³ Compare especially de Rossi: Introduction to his *Inscriptiones Christianæ*; his treatise—*De la détermination chronol. des Inscript. chrét.* (*Revue Archéol.*, 1862). Le Blant: *Inscrip. chrét. Gaule*, p. vi, et al.; J. Ritter: *De compositione titul. Christ.*, *Berol.* 1877, s. 12, et al. De Rossi and Le Blant, while independent workers, are in entire harmony touching the principles governing the interpretation of inscriptions. There is also a remarkable agreement in their conclusions respecting the most important questions.

lier date than A. D. 268 in Rome, and A. D. 378 in Gaul;¹ but it is found in connection with inscriptions now believed to belong to the first half of the second century.

§ 2. *The Subject and Content of Inscriptions.*

As has already been shown (*v. p. 60, et seq.*), Christian monuments of the first three centuries were closely associated with those of heathen origin. As in monuments of plastic art, so in the department of epigraphy, the influence of pagan thought is manifest. Christian art liberated itself only by degrees from its first teacher and guide, and developed an independent character. This holds equally true of Christian inscriptions. On many monuments their Christian origin cannot at all be inferred from their contents. In some other instances the added expressions IN PACE, EN EIPHNH, or the wishes VIVAS IN DEO, VIVAS IN AETERNVM, are the only grounds of distinction.² The agreement of pagan and Christian in regarding death as a sleep is sometimes plainly seen. The added thought of a continuance of life after death is peculiarly Christian.³ Even in the

¹ Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaule*. Paris, 1856.

The following table gives his opinion respecting the chronology of some of these symbols: *v. p. xiv.*

SYMBOL.	ROME.	GAUL.
The dove.....	From A. D. 268-500, 524 ?.....	From A. D. 378-612.
✠	" " 298 ? 331-451 or 474....	" " 377-493.
A Ω	" " 355 ? 363-509.....	" " 377-547.
P	" " 355 to between 542 and 565.....	" about A. D. 400-525 or 540.
The vase.....	" " 391-472 or 489.....	" about A. D. 450-563.
The cross in the body of the inscription.....	" " 375 ? 407-527.....	" A. D. 448 till after 585.
The cross at the beginning of inscriptions.....	" " 450-589.....	" " 503 to about 680.

v. also his Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne, pp. 27, 28, 29.

² The expressions IN PACE, EN EIPHNH, are also found upon Jewish burial monuments of the pre-Christian period. *v. Le Blant*: N. 621: C. I. Gr., NN. 9902, 9909, 9921, 9923, etc. Supi, p. 177. Victor Schultze: *Arch. Stud.*, s. 260, N. 6, *et al.*, is of opinion that *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* is proof of Christian or Jewish origin.

³ Raoul Rochette (*Deuxième Mem. sur les ant. chrét.*, p. 27) is thoroughly consistent with himself in claiming that *χοιμᾶσθαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, dormire in pace, are also found on pagan burial monuments. But this opinion seems to lack firm archæological support.

fourth and fifth centuries, after Christianity had achieved an essential triumph in its fierce encounter with paganism, traces of heathen influence are present in Christian epigraphy as well as in plastic art.

The abbreviation D· M·, D· M· S· (*dis manibus, dis manibus sacrum*), occurs on monuments of the third and fourth century (in Greek Θ. Κ. θεοῖς καταθνήσκεις). More than a hundred examples of this kind have already been found, many of the monuments of the third and fourth centuries belonging to this class. The original religious significance of these abbreviations seems in a later period to have been lost sight of, and they became a mere traditional heading for inscriptions on burial monuments. In some instances the monogram of Christ, $\overline{\text{P}}$, $\overline{\text{P}}$, stands connected with the D· M·; thus $\overline{\text{P}}$ D· M· $\overline{\text{P}}$ or D· M· $\overline{\text{P}}$ S·.¹

A careful examination of this subject has led Becker to the following conclusions:

1. The signs D· M·, D· M· S· can never mean any Becker's conclusions. thing else than *Dis Manibus* or *Dis Manibus Sacrum*. The translation *Deo Magno*, or *Deo Maximo*, finds no justification in any single Christian monument.

2. The reason for placing the sign, D· M·, on Christian burial monuments is found in its very commonness of use. This was the customary beginning of sepulchral inscriptions, and thus a fashion was established.² At length this formula lost its original significance, and became almost meaningless.³

3. The opinion that the Christians purchased in the shops stones on which the D· M· had already been wrought by heathen artists is scarcely tenable. It seems to lack solid foundation.

4. With respect to their chronology, these monuments do not pertain to the earliest period of Christian inscriptions. The majority belong to the third century, and to the age of Constantine.⁴

¹ v. Spano: *Scoperte Archeol.*, p. 39. F. Becker: *Die heidnische Weiheformel D. M.*

² We must trace the later HIC IACET, and the Germ. "HIER RUHET IN GOTT," and the English "HERE LIES" to the same source.

³ In one instance, at least, there seems to be a sort of protest against this use of the D. M.; since the Christian A Ω is associated with it, as in the following from Anagni, quoted by V. Schultze: *Die Katakomben*, p. 250.

aD	Mω
VALERIA	RODE
VALERIAE	RODE
NI MATRI	CAR.
BEN	
MERENTI	FO

$\overline{\text{P}}$

⁴ v. Becker: *Op. cit.*, p. 65, et seq.

The expressions occasionally found on Christian and Jewish monuments seem to indicate a want of universal belief in the reality of a future life. Inscriptions like the following, ΘΑΠCI TATA MHTHP ΟΥΔΕΙC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC,¹ as well as the designation of the grave as *domus æterna, perpetua sedes, οίκος αλάνιος*, show that the Christian thought is yet influenced by the heathen doubt respecting the future. It lingers as an unpleasant and entangling inheritance, and proves the power of traditional systems, or argues the unconscious use of a language whose original significance had already faded out, but whose form remained. The desire that the body should be interred, in order to secure the repose of the spirit, was quite general among the Greeks. Many precautions were taken that the tombs might remain undisturbed. The penalties threatened to the despoilers and plunderers of graves are often expressed in very strong terms.² The necessity of burial as a condition of future rest, and of attaining to a resurrection, is also sometimes expressed in these burial inscriptions. The longings, laments, prayers, and execrations found upon Christian monuments are occasionally in almost exact imitation of the heathen custom;³ although the most incredulous must be persuaded that the general spirit of these inscriptions is that of patience, forgiveness, love, cheerfulness, and hope. Occasionally is met the "eternal memory," the "eternal sleep," the "raging Tartarus," the "Elysian grove," the "anger of Styx," etc. At times quotations from the heathen poets are found, and the terms *perire* and *vita privatus* are used to express dying. Indeed, in the Christian inscriptions that syncretism is noticed which becomes so general during the fourth and fifth centuries

¹ From San Ciriaco in Ancona. v. Buonarroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro*, etc., Firenze, 1716, p. 169.

² Comp. Wood, J. T.: *Discoveries at Ephesus*. Inscriptions from tombs, sarcophagi, etc., p. 7, No. 6.

Εἰ τις τοῦτον, etc.

"If any one shall either destroy or throw down this altar or tomb, or shall erase a letter, he shall pay to the exchequer 2,500 denarii."

³ *Corpus Inscript.* Lat., ii, N. 5,415, is an inscription from the basilica of St. Julian at Como running, ADIVRO VVS OMNES ΧΡΙΑΝΙ ΕΤ ΤΕ | CVSTVDE BEATI IVLIANIP DO ΕΤΡ ΤΡΕ | ΜΕΝΔΑ ΔΙΕ ΙΥΔΙΧΙ VΤ ΗΥΝC SEPVLCRVM n u nqAM VLLO TEMPORE VIOLETVR | sed conservet (ur) usque ad finem mundi | ut proxim sine impedimento in vita | redire cum venerit que iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos. . . . See also Reinesius: *Synagoga Inscript.*, xx, 435; *Corpus Inscript.* Græ., iv, nn. 9,303, 9,802; Ritter: *De Composil. tit. Christ.*, i, p. 36, seq.; Bosio: *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 436, where the imprecations against those who disturb the graves of the departed seem to reach the climax of severity: MALE PEREAT INSEPVLTVS IACEAT NON RESVRGAT CUM IVDA PARTEM HABEAT SIQIS SEPVLGRAM HVNC VIOLAVERIT.

in every department of thought and life. Great care is, therefore, necessary in their interpretation, and the wide difference between the Christian and pagan view of death as taught by these monuments, which has been claimed by some zealous writers, must be accepted with caution. We are not, however, to suppose that the clear statement of faith in the resurrection and in immortal life is wanting in Christian inscriptions. The Christian Church was much slower to liberate itself from the influence of antiquity in the case of inscriptions than in the case of the plastic arts. Only very seldom is this freedom attained during the pre-Constantine period. While we cannot doubt as to the origin of these inscriptions, the writers of the early Church seem content to indicate the Christian sentiment by a single word or phrase, rather than by the entire writing. This should not cause surprise, since to devise an entirely new terminology or method of expression would require much time and study, and many of the modes of thought then extant were entirely adapted to the needs of the new religion. Hence we find the ancient acclamations to the dead freely used in Christian inscriptions, such as *vale, ave, have, salve, XAIPE*, etc.

Others plainly
and peculiarly
Christian.

The expressions *in pace*, EN EIPHNH, *cum pace*, with the addition of *requiescat*, or the words, *spiritus tuus in pace, pax tibi, in pace domini, pax tecum*, etc., seem to embody more perfectly the Christian spirit and belief. It is when the condition of the departed is expressed in words of hope or congratulation that the contrast between pagan and Christian thought relative to a future life appears in strongest relief. The earnest hopes contained in the simple VIVAS, VIVES, VIVIS, VIVIT, IN AETERNO, IN CHRISTO, IN DEO, IN GLORIA DEI, IN DOMINO IESV, etc., are peculiar to the Christian inscriptions, expressing a cycle of thought entirely unknown to heathen epigraphy. The belief in a resurrection and a future life is here clouded by no doubt which might have come from association with the pagan world. Through a wide geographic and chronologic range these assurances of a future life by the power of Christ are met. In Rome, Gaul, Africa, and the Orient, extending through centuries of time, they frequently occur.¹

§ 3. Application of Principles and their Illustration by Means of Specific Examples.

Plate III is a reduced reproduction of Plate X of Roller's *Catacombes de Rome*, which was engraved from a photograph of a por-

¹v. Examples in de Rossi, Le Blant, Boldetti, *Corpus Inscript. Græc.*, *Corpus Inscript. Latin.*, Roller, Kraus, Schultze, etc. The number is large, and the criticism and commentary upon them have been exhaustive.

tion of the Christian Museum of St. John Lateran at Rome.¹ It contains fifty epitaphs, which are illustrated by some of the most prized of the Christian symbols.

No. 1 is a monument to Severa, whose bust adorns the slab. The scene here represented is the visitation of the magi, bearing gifts to the infant Christ, who rests upon the lap of his mother. The star is nearly above the head of Mary, while a figure behind, whose character has been a matter of controversy, extends the hand in blessing, or to point out the star to the wise men. The inscription, *in Deo vivas*, is found very frequently in the third century, but does not pertain to it exclusively. The epigraphist is rather inclined to place this in either the third or fourth century. It was found in a cemetery on the *Via Salaria Nova*, Rome.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are instances of the Good Shepherd upon the burial monuments. The simple inscription on No. 4, *Florentius in pacae*, would lead us to regard it as of very early origin. Much is said about the symbolism of these and similar scenes. A class of archæologists would say that the trees are the symbol of paradise, to which the soul has departed in peace under the kindly care of the Good Shepherd. This is probably an unwarranted extension of the principle of symbolism, since these trees could more properly be regarded as ornamental, to complete the balancing of the scene.

The Good Shepherd idea is likewise prominent in Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, and 14. We believe the presence of the tree in 5, 6, and 9 can be more naturally and justly considered artistic than symbolic. Nos. 5, 43, 44, and 45 embody another class of figures, called *Orantes*, which have been elsewhere examined.

While these figures are not infrequently met in the frescos, their occurrence in connection with inscriptions is quite rare. No. 5 is from the most ancient portion of San Calisto, Rome, reaching back, it is believed, to the first half of the third century. The paleographic suggestion would agree with the other evidences respecting this date. The Greek, ΜΟΥΧΗ ΖΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ ΑΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΕΚΙ, is not an unusual method of expressing the dedication of a monument by the living to the dead.

¹ The plates here used in illustration of Christian epigraphy are for the most part reduced from those in Roller's magnificent work. This Museum contains the richest collection of Christian inscriptions in the world. By special correspondence, in which M. Roller's desire to extend a knowledge of Christian archæology completely dominated every other motive, arrangements were made to use these and other plates. Grateful acknowledgment of this kindness is here made.

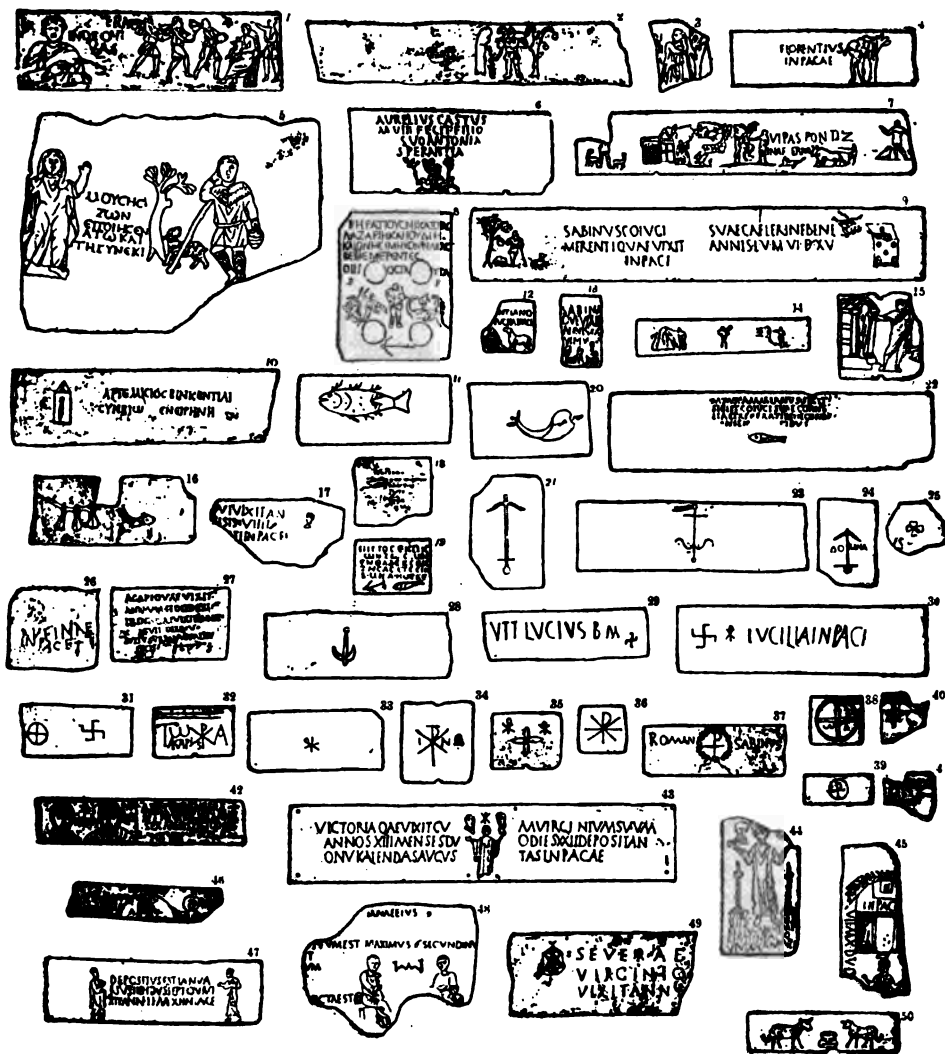







PLATE III.—Christian Inscriptions associated with Christian Symbols.

Nos. 8 and 9 illustrate the commingling of Latin and Greek in the same inscription, No. 8, and the omission of letters, Commingling of symbols. COIVGI for CONIVGI, No. 9. They have a curious combination of symbols. No. 8 has for a central figure the Good Shepherd, on one side of whom is a lion, on the other some devouring monster whose character is not well defined. It has been suggested that these may represent the foes that threatened the life of the sheep which the Good Shepherd will rescue. The anchor and the  plainly point to the ground of the Christian's hope. The right hand figure in No. 9 is a rude form of the ark, toward which the dove is flying, bearing in its beak the olive branch. In No. 49 this scene is repeated. This is a very frequent symbol of the nature and office work of the Church— The Church. the ark of safety bearing its precious freight over the dangerous sea of life.¹

The frequent recurrence of the anchor (8, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28) is very noteworthy, since these are found on monuments discovered in and near Rome. So the frequent use of the fish on these burial monuments (Nos. 11, 16, 20, 22) has been discussed elsewhere (v. pp. 77-83). No. 15 represents a scene frequently met in the frescos, and not seldom found on the sculptured monuments. Raising of Lazarus. The raising of Lazarus by Him who is the Life was symbolic of the doctrine of the resurrection, which was the central truth of the apostolic preaching, and the source of solace to a despised and oftentimes suffering Church. No. 10 is also the representation of a mummy-like figure in a tomb, surmounted by the , the hope of the deceased.

The  monuments have been elsewhere discussed, and the aid which they furnish in determining the chronology of inscriptions with which they are associated has been pointed out. Nos. 29, 30, 31 are noteworthy as containing the *swastica* in connection with other symbols; with the simplest form of the cross in a circle, as emblem of eternity, in No. 31, with the B·M· in No. 29, and with the  in No. 30. The origin of this symbol has been elsewhere examined (v. pp. 84, 85). No. 32 has, in connection with the name AGAPIS, an unusual combination of symbols. Unusual combination of symbols. The Tau, or an obscure form of cross, is directly associated with the A Ω and with the . It may well suggest the question whether the sculptor had in mind the idea of the crucifixion. The crucifix, wherein is a direct and literal repre-

¹ Even Hasenclever: *Der altchristliche Gräbersmuck*, Braunschweig, 1886, s. 114, concedes that this figure of the ship and ark are used as religious symbols, and not simply to indicate the maritime industries of the Christians of Alexandria.

sentation of the divine Victim upon the cross, has not yet found its way into the art of the Church; the early Christians prefer to shadow forth this supreme event under the garb of symbolism. Still, it may be difficult to interpret this symbolism in any other way than by the suggestion of sacrifice upon the cross. Nos. 43, 44, 45 have associated with the central figure—an *orante*—certain marks and characters which are quite infrequent in monumental art. The two busts in 43 and 44 have an uncertain reference. The suggestion that they may represent the chief apostles may have something in its favor, yet there is nothing to absolutely confirm it. No. 44 has likewise on each side of the praying figure a candelabrum resting upon a tripod of dolphins. The style of these candelabra would point to a Byzantine influence, and would suggest a date as late as the sixth or seventh century. That evidence is here found that ^{Tapers in the}lighted tapers were used in the forms of worship ^{Churchservice.} may not be accepted; but that lights had already been introduced into parts of the service is generally conceded. Above the *orante*, in No. 45, is seemingly the representation of the choir of a basilica. Here, too, the tapers are introduced; but the interpretation is obscure and unsatisfactory. Probably the artist had in view the ornamentation of the tomb, and was guided in his work by the necessity of a proper balancing of parts. As before observed, the introduction of some of these figures seems plainly for decorative purposes; this view is more reasonable than to violate the principles of symbolism by suggesting some unfounded or fanciful interpretation.¹

Plate IV, containing a representation of sixty-five sepulchral monuments, is also from a photograph of a section of the Lateran Museum, Rome.² It is designed to illustrate the symbolism in prevalent use among the early Christians. Many of the subjects contained in Plate III are here repeated. The *orantes*, as found in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, preserve the general character of these figures as they are met in the frescos. The presence of the χ in most of these vouches for their Christian character, and also enables us to fix their chronology as not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century, nor later than the latter quarter of the fifth century, if the monument is of Roman origin, nor later than the

¹ It is not proposed to enter into the explanation of every inscription or burial monument represented in the plates. They are given as samples of the style of inscriptions which illustrate the principles before enunciated. To leave a portion of each plate to be deciphered by the student may contribute to a greater facility in reading and interpretation.

² After Roller.

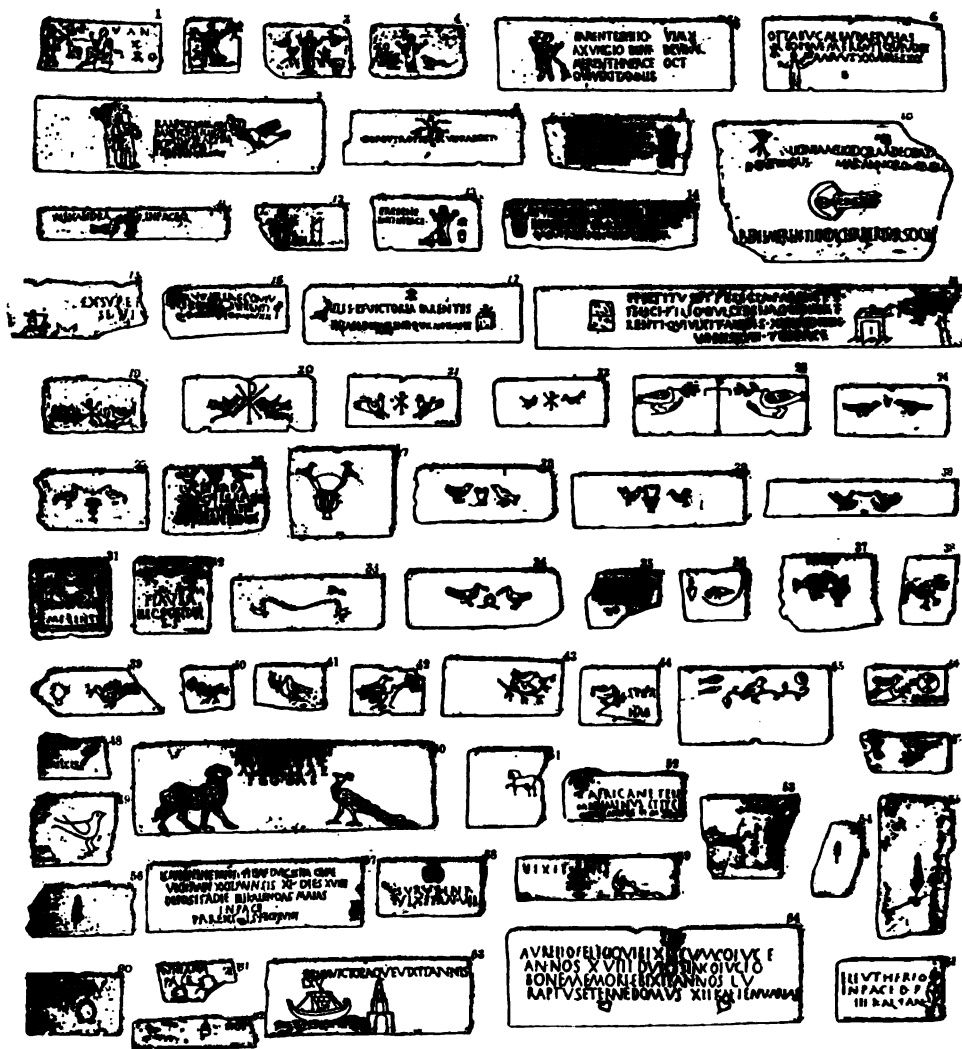

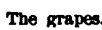



PLATE IV.—Christian Symbols on Burial Monuments.

close of the fifth century, if found in Gaul.¹ The simplicity of No. 11, *Alexandra in pace*, as well as the accompanying figure of the dove, might suggest a monument of the middle of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.

In Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 is found repeated the box-like ark, believed to be the symbol of the Church, and of safety to all who enter it.

The frequent recurrence of the dove upon burial monuments has given occasion for much writing on its significance.

As with respect to other figures, so here, too, is wide difference of opinion. Interpreters who would reduce Christian symbolism to its minimum of meaning, or regard it as only imitative of the pagan thought, would see in the dove little more than an appropriate and pleasing decoration for the monument, with no symbolic significance; while another class, who are finding in each object connected with the Christian monuments a hidden yet important lesson, would in every instance attach to this figure of the dove the idea of innocence, of purity, etc., as illustrative of the character of the deceased, or as symbolic of the soul itself, which finds its rest and assurance in the presence of Christ—the . In Nos. 24, 38, it is very difficult for the observer to be convinced that any thing more than a pleasing ornamentation was designed; yet in these, and in monuments like 27, 28, 29, the school of extreme symbolism has professed to find a reference to the eucharist: the grapes suggesting the wine, the wine suggesting the words of Jesus, "I will not drink henceforth of this ." The grapes.

fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Matt. xxvi, 29). In No. 50 is found a very unusual combination for a Christian monument. The inscription, *Ælia Bictorina posuit Aureliæ·Probæ*, "*Ælia Victorina set this up to Aurelia Proba*," is a very common form. The peacock was likewise used as a symbol of immortality; but the other figure is obscure in its reference. If it is to be regarded as a lion, then the suggestion that it may refer to Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah may not be unreasonable, and the whole monument may teach that the immortality of the departed soul was secured through this One who had been victor over death, whose power and worthiness are the subject of the inspiring apocalyptic vision given in Rev., chap. v.  The lion.

In 62, 63 is the recurrence of the ship or ark, with the addition of the tower or lighthouse. It may not violate any law of symbolism to regard this tower as the goal of the earthly voyaging, the eternal mansions which are to receive the faithful wanderer

¹ Le Blant: *Manuel d'Épigraphie chrétienne*, pp. 27–29.

over life's perilous sea. "Firmia Victora, who lived sixty-five years," is the simple inscription; the symbols tell a more significant story.

The palm-branch is of very frequent occurrence on the marbles, as The palm branch. in the frescos. In Nos. 54, 55, and 56 this appears as the prominent symbol. It is not difficult to interpret this, since here is the frequently recurring reference of the Apocalypse to the victory which the redeemed shall finally achieve, as in 60, 61 the like triumph is symbolized by the chaplet or crown.

Plate V represents inscriptions from the first half of the third century. The first four give the simplest expressions used upon the burial monuments of the early Christians. *Decessit*, often abbreviated to *dec.*, *dep. depositus*, *sep. sepultus*, are the Simple inscriptions. most common designations of Christian interment. The Greek KATAΘECIC is most nearly synonymous. Rather it would be more strictly correct to say that this is the original word, since the Greek language is usually the earlier in Christian inscriptions of Rome, and *depositus* may be looked upon as the adequate translation of the Greek KATAΘECIC. It is generally agreed that the primary idea of these words is here preserved, namely, that of a Significance. temporary deposit, in distinction from the idea of a permanent and final act, which the heathen generally expressed by the word *positus* and *compositus*. This is not an unimportant fact when the view of death entertained by the pre-Constantine Church is considered.

No. 5 has few distinguishing marks of a Christian inscription. Its fulsome characterization of the offices and relations of the deceased is not in harmony with the usual simplicity of the second or third century. The fact that he was of the emperor's household as well as his freedman is clearly stated; but that a Christian should receive appointment to these important offices at the hand of a very cruel and profligate ruler has given rise to doubt as to the Christian Christians in governmental offices. character of the inscription itself. It is, however, supposed that here, as in case of other well known examples, this *libertinus* may have, quietly, and unknown to his patron, maintained his associations with the Christian Church, yet, from his superior fidelity to the duties of his offices, have been a favorite with the emperor. Some aid to understand No. 5 is furnished by the very mutilated inscription on the back part of this sarcophagus, in which this name of Prosenes again occurs. By this means the Christian character of the monument is proved. The expression *receptus ad Deum* is not found in pagan epigraphy.

No. 6 connects with its inscription two well-accepted Christian

DECESSIT


· DEP ·

SEP ·

ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC
ΦΑΔΙΑΝΗC

M·AVRELIO AVGG·LIB·PROSENETI
A CVBICVLO·AVG·
PROC·THESA VROR VM
PROC·PATRIMONI·PROC·
MVNERVM·PROC·VINORVM
ORDINATO AD IVOCOMMODO
IN KASTRENSE PATRONO PISSIMO
LIBERTI·BENEMERENTI
SAR C O P H A G V M D E S V O
ADORNAVERVNT·

AN 236
TI·CL·MARCIVS·ET
CORNELIA·HILARITAS
CORNELIAE·PAVLAE·PAR
FECR·QVAE·VIX·ANN·X·DIEB
VIII·DEC·X·KAL·AVG·MAX ET
VRB·COS



PROGENES RECEPTVS ADDEVM·V·NON SSA
BIB·REPTVS IN VRBER·EXP·ENTI ONIVS SCRIBITAMPELVIS LIP·
NIA·PRAESENTE·ET·EXTRICATO·TI

AN 235
AVRELIA DVLCISSIMA FILIA QVAE
DE SAECVLO RECESSIT
VIXIT ANN XV·M·IIII·
SEVERO ET QVINTIN·COSS·

AN 238
Η ΠΑΛΙΤΟC ΘΕΘΟΛΙΑ
ΕCΤΑΤΟC ΕΖΗCΗΕΤΗ
ΠΑΡΗΓΕ ΝΟCΗCΕΝΗ
ΡΙΘΕ ΑΕΥΤΑΤΙ ΡΟΙΑΚΜΑΙ
ΤΙCΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΑΥ
ΕΑΝΘΙΑCΗΤΗ ΠΕΛΗΝΩΤΕ
ΙΕΝΟΥΤΟC ΕΛΛΗΝΟC

AN 269
ΑΛΙΑΔ
ΑΜΠΟC
ΑΥΓΕΜΙ
ΕΡΑΥΙCΙΝΟ CΟC
ΔΟCΗC



AN 269
CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟC·ΠΡΑΙΤΕ·ΑΤΟC·ΠΑΙΚΙΛΑΝΟC·
Ο ΔΟΥΛΟC·ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ ΑΞΙΩC·ΒΙΩCΑC
ΟΥ ΜΕΤΕΝΟΗCΑ·ΚΑΝ ΩΔΕ CΟΙ ΥΠΕΡCΤΗCΑ
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΚΛΑCΤΗCΩ·ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ CΟΤ·ΠΑΡΙCΘΑC
ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ·Ω ΘΕΩ·ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑ ΤΡΙΩΝ·ΕΤΩΝ
ΕΞ·ΜΗΝΩΝ

ΕΥΜΕΡΙΤΩ·ΟΤΡΑΝΙΑ·
ΟΤΑΤΗΡ·ΗΡΩΔΗC

ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑ·ΦΗΛΙΚΙΤΑ·
ΑΙΔΙΑ·ΡΗΤΙΝΑ

AN 269
IANYXRA COINGIBENE
MERENI GORCONO
MAGISTRO
PRIMO



AN 269
LESTINA
N DEOPAX

PLATE V.—Epitaphs from first half of Third Century.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

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9

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11

12

13

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18

symbols, thus furnishing evidence of its character, while its date, A. D. 234, is well ascertained by the consular indications. No. 7 also has its consular date clearly inscribed. Without such positive information, other characteristics of the inscription would suggest a somewhat earlier origin. The expression *Dulcissima* has generally been regarded as of a very early date—usually pertaining to the second century, yet not confined to it. The phrase *de saeculo recessit* is somewhat peculiar, but finds illustration in other monuments, even in some that are non-Christian. It probably is to be understood in the sense of this condition, state, or life, in contrast with that upon which the departed has entered.

In the fragment No. 9 there is little of special interest except the word *dormit*. It is hardly ever found in the classical epigraphy, and then in a sense radically different from that which the Christians attached to it. Much has been said about the doctrinal import of this term. It has been quoted in support of the opinion that the common teaching of the Church of the third century was that there was a slumber of the soul between death and the final resurrection. Such use of a term in epigraphic study would hardly be justifiable. It must be taken in connection with other and equally important expressions which would point to a contrary doctrine. When we consider the terms *vivas*, *bivas*, *vives*, etc., and the accompanying words, *in Deo*, *in Christo*, etc., we should hesitate to build on such a form as *dormit* a whole doctrinal fabric respecting the intermediate state of the dead. It seems more probable that by the word *dormit* there would be conveyed something of the same significance as by the term *in pace*; a condition so grateful to the toiler, watcher, and soldier after the severe labors and conflicts of life are over.

Two expressions in No. 10 arrest attention: Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ Θεοῦ, and ΠΑΡΕΔΩκε ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ. The whole inscription is worthy of study. Nos. 13 and 14 are good examples of the inelegant and careless style of very many of the Christian inscriptions. They would indicate both great haste in the execution of the chiseling, and a great want of culture and taste on the part of the sculptors. The presence of the roll in No. 13 may have reference to the teaching work of the deceased. The reference of the urn is obscure, but the expression *in Deo pax* is full of rich suggestion as pertaining to a monument belonging probably to the third century.

Plate VI, which is designed to be a collection of monuments whose inscriptions are more or less dogmatic in character, is also from the Christian Museum of the Lateran palace, Rome. It has been

The significance of *dormit*.

Carelessness in preparation of inscriptions.

claimed that the 20,000 Christian inscriptions preserved at Rome are not more than one seventh part of those which survive; but of this large number very few are of doctrinal significance. Generally the statement of doctrine is not direct, but the belief is left to be inferred.

In noticing the inscriptions of this plate we are impressed with the ardent wish that the departed may live with God, or in Christ; clearly pointing to a faith in the conscious union of the dead with the Divine in the future world. In the great variety of forms, *bives, vibes, ZH, vibos, bibas, vive*, is expressed the longing desire, the earnest prayer. The companionship of the new life after death, *in Deo, Deo, EN ΘΕΩ, in Domino Zesu, in Christo*, in X , is real, and with the source of all life and joy. There seems to be no thought of waiting for a full fruition to be realized in some far-off, indefinite future, but of a present, immediate blessedness in the enjoyment of all that is implied in being absent from the body and present with the Lord.¹

The frequent recurrence of the *in pace* is a further indication of the assurance which the promises of Christ have inspired, that the departed one is in a condition of repose. Moreover, the use of *refrigeret* implies a state of blessed activity such as is so significantly conveyed by the thought of spiritual refreshing. The various methods of indicating the immediate, active, conscious happiness of the soul after death leave no doubt with respect to the supporting power of the belief of the early Christians in the promise of Christ to his disciples: "I go to prepare a place for you, . . . that where I am ye may be also" (John xiv, 2, 3).

Again, the expressions *in eternum, ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΑ*, indicate that this life, this peace, this refreshment with God and with Christ the Lord are to be in perpetuity. "And they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xxii, 5). The power of this faith in the immediateness and perpetuity of the promised fruition might well keep them steadfast, immovable, loyal to their divine Master, and ever ready to attest this loyalty by a martyr's confession.²

Damasus occupied the pontifical chair from A. D. 366 to A. D. 385. His zeal for the Church was well-nigh consuming. For the martyred heroes who had witnessed their faith by suffering he entertained a veneration akin to worship. The graves of these faithful ones were hallowed spots. His earnestness was so

¹ These monuments should be studied in connection with those bearing the expressions "dormit," "dormuit," etc.

² The qualification of these statements has already been given. *u. p.* 254.

VIIIVAT FENCISSIMA
INDEOVIVES

PAWITV ADVUCLII
TIBASTINDEO

11
ACIUA
MONTAGE
MONTAGE

18
MONTAGE
MONTAGE



28
BICTORI
FACE
MAIN
ETINA

39
OITINH
SOLUCLIA



MAX MANVS 45 SATVI

CO-OPERATION OF ITTNAVO
TYVIA DIVERA IN QUA VITIA SATVIA
CONVULSANTOY/THAUSATVIA
PRAVIA METVOKLENDVOR
CONVULSANTOY/THAUSATVIA
CONVULSANTOY/THAUSATVIA
CONVULSANTOY/THAUSATVIA

1
 DAMAREFERTSANTCTOSVDVDMRETVLISEPARENTES
 AGNENCVMIVGBRESCANTVSTVBAONCREPVISSET
 NVTTRICISCHEMIVMSVBITOMIQVISSEPVELLAM
 SPONTETRVCISCALCASSEMINASABIEMQTYRANNI
 VRERECVMFLAMMISVOLVISSETNOBILECORPVS
 VIRIBINMENSVM PARVISSVPERASSETTMOREM
 NVDAQVEPHOFVSVMCRINEMPERMEMBRADIDISE
 NEDOMINITEMPLVMFACIESPERITVRAVIDERET
 OVENERANDAMIHISANCTVMDECVSALMAPVDORIS
 VTDAMASIPRECIBFAVEASPKECORINCLYTAMARTYR

2
 OSEMELATQVEITERVMVEROIDENOMINEFELIX
 QVIINTFMERATAFIDECONTEMPTOPRINCIPEMVNDI
 CONFESSVSCHRISTVMCOELESFIAREGNAPETISTI
 OVEREPRETIOSAFIDESCOGNOSCIREFRATRES
 QVAADCAELVMVICTORPARITERPROPERAVITADAVCTVS
 PRESBYTERIIKVERVS DAMASORLCTOREIVBENTE
 COMPOSUITVMVLVMSANCTORVMLIMINAADORNANS

3
 DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
 THERACIVSVITVLABROSPECCATA DOLERE
 EVSEBIVMISEROSDOCVTSVACRIMINAFERE
 SECINDIVIRINPARTESPOPVLVSCLISCENTVRORRE
 SEDITIOCAEDIBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
 EXTREMPROMBERPVLSIFERITATEYRANNI
 INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETPODERANCIS
 PERTVLITXILIVMDOMINOSVIMDELAETVS
 SEDITINACRIONVDVMVITAMORELIGVIT
 EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

4
 DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
 THERACIVSVITVLABROSPECCATA DOLERE
 EVSEBIVMISEROSDOCVTSVACRIMINAFERE
 SECINDIVIRINPARTESPOPVLVSCLISCENTVRORRE
 SEDITIOCAEDIBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
 EXTREMPROMBERPVLSIFERITATEYRANNI
 INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETPODERANCIS
 PERTVLITXILIVMDOMINOSVIMDELAETVS
 SEDITINACRIONVDVMVITAMORELIGVIT
 EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

5
 DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
 THERACIVSVITVLABROSPECCATA DOLERE
 EVSEBIVMISEROSDOCVTSVACRIMINAFERE
 SECINDIVIRINPARTESPOPVLVSCLISCENTVRORRE
 SEDITIOCAEDIBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
 EXTREMPROMBERPVLSIFERITATEYRANNI
 INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETPODERANCIS
 PERTVLITXILIVMDOMINOSVIMDELAETVS
 SEDITINACRIONVDVMVITAMORELIGVIT
 EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

6
 CVM PERITVRACETAEPVS SVLSSENTCASTRASVBVADE
 MOVERVNTSANTISDELLANEFANDAPRIVS
 ISTAQVESACRILECQVERTEVNTCORDESFPVICHMA
 MARTYRIBVSQVONDAMRITSACRATAPUS
 QVOSMONSTRANTEODAMASVSSEBIPAPA PROBATO
 AFFIKOMONVITCARMINEIVRECOLI
 SEDPERITITVLVS CONFRACTOMARMORESANCTVS
 NECTAMENHISITERVIMPOSSEPERIREPVIT
 DIRTVAVIGILIVSNAMMOXHAEC PAPACEMISCENS
 HOSTIBVSEXPVLSISOMNENOVAVITOPVS

7
 DAMASVSEPISCOPVSFECIT
 THERACIVSVITVLABROSPECCATA DOLERE
 EVSEBIVMISEROSDOCVTSVACRIMINAFERE
 SECINDIVIRINPARTESPOPVLVSCLISCENTVRORRE
 SEDITIOCAEDIBELLVMDISCORDIALITES
 EXTREMPROMBERPVLSIFERITATEYRANNI
 INTEGRACVMRECTORSERVARETPODERANCIS
 PERTVLITXILIVMDOMINOSVIMDELAETVS
 SEDITINACRIONVDVMVITAMORELIGVIT
 EVSEBIOEPISCOPOETMARTYRI

8
 CINGEBANTLATICESMONTENTENEROQVEMEATV
 CORPORAMVLTORVMCINERESATQVEOSSARIGABANT
 NONTVLITHOCDAMASVSCOMMYNILEGESEPVLTO
 POSTREQVIEMTRISTESITERVMFERSOLVEREPOENAS
 PROTINVSADGRESSVSMAGNVMSVPERARELABOREM
 AGGERISINMENSIDEIECITCVLMINAMONTIS
 INTIMASOLLICITESCRVTATVSVISCERATERRAE
 SICCAVITTOTVMQVIDQVIDMADEFECERATHVMOR
 INVENITFONTEIPRAEBETOVIDONASALVTIS
 HAECCVRAVITMERCVRIVSLEVITAFIDELIS

9
 HICONGESTAIACEIQVAERESSIVRBARTORYM
 CORPORASANCTORMREINENVENERANDASERICA
 SVBIIMESANIMASRAPVITSTIRECIA CAELI
 HICOMITSXYSTI PORTANQVIE XHOSTERO PAE
 HICNVMSPRO CERMSEVATQVIALTARIAE
 HICPOSTVNSLONGAVIXITQVINPACSACRDO
 HICCONFESSORESSANCTIQVOSCRAECIAMISIT
 HICVVENESSVEBIO SENESCASLIQVENEPOTS
 QVISMAGVIRGENVMPLAGITRINEREPVDORM
 HICIAEORDAMASVSVOLVIMACONOREMNBRA
 SEDCINERESTIMVIRANGLOSVEKAREPNOVRE



PLATE VII. - Inscriptions of Pope Damasus, fourth century.

great that the practice of burial in the cemeteries, which had been largely discontinued, once more became almost universal at Rome. He was careful to decorate the principal cemeteries with beautifully prepared inscriptions, in which were found high eulogiums of the martyred saints, and his restorations of the tombs of the worthies were rich and characteristic. These inscriptions have a character so marked that they are readily distinguished by the skillful epigraphist. They have great regularity, are most beautifully and sharply chiseled, and have been preserved in much of their original integrity. Often they become the means of positive dogmatic statements, from which an almost complete *credo* might be framed. While the panegyric is often extravagant, it is nevertheless tempered by a spirit of love and veneration that disarms criticism and awakens lively sympathy. Living at a time when the purity of the Christian faith had been greatly menaced, and when the severe morality of the pre-Constantine period had yielded to the current worldliness, it is not wonderful that this zealous leader found delight in calling the attention of a decaying age to the self-sacrificing lives of saints who had made the Church illustrious in the days of its sorest persecutions.

Plate VII gives a good idea of these inscriptions. The clearness and regularity of the incisions, as well as the metrical character of these epitaphs, are manifest. Also from No. 4 may be seen the results of the painstaking work of de Rossi in collecting the minutest fragments of marbles bearing these inscriptions, and afterward completing the slab by most careful adjustments. By this means valuable historic materials have been obtained to supply many deficiencies in the record. It will be noticed that even the remarkably clear and beautiful inscription, No. 1, omits some letters, leaving them to be easily supplied by the reader. It is addressed to St. Agnes, and is a curious commingling of faith and poetic enthusiasm. Whether we are to regard this address as an invocation to the saint, after the manner of the classical writers, or as an expression of veneration, it is plain that here is a clear indication of faith in the influence of the dead upon the fortunes of the living.

No. 2 is written in honor of the martyrs, Felix and Adauctus. Nos. 3 and 4 are from the crypt of Eusebius of the cemetery San Calisto—No. 4 being a restoration of the fifth or sixth century from numerous fragments found in this cemetery. The vertical inscription in the margin on each side the main one gives the name of him who prepared the work—Furius Dionysius Philoculus, the engraver to Damasus. The monument is of special interest in tell-

ing what is not elsewhere found; namely, that the pope Eusebius, A. D. 310, died in exile in Sicily, whither he was banished by Max-entius. It is notable that three terms are here used in connection with Eusebius and Damasus: *episcopos*, *rector*, and *pappa*. Much discussion has been had respecting the meaning of these words, and respecting the time when the word *pappa* first became the official characterization of the head of the Western Church. The word *rector* implies a degree of authority, but can hardly be claimed to carry with it undisputed and irresponsible authority. It was at times applied to simple *curés*. The word *pappa* seems at first to have been used to designate the spiritual relationship of those who had been especially helpful as advisers. The term was applied to numerous bishops in both West and East, and was not the exclusive title of the Bishop of Rome. De Rossi has affirmed that it was originally a title of endearment rather than of dignity. The term *episcopos* is the proper official designation of the chief officer of the Church, both in the time of Damasus and with his successors. This is the term whose meaning is fixed and definite, about which no doubt can be entertained.

No. 9 has given occasion for much discussion as to its teaching. Some epigraphists (Marchi notably) have claimed that reference is here made to the great multitude of victims who perished during the persecutions, and it has been cited in proof of this opinion. But it would be unwarrantable to press the teaching of this inscription too far. The manifestly panegyric character of the writing may well suggest caution in the interpretation; yet it is instructive in revealing the enthusiastic spirit of this noted bishop in caring for the memory of those who had so faithfully witnessed for Christ.

The eleven inscriptions of Plate VIII¹ are from the last half of the fourth century. They are of fixed date, this being determined by the consulates mentioned in the inscriptions themselves. They extend from A. D. 360 to the close of the century. The characteristics of the epigraphic monuments of this period have been most carefully studied, especially by de Rossi. In his exhaustive work² he has given the following as among their distinguishing marks: Frequent recurrence of the monogram of Christ in the Constantinian form, $\chi\rho$; the use of the cruciform style of this monogram, ρ ; the association with it of the A Ω ; the general absence of the symbolic anchor and fish; the continuation of the doves; and an almost exclusive use of the Latin language on

¹ Reduced from Plate lxii, vol. ii, of Roller's *Les Catacombes de Rome*.

² *Roma Sotterranea*, t. iii, p. 300.

THE
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ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 10, 1907

A SECVRA - QVIESQS }
 ATANTA }
 CVRA }
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 L
 VOCARISQ
 DEBEBIT V
 AE LOCVM FECIT
 DEP. IIII KAL - IVN DORMIT
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IOVE DE
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 VMORFOVIRVM
 QVENSUPERIS
 VIEMFELICTA
 SOTOBRIS
 S HICGMVQVIESCT
 DSIOAAY GG

ODITE FECIT AD ASTR
 TIT HAEC MVNDO
 TRIX LEGIS FIDEIQVE
 ENTEN INDE[P]EXIMIOS PARADISI
 TVBI GRAMINA RIVIS
 A SHOC POSVIT CORPVS TVMVLO
 IV XEVA C^{ruis} IN TANS

CON

OLORIPSEFATERI
 COGNOSCEPARENTV
 TVNCTAMARITO
 TENTAPVDORE
 IETRICTSAMORE
 STFOEDERAPRIMA
 I'FORISABIIT
 SCENDERELVCEM
 SOLACIAFLETVS
 ERORANDEETRESATVRNINCONSE

lury.

the monuments of the West. With few exceptions the simple expressions of invocation, as *vivas, refrigera*, etc., are discontinued, and a style of high panegyric is frequently indulged; the day of death and even of burial is usually mentioned; and a general predominance of the expressions *depositus, depositio*, etc. These are to be regarded only as *general* marks of the inscriptions of this period; for it must be remembered that the style of the epigraphic monuments does not undergo a sudden and complete transformation, but some marks continue in permanence. No. 1 is somewhat rude of workmanship, tending to the cursive style. It is considerably abbreviated, yet the parts are easily supplied.

Warning
against hasty
inductions.

"His parents to their most dearly-beloved son, Dionysius, who lived five years, seven months, and nine days. Buried on the sixteenth before the Kalends of September, Constantine being for the tenth time consul. In peace."

The connection here of the Λ Ω with the monogram of Christ (said to be the first instance where these are associated on a monument of fixed date¹) certainly suggests the everlastingness of the second person of the sacred Trinity. Yet it would probably be unwarrantable to regard the presence of the symbol, Λ Ω , upon a monument as conclusive proof of the faith of those who caused its erection in the deity of Christ. We have already spoken of the use of the $D \cdot M \cdot$ upon Christian burial monuments, and have seen that this arose from the fact that it had probably become a sort of conventional heading to these inscriptions, and that little thought was probably had of the heathen significance of the symbol. So also it may be true that the placing of the Λ Ω upon the tombs of the deceased Christians may have been without thought of its deep dogmatic import on the part of the sculptor. But it certainly argues that what had once been deliberately chosen as significant of the nature and person of Christ continued, however unconsciously, to be accepted by the Christians of the fourth century as expressive of their faith in the eternity of that Lord in whose peace their departed dead now rested.

Ignorance of
the significance
of symbols possible.

The *semper quiescis secure* and *dormit* of No. 2, the *requievit in pace* of No. 3, and the *hic requiescit* of No. 9 recall the question whether these shall be regarded of dogmatic import, or are only expressive of the current belief of Christians in the quiet repose of the actor after the struggles of this earthly scene are passed.

In Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, the high eulogistic character of many of

¹ Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, T. ii, p. 81.

the inscriptions of this period is illustrated. The *miræ sapientiæ*,
 Eulogistic character of inscriptions. *semper cœlestia quærens, optima servatrix legis, fideique magistra dedit, hic tumulus lacrimis retinet*, etc., are in strong contrast with the simple and expressive *in pace* or the *hic jacet* of the second and third centuries. In No. 8 are the clear-cut workmanship, the regularity of the lettering, the equality of the lines, as well as the high panegyric of the Damasene inscriptions, to which allusion has elsewhere been made.

No. 10, of the year 397 A.D., is interesting as a genuine palimpsest; since on the back is seen another inscription, Palimpsest. *Leo et Statia vivi fecerunt*, while beneath the main Latin inscription is found a Greek one inverted, of good characters, and evidently of a date much earlier than the last. It reads ΕΤΤΥΧΙΑΝΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΙΑΝΗ CYN (δω). Thus on the same slab are found the purer Latin, the much earlier and almost classical Greek, and over it again the later and corrupt Latin. This monument would also suggest that the language of the early Church was the Greek.

An interesting class of objects in epigraphical science are the *graffiti*. They are very widely diffused both in pagan and Christian monuments. They are more numerous in those places to which pilgrims and devotees resorted for worship and meditation, where the sanctity of the persons interred, or the inspiring memories of the scenes, transform the spots into holy shrines. Marked examples of such *graffiti* are met in many parts of the Orient, where original inscriptions have been in a degree effaced by others of a later date, and these in turn by still others.¹ The examples on Christian monuments and in sacred spots are very numerous, but the difficulty of deciphering them becomes very great, and many valuable facts, undoubtedly concealed under the commingling of characters, still elude the ingenuity of the epigraphist.

In some portions of the Christian catacombs of Rome the *graffiti* have been studied with great zeal, especially by de Rossi, who has given a *résumé* of results in his noted work.² As in the case of pilgrimages to heathen fanes the devotee was accustomed to inscribe a vow or a prayer, or to leave a record of his visit on or near the

¹ Notable examples are found at Dog River, in Syria, Persepolis, and in many parts of Egypt. "Those faintly cut emblems of Sesostris, those stern, cold soldiers of Chaldea, those inscriptions in Persian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, each embodies a history of itself, or rather tells of one written elsewhere, which we long to possess." Thomson: *The Land and the Book*, vol. i, p. 59. For Persepolis see especially Ferguson: *History of Architecture*.

² *Roma Sotterranea*: t. ii, tav. xxxii and xxxiii.

sacred shrine, so also in visiting the burial places of saints and martyrs the pilgrims were desirous to indicate their feelings. Fig. 123 is a representation of a small wall surface in the crypt of San Sisto in the cemetery of San Calisto, at Rome. The marks seem to be mere scratches upon the mortar, or in some instances ^{In San Calisto.} are in pigment. The variety of forms in the letters, the different languages, Latin and Greek, and sometimes the almost

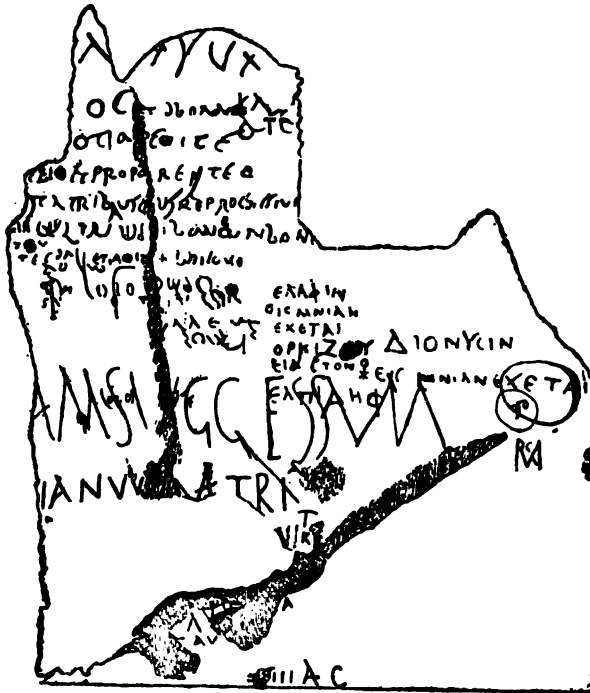


Fig. 123.—Graffiti from papal crypt, San Sisto, Rome.

barbarous vernacular of a later time, make a jumble of dates, of sentiments, and of experiences which, if unraveled, might doubtless furnish valuable historic truths to supply the hiatuses now so painfully felt. The portions which have been deciphered are entirely harmonious with the sentiments expressed in the well-understood inscriptions. The views of death are equally cheerful, and the joy of the soul in Christ is equally ecstatic.

Sometimes the cross appears with equal arms enclosed in a circle. It is not easy to determine how far this may be regarded as of symbolic import. The extreme school of symbolists would see

in such forms the teaching of the eternity of the person symbolized, as well as the continuance in perpetuity of the doctrine and

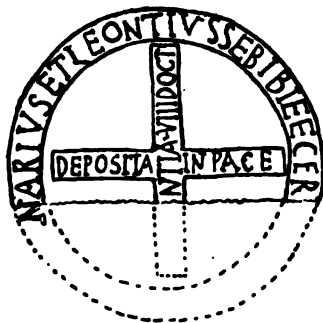


Fig. 124.—Cross in circle with inscriptions.

kingdom which He has established. In Fig. 124 we have an example from the first quarter of the fifth century. Probably it was part of a burial monument, and the legend in the circle was descriptive of the persons commemorated, while the two arms of the cross bear the quite common *deposita in pace*, and the age of the deceased. Unfortunately, the mutilated condition of the inscription prevents its satisfactory interpretation.

Fig. 125 furnishes an example of the value of archæological remains in the illustration of obscure points in history. It is a small column found in 1874 among the ruins of the Basilica San Petronilla, Rome.¹ This ruined basilica has already been described (see pp. 174–176) as situated above the cemetery of

San Domitilla, and seems to have been built on account of the peculiar sanctity of persons interred beneath. In former times this was known as the *Cemeterium Domitillæ, Nerei et Achillei, ad Petronillam Viâ Ardeatind*. The reasons why Nereus, Achilleus, and Petronilla should be thus associated with this cemetery were difficult to find, until the discovery of this column and a small fragment of a like column with faint indications of the representation of a scene similar to that depicted in Fig. 125. Here is clearly a martyrdom. The pursuing soldier with the deadly weapon would slay the retreating victim, ACILLEVS. The further indication of martyrdom is the crown above the cross, the *triumphus Christi*,

¹ It had fallen through the pavement of the basilica into a lower gallery of the cemetery. v. Figs. 76, 77.



Fig. 125.—Column from the Basilica of Petronilla. Martyrdom of Achilles.

which is the symbol of the martyr's death and triumph. It is conjectured that the other like column, a small portion of which has been found, may have similarly depicted the martyr death of Nereus. Further excavations have given abundant proofs, also, of the connection of Petronilla with this basilica and cemetery. The most plausible explanation is that the cemetery originally took its name from Domitilla, to whom this plot of land belonged, and that its name was afterward changed on account of the interment of these martyrs in the sacred precincts.¹

¹ v. Northcote and Brownlow: *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, pp. 121, 180-183. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii, plate xciv, No. 4, p. 331.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY CHRISTIAN POETRY AND HYMNOLOGY.

§ 1. *Preliminary Considerations.*

RELIGIOUS emotions have ever sought expression in poetic measure. The first poets of a people have been instinct with prophetic fire, while the prophets of religion clothe their weightiest utterances in poetic garb. Poet and prophet alike draw inspiration from a common source. Religion suggests to poetry its richest themes, while poetry furnishes to religion the vehicle for the expression of its deepest truths. The sacred song is therefore found associated with every religion. The heathen used it, the Hebrews chanted it in their temple service, the untutored savage utters it in sacred grove or consecrated wood.

Nor is the Christian religion an exception to this rule. The true *Te Deum Laudamus* had been chanted by the angelic choir when they announced the advent of the Prince of Peace, and the song of holy triumph of devout Simeon and Elizabeth, *Nunc Dimittis*, has been counted among the valued treasures of the universal Church. In imitation of the Hebrew custom the first apostles had inculcated the use of hymns in the social gatherings of the Church, and in the more public congregation. That these spiritual songs were a means of edification and profit cannot once be doubted. But we are not to suppose that a feeble and despised Church was in circumstances favourable to the development of a distinctive hymnology or to the origination of a characteristic music.¹

The first period of Christianity was, indeed, filled with an inspiration such as the world had never before known. The founding of a religion so new in spirit, which tended to break down the barriers of social life and unite all men

¹ "It is probable that whatever of hymnology was practised by the Jews at the time of Christ was appropriated by the new Church. All the instructions of the apostles agree with all the traditions to confirm this opinion. Since during the life of St. Paul there could have been no new literary development in the Church, his exhortations to the use of hymns and spiritual songs must have chiefly referred to what was then extant in the Jewish Church." v. Burgess: *Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, London, 1853, p. xxiv. Still it is quite probable that in the social gatherings there may have been a kind of improvisation which was the beginning of an independent hymnology.

in one holy communion; which presented so noble an array of witnesses and martyrs for the truth's sake, and furnished supporting power to triumph over every form of persecution and death, was the occasion for awakening the true poetic spirit in the minds of its disciples.¹ Such circumstances are especially prolific of themes of song. Nevertheless, a degree of leisure is requisite to set these themes to harmonious verse. While the mind is at the extremest stretch of action, or moved by a consuming passion, poetic conceptions may be richest, yet poetic versification is impossible; this comes only from quiet contemplation and conditions of peace.²

It must likewise be recollected that circumstances of danger and persecution interfered with the growth and perfection of the Church services, and also retarded the development of the metrical hymn. Add to this the fact before referred to (pp. 52, 53), that the Church of the first two and one half centuries was somewhat hesitant to cultivate some forms of the fine arts because of their supposed contaminating influences through association with heathen practices. The threat to the purity of Christian doctrine and life seemed so grave that long after Christianity had received recognition from the state Jerome wrote: "A Christian maiden should not know what a lyre or a flute is, or what is its use." The first disciples in nearly every city were from Jewish families who in their wide dispersion had maintained the Hebrew worship in private houses or in synagogues. It would therefore be antecedently probable that many elements of the Jewish service would at first be incorporated into the religious forms of these early converts. The writings of the apostles confirm this presumption.³ The chanting of the Psalter by the priest, and the probable antiphonal singing by the congregation, would suggest like forms to the proselytes to the new faith. The extent to which the Church of the first two generations appropriated and adapted the then existing poetry and music to its own wants, is a question that has been sharply debated by archæologists. It is, however, generally conceded that intimations of a church psalmody and hymnology are found in the writings of the New Testament. Especially in the Apocalypse are met suggestions of hymns which bear a distinctively Christian stamp.

Yet not favourable to metrical forms.

The Psalter at first in general use.

Germes of a hymnology in the New Testament.

¹ "Christianity began among a people who were full of active imagination, and of keenest sensibility. They delighted to have the heart aroused and the fancy elevated through appeals to the eye and ear." Herder: *Zerstreute Blätter*, 5th Samml.

² Schletterer: *Geschichte d. geistlichen Dichtungen u. kirchlichen Tonkunst*, Hanover, 1869, s. 54.

³ Burgess: *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

The gradual liberation of the disciples from the burdens of the Mosaic ritual would tend to eliminate Jewish elements from the public services, and lead to the preparation of a liturgy in harmony with the needs of an independent and distinctive Church.¹ The sharp contrasts between the monotheistic belief of the Christians and the prevalent polytheism, their adoration of the now risen and glorified Christ, the inspiring and supporting doctrine of the resurrection, and the quite prevalent expectation that the Lord would soon return to awaken the sleeping saints to enter upon the inheritance of a universal kingdom, turned the thought away from systems which now seemed to them obsolete, and contributed to the development of a hymnology new in form and content.

No extended description of the public Christian services of the first two centuries by contemporary writers has been preserved; we are therefore compelled to be satisfied with a somewhat imperfect induction. The early fathers and the "Apostolic Constitutions" associate prayers with the song of thanksgiving.² They were regarded as like in spirit. They also seem to avoid the use of the term "hymn" through fear that their worship of the one God and Christ might be confounded with that of the heathen, who were accustomed to sing "hymns" in praise of their divinities.³

"Psalm" and "ode" are the usual terms used to describe these writings and exercises. Although no hymns from the first or second century have been preserved to our day, and no mention of any composer of hymns is found in the records of the first two centuries,⁴ it may, nevertheless, be safely inferred from the nature of the case, as well as from the few incidental allusions to the early ritual, that hymns were composed and existed in written form at the beginning of the second century.⁵

¹ "Even if the Psalms of the Old Testament could, at the beginning, have expressed all the deep feelings of the Christian heart, the very use of these would have aroused in the worshiper a desire for new hymns which their peculiar gifts and inspiration would have created." v. Rambach: *Anthologie christlicher Gesänge aus allen Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, Bd. i, s. 4.

² v. Augusti: *Handbuch der christlichen Archæologie*, Leipzig, 1836, Bd. ii, s. 10.

³ Augusti: *Op. cit.*, Bd. ii, s. 113. *Contra*, Böhmer: *Christ.-kirchliche Wissenschaft*, Breslau, 1836, Bd. ii, s. 335.

⁴ With the possible exception of the *Pedagogus* of Clement, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

⁵ Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 28, where a writer from the end of the second century is represented as answering the Artemonites by appealing to a great number of

Münter has given the following brief summary of his investigations:

1. The congregations of the apostolic period used hymns of thanksgiving in their public worship. 2. They also used these ^{Münter's conclusions.} hymns on the occasion of their sacred feasts, the Agapæ, etc. 3. The sacred song was set to music, and chanted by the entire congregation. 4. These hymns and psalms which the early Christians used were not all derived from the Old Testament Scriptures, but some were of their own origination and composition.¹ With regard to the meagreness of our information relative to this subject, he suggests that it should cause no surprise when it is considered that only merest fragments of the history of the early Church have been preserved, while the larger part of ^{Causes of meagreness of information.} what may have been written has been irrevocably lost; that since the hymns were kept with the other books of the Church, they may, therefore, have furnished a special reason for persecution when the sacred writings of the Christians were hunted out and destroyed.

That the number of these hymns must have been quite limited, as compared with the number in later times, seems probable from the fact that most of the early Christians were uncultured and not in circumstances to patronize, much less to cultivate, the fine arts. Moreover, at a still later date the councils of the Church were much divided in opinion relative to the introduction ^{Conciliary decisions diverse.} of hymns other than from the Psalter into the public services; therefore, the writing of them received little encouragement even by those who possessed the requisite gifts and culture.²

The hesitation of Christian councils and bishops to sanction the use of other metrical compositions than the Psalter and inspired utterances from the Old Testament Scriptures finds its partial explanation in the fact that the heretical leaders were among the earliest patrons of hymnology, and were the first to introduce into the public worship a greater regularity and pomp. By this means multitudes were attracted from the orthodox service, and the spread of the Gnostic heresy was greatly promoted.

On the propriety of using other metrical compositions than the Psalms of David synods and councils were not agreed. In most

ancient hymns whose theme was the praise of Christ. "Psalmi quoque et cantica fratrum jam pridem a fidelibus conscripta Christum Verbum Dei concelebrant, divinitatem et tribuendo." Also the custom of Paul of Samosata in changing the praise hymns designed to be sung to Christ to those praising himself, is a further evidence of the existence of hymns and music.

¹ *Ueber die älteste christliche Poesie*, ss. 18, 19.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.

instances their decisions were very cautiously expressed. By some none but the Psalter was permitted. Nevertheless, the eastern fathers, Chrysostom, Ephraem of Syria, and others had ventured to introduce hymns of their own composition, whose use had greatly added to the fervor of devotion, and had been powerful in recalling to the orthodox fold many whom the alluring service of the heretical sects had led astray. The character of most of the early sacred poetry which has reached us hardly permits it to be classified with hymnology. Even the very prolific poet of the Greek church, Gregory Nazianzen, has not contributed a single poem which deserves the name of hymn.¹ Indeed, there is a most marked contrast between the productive power of the early and the modern Church with respect to the number and character of sacred poems. It is estimated that the aggregate hymns of the Latin, Greek, and Syrian churches, prior to the sixth century, would not equal those found in the ordinary collections used by the churches of our day. Rambach² has affirmed that the total number of Latin hymns and sentences which were in use prior to the fourteenth century did not exceed four hundred. This arose, not so much from the want of proper gifts as from the ends had in view by the writers of these poetic compositions. Much of their poetry was of a dogmatic character, and was intended to advocate a doctrine or combat a heresy rather than to contribute to the edification of the worshiper.³

We must also be reminded that the general use of hymnbooks in the public service of the early Church is not once to be supposed. While the diffusion of books in the Imperial period was very considerable, and the multiplying of manuscripts was comparatively inexpensive,⁴ from the best authorities to which we have access it is inferred that in many instances large congregations had but few copies of the hymns which were in use. It is therefore probable that by frequent repetition the worshippers committed the hymns to memory, and, where permitted, also sang the tunes and chants by rote. In studying subjects of this character the investigator must, as far as possible, transfer himself to the times, and realize the peculiar circumstances of the early Christians. It must be considered how many arrangements of the service of the modern Church have sprung from the ease of

¹ Augusti: *Handbuch christ. Arch.*, Bd. ii, p. 128.

² *Anthologie*, ii, 8.

³ Augusti: *Op. cit.*, B. v, c. 4, ii.

⁴ v, Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 24. Merivale: *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi, p. 232.

multiplying Bibles, hymnbooks, catechisms, etc., by means of the art of printing. .

The partial exclusion of the private members of the early Church from participation in the singing is attributable far more to their want of training in the arts of poetry and music than to the arbitrariness of church officials. While by the fourth century the new religion had made very wide and important conquests, it nevertheless seems probable that most of the professed Christian communities enjoyed but limited means of cultivating the arts to which the grandeur and impressiveness of public worship are so largely due. Not till a later period did the singing-schools of Rome, Fulda, Metz, St. Gallen, etc., prepare the clergy to lead the congregation in portions of the singing service. By the study of the early hymnology we are impressed with its comparative poverty. The depth of devotional feeling and the perfection of rhythm which characterize the mediæval and the modern hymn are largely wanting. The dignity and high inspiration which have characterized public worship since the reformers joined the perfected hymn to appropriate music, and thus brought the singing to the entire congregation, could not have been attained even in the most imposing churches of Constantinople, Antioch, Milan, or Rome.

§2. *Sacred Poetry of the Syrian Church.*

Syria was the native land of Christian hymnology. To that city where the disciples were first called Christians probably belongs the honor of introducing the formal hymn into the public services of the Church. A questionable tradition contained in Socrates¹ says that Ignatius, the first Christian bishop of Antioch, used the Antioch the antiphonal hymn as early as the beginning of the second mother city. century. From this very brief reference no definite knowledge of the character of the hymn or of its relative prominence in the public service may be gained.

By other means, however, the history of Syrian hymnology can be traced with little interruption to the second or early portion of the third century. In Syria, more than elsewhere, the Gnostic heresy sought to propagate itself through the means of sacred poetry and hymns. The philosophic theologian, Bardesanes, who flourished

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vi, c. 8. "Jam vero didimus, unde consuetudo hymnorum, qui in Ecclesia alternis decantantur, initium cepit, Ignatius Antiochus quæ est in Syria, tertius a Petro apostolo Episcopus, qui cum apostolis ipsis multum versatus est, visionem vidit angelorum Sanctam Trinitatem hymnis alterna vice decantatis collaudantium: et formam canendi in ea visionem expressam ecclesiæ Antiochanæ tradidit. Unde illa traditio in omnibus ecclesiis recepta est."

in the last half of the second century at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, was among the earliest writers of hymns which were used by the heretical churches of the East. While with a single exception his writings have been lost, we are informed by Ephraem, the Syrian, that he composed one hundred and fifty hymns in imitation of the Psalter. By clothing his peculiar tenets in the enchanting forms of song he seriously threatened the purity of the Syrian church.¹ Multitudes were drawn away from the true faith. His skill as a composer of music was equal to his poetic gifts; for it is certain that he gave name to tunes which were afterward appropriated by the orthodox party. For nearly a century and a half the influence of these hymns was perpetuated.² The orthodox teachers became alarmed. To arrest the evil tendencies they saw that like Ephraem of means must be used. Ephraem, deacon of Edessa, a contemporary and friend of Basil the Great, entered upon this work with intensest zeal. He organized female choirs,³ taught them hymns which embodied sublimest spiritual sentiments, set to song the fundamental truths of the nativity, baptism, passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord, and required the deaconesses to assemble in the church on all Sabbaths and feast days. On these occasions he was present as leader to teach them musical notation and the laws of poetic rhythm. He believed that this was the surest means of gaining the goodwill and kindly aid of the people, and of breaking the power of his opponents.⁴ Sozomen⁵ informs us that from that time the Syrians sang the odes of Ephraem according to the methods indicated by Harmonius,⁶ the

¹ Ephraem of Syria, in his *Homilies against Heresies*, bears frequent testimony to the influence of Bardesanes.

² "For these things Bardesanes Uttered in his writings—
He composed odes, And mingled them with music;
He harmonized Psalms And introduced measures."—Homily 53, *Against Heretics*.

"In the resorts of Bardesanes Are songs and melodies.
For seeing that young persons Loved sweet music.
By the harmony of his songs He corrupted their minds."—Homily 1.

v. Burgess's translation, *Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, pp. xxx and xxxi.

³ Burgess translates this term, "Daughters of the convent." *Hymns and Homilies*, p. xxxviii.

⁴ *Acta St. Ephraem*, c. xxii.

⁵ *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii, cap. xvi, "Ex eo tempore Syri juxta numeros canticorum Harmonii scripta Ephraim psallere solent."

⁶ If the accounts of Sozomen and Theodoret can be relied upon, Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, reduced the Syrian literature to measures and musical laws which had been suggested by the Greeks. He also adapted these to the uses of choirs, and by the beauty of his compositions allured his hearers to embrace the heretical doctrines. Sozomen: *Life of Ephraem*, lib. iii, cap. 16. Theodoret: *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv, cap. 29.

son of Bardesanes; and Theodoret affirms that these hymns proved to be efficacious medicine to arrest the spread of heresy.

The number of Ephraem's poems is unknown.¹ It is certain, however, that they were numerous, and covered a very wide range of subjects—theology, exegesis, hymnology, etc. His poems numerous. His hymns were widely used both by the schismatic sects of the Syrian church and by the orthodox Christians of the East.

Of the metrical laws governing these Syrian poems little is known. It seems, however, that the meters were regulated by the number of the syllables, and not by the quantity, as in Greek and Latin verse. The Latin and Greek could vary the number of syllables in a verse according to their quantity, but the Syrian seems to have adhered rigidly to the syllabic order, and thus greatly hindered the beauty, flexibility, and variety of utterance which produce the greatest charm.

"The strophes vary in length from four verses to twelve, sixteen, and even twenty. Many of them are uniform in their structure, every verse containing the same number of syllables; but others are studiously varied, exhibiting great art and labor in their construction. . . . Indeed, Ephraem seems to have had a nice ear for variety, and if what has already been said respecting the dislike of his countrymen to the monotony of the psalms is correct, he must have gratified the most fastidious seeker of novelties."²

The attention given by Ephraem to antiphonal singing, by which the interest and attractiveness of the public assemblies could be promoted, compelled a careful arrangement of the liturgy. His contributions to the Church of his own time were varied and noble, and the influence of his labors in the promotion of Christian hymnology was positive and widespread.

The following will give a good idea of the character of his poetry:³

CANON LX.

NECESSITY FOR PREPARATION FOR DEATH.

1.

Pity me, O Father! in thy tender mercy,
And at thy tribunal, let thy love be with me;

¹ There has been a tendency to ascribe to him every thing extant in the metrical forms of Bardesanes and Harmonius, and which was used in the Syrian sacred offices. But this is evidently erroneous. Many metrical compositions in the Ephraemitic rhythm are plainly the work of other hands. v. Asseman: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. i, p. 60.

² Burgess: *Op. cit.*, p. liv.

³ Translated by Burgess: *Metrical Hymns of Ephraem Syrus*, pp. 56, 57.

And make me to rise up from the dust,
 In the day when thy standard shall be revealed.
 O Father! whose lovingkindness formed me,
 And who at the first fashioned our image;
 Let thy nod raise our bodies again,
 In the day when the world is destroyed.

2.

Example of
 his poetry.

At the appearing of Jesus our King,
 The buried of all ages shall stand up;
 His living voice shall call loudly,
 And awaken every sleeper;
 What terror shall be to all men,
 When the thrones are set in order!
 How will the wicked be confounded,
 And all be turned into hell!

3.

The day of judgment is at hand,
 And all faults shall be disclosed;
 Who then can be pure in thy sight,
 In the hour when the books are opened?
 For there are no penitents,
 No offerers of supplications;
 For that is the day of doom
 In which no word or speech is uttered!

§ 3. *The Greek Hymnology.*

While no hymns in the present collections of the Greek Church, or which are used in its authorized service, are older than the eighth century, sacred poetic compositions in Greek by the fathers of that church probably date from the second.¹ The well-known work of Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogus*, written primarily for the defence and propagation of the orthodox faith, closes with two hymns which were well calculated to promote the religious fervor of the worshipper. Both are clearly in the interest of the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the growing and threatening heresies. These are probably the oldest Christian hymns which have been preserved to our day.² They have often been translated, yet are not easily adjusted to the wants of the modern Church.³

The *Pedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria.

¹ Augusti: *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. v, s. 292.

² Daniel: *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, iii, pp. 3, 4. This opinion of Daniel has been controverted. Some good archæologists regard the *Gloria in Excelsis* of earlier origin. Rambach: *Anthologie christlicher Gesänge*, Bd. i, s. 35.

³ Probably Dr. Dexter's free modernization is the happiest that has yet appeared in English—"Shepherd of Tender Youth," etc. Piper: *Evangelischer Kalender*, 1868, ss. 17-39, has given the text and an excellent German translation, as well as a good analysis, and a good literal translation has been given by Schaff: *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii, p. 230.

Gregory Nazianzen, of true Christian parentage, was educated in the best schools of Cæsarea, Alexandria, and Athens. He had for fellow-students Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and the future emperor, Julian the Apostate. His earnest devotion to the interests of the Church after his elevation to the see of Constantinople, and his florid, fervent eloquence, joined to a lowly humility of manner and life, were the means of restoring many churches of his diocese to the prosperity which they had enjoyed forty years before. His poems were numerous, and glowed with a true religious fervor well suited to stimulate the Christian life. Nevertheless, scarcely a trace of his poetry is preserved in the authorized office-books of the Greek Church.¹

Synesius of Ptolemais, a well-trained scholar, became bishop of his city late in life. Many notices of his poetic writings are found in the Christian fathers, but only ten poems have been preserved. While he had a reputation among his contemporaries for great poetic gifts, his poems were but poorly adapted to the public religious services, and have never been incorporated into the authorized collections of the Eastern Church. His influence as a writer of hymns seems to have been considerable, but it was greatly lessened by the introduction of the philosophic adages of the pagan schools, and by his too careful imitation of the style of the heathen poets.² In his hymns Platonic notions obscure and well-nigh supplant Christian doctrine.

While the surviving poems of Gregory, Synesius, Euthimius, and Sophronius exhibit considerable regularity, and some may be reduced to metrical order as of anapests and iambics, Greek poetry had already fallen into decay, and the Eastern Church had yielded to the prevalent artificiality and clamor for the strange and the extravagant in poetic form and content.

¹ Rambach: *Op. cit.*, p. 48. For a translation and note of his *Ποῦ δὲ λόγου πρεπόντες; ἐς ἄερα*, v. Daniel: *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, etc., iii, 11. Also Schaff: *Christ in Song*:

"Where are the winged words?
Lost in the air," etc.

² v. Christ and Paranikas: *Anthologia Græca carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiæ, 1871. This work has been the means of awakening new interest in the Greek hymnology. Its four prologomena are packed with learned discussion. 1. On the Greek Christian poets. 2. On the different kinds of ecclesiastical hymns. 3. On the rhythmical laws of the Byzantine hymns. 4. On the Byzantine music. This work gives the first place to Synesius, and reproduces in excellent form the Greek of his ten surviving hymns.

Anatolius, of Constantinople, about the middle of the fifth century, endeavored to drop the classic metre, and to develop a form of poetry more in harmony with the wants and spirit of the Church. In this he was but partially successful. Neale has given an English version of the hymn on Christ stilling the tempest (*ζοφεῶς τρικυμίας*), which ranks among the best specimens of the Greek hymnology:

1.

Fierce was the wild billow
 Dark was the night:
 Ours labored heavily;
 Foam gleamed with white;
 Mariners trembled;
 Peril was nigh;
 Then said the Son of God,
 "Peace! it is I."

2.

Ridge of the mountain wave,
 Lower thy crest!
 Wail of Euroclydon
 Be thou at rest!
 Peril can none be—
 Sorrow must fly—
 Where saith the Light of light,
 "Peace! it is I."

3.

Jesus, deliverer!
 Come thou to me;
 Soothe thou my voyaging
 Over life's sea!
 Thou, when the storm of death
 Roars, sweeping by,
 Whisper, O Truth of truth!
 "Peace! it is I."

Even less satisfactory were the attempts of Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, of the Empress Eudoxia, and of Paul Silentiarius.¹ Most of the Greek hymnology of the first five and one half centuries lacks the simplicity, earnestness, and depth which characterized the life of the earlier Church. A complete collection of the hymns and

¹ The description (*ἐκφρασις*) of Saint Sophia, in poetic measure, by Paul Silentiarius has helped us more fully to appreciate the grandeur of this temple, and the dedicatory services herein described illustrate the ritual of the Eastern Church in the reign of Justinian. This work has been translated and ably annotated by Dr. Kartüm in the appendix to Salzenberg's work: "*Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V bis XII Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1854.

chants of this church during the first six centuries furnishes little that can worthily compare with the richer and more devotional spirit of the West.¹

§ 4. *The Poetry and Hymnology of the Western Church.*

To estimate the originality and creative power of the poets of the Western Church it is necessary to make careful discriminations. The ecclesiastical poetry of the first centuries is divided into two distinct classes; namely, the descriptive or narrative, ^{Two kinds of} frequently employing high panegyric, and the lyric, ^{sacred poetry.} which took the form of sacred hymns and songs.² The first conforms quite closely to the then prevalent type and spirit. This style only had been successfully cultivated by the later Roman poets. Both heathen and Christians alike imitated the writers of the classic period, who had made the exploits of gods and heroes the theme of their noblest verse. The descriptive and narrative poetry of the Roman world during the first three Christian centuries is, however, characterized by an extravagance of panegyric which is almost entirely wanting in the literature of the golden age. Nor are the Christian writers of the same period seem- ^{A high pane-} ingly more chaste in style or more sober in the treatment ^{lyric.} of their themes. The lives and fate of their martyred heroes and saints being the favorite subjects which they treat, their style is entirely conformable to heathen models. To make known to the world the history of those who had given their lives to attest the verity of the new religion, to exhibit the mighty supporting power and completest victory of faith, and to awaken in others a burning zeal for the truth as it was in Jesus, were the high aims of these

¹ From the splendid qualities of the Hellenic mind, and from the rich inheritance which the Greeks of the first centuries had entered into, we might antecedently expect much from the hymnology of this church. These expectations are, however, sadly disappointed. The classic age of hymnology in the Eastern Church did not begin before about A. D. 650, hence lies outside of the period of our inquiry. The iconoclastic controversy gave inspiration to the hymnology. This Greek sacred poetry is of immense volume, filling, according to Neale (*v. Hymns of the Eastern Church*, Introduction, p. xli), 4,000 closely printed, double-column quarto pages. This mass of material is becoming somewhat better known to the West through the devoted labors of Neale in England, Cardinal Pitra in Italy, Vormbaum (*Daniel's Thesaurus*, vol. iii) and Christ in Germany. Yet the judgment of Neale with regard to the *Menæa* (the books containing the services for each month) is generally accepted as just: "They contain a deluge of worthless compositions; tautology till it becomes almost sickening; the merest commonplace again and again decked in the tawdry shreds of tragic language, and twenty or thirty times repeating the same thought in slightly varying terms." *v. Op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 88.

² Bähr: *Geschichte der römische Literatur*, bd., iv, §1.

narrative and descriptive poems. Somewhat later is noticed a tendency to set the Christian doctrine to poetic measure, and to clothe the biblical narratives in poetic garb. To supply the lack of copies of the sacred books, their most important truths were taught to the Christian congregations in the popular hexameter verse. The chief difference between the heathen and Christian poets was that the latter adhere strictly to the truths of history, and there was in their writings a spirit which could be inspired only by a system that cared for the sufferings of humanity, and could cast light on the destiny of the race.¹

The other class of Christian poetry was wholly different. Even in the golden age of Roman literature lyric poetry seems to have been an exotic,² while during the first period of the history of the Christian Church it had become almost totally neglected: it was revived through certain noted poems which belong to its hymnology. It was animated by a spirit wholly novel, and it evinced a noteworthy richness and originality. Its introduction into the common services of the Church required that it be simple, earnest, and popular. Some of the descriptive and narrative poetry of the fourth century is in imitation of the masters of the best period of Roman literature, while the lyrics are original not only in their spirit and depth of feeling,³ but in their rhythmic forms as well. In this species of literature the Christian Church of the fourth century stands out in bold and honorable relief.⁴

The poems sometimes ascribed to Tertullian, because in some manuscripts they are associated with his name, are probably the production of a later author. Several works of this nature, as

¹ "The old hymns, from Ambrose to Gregory the Great, still bear in their earnest and powerful lineaments the portrait of the conquering martyr period of the Church. Their entire content is derived from the new and sublime view of the world which, in opposition to the scope of heathen thought, sustained and filled the souls of the Christians. Subsequently there was developed much that was more delicate and cultured, but seldom, if ever, has there been seen any thing of greater purity and simplicity." Wackernagel: *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Preface.

² Bähr: *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, Bd. iv, s. 2.

³ Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 10. Augusti: *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd. v, s. 292.

⁴ "The hymnology of the Western Church may be conveniently divided into three principal eras. The first, which, borrowing a term from architecture, we may name the Romanesque period, extends to the conclusion of the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and is, as a general thing, distinguished by the absence of rhyme. . . . In this period the Church was unshackling herself from the fetters of metre; in the second she was bringing out all the capabilities of rhyme; in the third she submitted to the slavish bondage of a revived paganism." Neale: *Medieval Hymns and Sequences*, London, 1851, Introduction.

Marcio, de judicio Domini, Genesis, Sodoma, etc., both from internal evidence of style and content, as well as from positive testimony, must be assigned to a period considerably later than that of Tertullian. Many poems bearing his name can no more be attributed to him than to Virgil or Homer.¹

Poems attributed to Tertullian not genuine.

If this opinion is well founded, then must Commodianus, who lived about A. D. 220–250, be regarded as the earliest Latin Christian poet whose works have been preserved.² Very little is known of his personal history. According to his own testimony, he was a native of Gaza, of heathen parentage, but by the reading of the sacred Scriptures was converted to Christianity. From his use of the Latin language and his manifest acquaintance with its literature we infer his Roman descent. Even the place of his labors is not certainly known, but his zeal for Christianity, as against both Jews and heathen, is apparent in the poems which have been preserved. Only two are known to exist: the *Instructiones*, and the *Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judæos et Gentes*. The former, which appeared about A. D. 249,³ shows a careless indifference to the laws of prosody, and appeals to the tastes of the less educated classes. It is, as its name indicates, a collection of teachings, in acrostic form, addressed in part to the heathen, pointing out the vanity of their worship of the gods, and exhorting them to seek a better system. In part it is addressed to the Jews, to win them to Christianity; while the last part is prepared for the Christians themselves. The whole writing evinces strong moral conviction and Christian zeal for the truth, but contains doctrinal errors which seem to have been disavowed by the Church authorities at a later period.⁴ The *Carmen Apologeticum*, a later production, consisting of more than one thousand lines, is of somewhat greater value both in style and treatment. It furnishes a valuable contribution to the history of Chiliasm, and of the doctrine of the Trinity during the third century.

Commodianus.

His poems.

Their character and value.

Several poems have been attributed to the celebrated church father, Lactantius, many of whose writings have been preserved. These are often bound up with editions of his works, thus expressing the opinion of the editors respecting their

Lactantius.

¹ Dupin: *Bibliotheca nova Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum*, i, p. 141. Translation under the title *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, vol. i, p. 87.

² Bernhardt: *Grundriss der römischen Literatur*, 5te Aufg., s. 986. Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, §§ 8, 9.

³ Teuffel, W. S.: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 4te. aufl., Leipzig, 1882, ss. 899–902.

⁴ Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 30. Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 900.

authenticity. But it is highly probable that the poems *de Phœnice*, *de Pascha*, and *de Passione Domini* are the works of other writers, and belong to a later age.¹

The Spanish writer, Juvençus, who lived in the first half of the fourth century, is the first Christian poet of eminence whose works are clearly authentic. While little of his personal his-

Juvençus.

tory has been preserved, there seems to be slight question of his authorship of the *Historia Evangelica* and of the *Liber in Genesin*.² The first is a metrical version of the Gospel history, based chiefly on Matthew, though having reference to the other evangelists as well. It consists of more than three thousand lines. It imitates the heroic verse of the heathen writers, and, for the age

in which it is written, the style is flowing, easy, and pleasing. It may be called the first Christian epic.³

The design of this metrical version was to bring the great facts and principles of the gospels to the attention of the heathen world.

While in the ordinary form in which they were then preserved there was a contempt for these writings on the part of the learned, an imitation of the great poets, it was believed, would be effective in awakening a wider interest in a religion too little understood. Like attempts were made in the time of Charlemagne, by the Saxon and German ecclesiastics, for the more rapid education of the common people in the doctrines of the Church. The *Liber in Genesin* is a similar attempt to popularize the historic writings of the Old Testament Scriptures. These are the first examples of a metric form which afterward quite frequently appeared in the poetry of the Church.

Jerome, Isidorus, and other ancient writers mention with great respect the Christian poet Hilarius of Poitiers. He was a contemporary of the great fathers Ephraem, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Hilarius and Damasus, and also shared their anxious labors to hold the Church steadfast to the orthodox faith. During his banishment to the East, Hilarius became convinced of the effectiveness of Church songs in the public service. On his return he, therefore, composed a number of hymns for popular use, and compiled a hymnbook for the congregations of his diocese, which has unfortunately been lost. The genuineness of several poems formerly ascribed to him has been questioned. While it is difficult

¹ Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 35. Contra, Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 932, who attributes *de Phœnice* to him.

² Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 943, questions the ascription of *Liber in Genesin* to Juvençus.

³ Jacob: *Die Kunst im Dienste der Kirche*, s. 371.

to determine with accuracy the extent of his work, the beginning of a genuine Latin hymnology is usually ascribed to him.¹ The most celebrated of his hymns are the latinization of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Beata nobis gaudia*, and *Lucis largitor splendide*. He first began the Latin hymnology.

Through the liberty of worship guaranteed by Constantine the services of the Church assumed more regularity, and the growing splendor of the basilicas occasioned a growing demand for instructive and impressive ceremonies. The leaders of the Church now gave increasing attention to the improvement of the forms of public worship. The hymns were more carefully written and adjusted to the improved music. So rapidly had its membership multiplied, and so widely had its influence extended, that the Church no longer deemed it expedient to leave the public worship to uncertain tradition or to the mere caprice of individuals. To secure uniformity in the more public services there must be a fixed and authorized liturgy.² Also, the memory of the heroic men and women who had attested their faith by suffering a martyr's death now became more cherished. Every act was sought to be perpetuated. The monuments were adorned with inscriptions, and churches covered the spots where the sacred dust reposed. These resting-places of the holy departed became sacred shrines.³ Increasing demand for hymns.

Among the most zealous promoters of this work was Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was born about the beginning of the fourth century. His zeal for the doctrines and ritual of the Church was wellnigh consuming. To him is attributed the regulation of the morning and evening hymns. He was among the most earnest promoters of the hymnology of the Latin Church, and zealous for its orderly arrangement. The number of his poems still extant cannot be determined with certainty, but more than thirty are of unquestioned genuineness. Among these are but two of a lyric character; one to St. Andrew, the other to St. Agatha. These are constructed upon a model almost entirely unknown to the Christian poetry of that period, since the latter is in rhyme, and has, on this Damasus.
Number and character of his hymns.

¹ According to Neale he begins the *second* period of Latin hymnology.

² The discussion of these attempts belongs to the history of Church canons and liturgies. These subjects are ably treated in such works as Beveridge: *Codex con. Eccl. Prim.*; Ultzen: *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*; Chase: *Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles*; Muratori: *Liturgia Romana vetus*; Palmer: *Origines Liturgicæ*; Daniel: *Codex Liturgicus*, etc.; Neale: *Tetralogia liturgica*, etc. v. Bk. III.

³ For the influence of this sentiment on Christian architecture, etc., see pp. 206, 207.

account, been thought by some writers¹ of authority to belong to a later age. The inscriptions which he composed for the sepulchral monuments of the popes and martyrs share in the general departure from the purity and simplicity of the earlier classical Indulges in masters, and abound in the excessive panegyric which panegyric. the heathen writers of his age had adopted, and which is a marked symptom of decadence in style and taste.²

The fourth century was an age of fiercest conflict in Church and State. The means by which Constantine had come to the throne were such as only a desperate condition of society could justify. The toleration granted to the Church, its adoption as the religion of the state, and the forceful suppression of the heathen Disturbed condition of society under Constantine. worship awakened the hostility of a large and learned class of the Roman world. It was, therefore, not strange that on the death of the first Christian emperor a great revulsion of feeling ensued and heathenism attempted to reassert itself.

Upon the downfall of Licinius multitudes of the heathen had accepted Christianity. They donned the white robes of baptism, and the churches were crowded with catechumens. Through an evident Perils to the Church. want of deep intellectual and spiritual conviction on the part of many of these nominal Christians their accession became a source of weakness rather than of strength. Moreover, a majority of the Roman nobility still clung with fondness to the ancient institutions, and held the masses loyal to the ancient religion. Within the territory of the Eastern Empire the new doctrines had been more popular. While the strong influence of a civil or military aristocracy was there wanting, nevertheless the great schools at Athens, Ephesus, and Antioch were still under the direction of heathen teachers who by their zeal and ability attracted to their precincts sons of the most powerful families. Thus an aristocracy of learning was arrayed against the Church, now weakened by its fierce doctrinal struggles.³ The imperial power exerted by Constantine in the defence and promotion of the Church had become weakened through the contentions of his sons, and the cruel suspicions of rulers had wellnigh annihilated the Flavian family. But the hopes of heathenism now centered in the person of Julian. This emperor,

¹ Grimm, W.: *Zur Geschichte des Reims*. in the memoirs of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for year 1851, p. 683, cited by Bähr.

² Bähr: *Op. cit.*, iv, 18. De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, i, 329, has called attention to the remarkable neatness of these sepulchral inscriptions; v. also his *Roma Sotterranea*, i, p. lvi. For Damasene inscriptions see Plate VII.

³ Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, bk. iii, ch. iii.

the object of the intensest hatred of his enemies, the noble advocate of philosophy and tolerance in the judgment of his apologists, certainly aimed at the restoration of the heathen religion at the expense of Christianity. His profession of impartial toleration was contradicted by his edicts against the Church. The law requiring the restoration of the heathen temples which had been destroyed under the previous reigns bore with exceptional severity upon such societies as had removed the ancient shrines, appropriated the valuable ornaments, and on the old sites had erected new and splendid Christian churches. The horrors of the grove of Daphne near Antioch¹ were by no means exceptional, and the attitude of Julian toward their promoters clearly reveals the insincerity of his professions of toleration.

But the law prohibiting the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric was, if possible, still more wide-reaching in its consequences, and revealed the purpose of Julian to cast upon the Christian doctrine the most withering contempt. Since the education of the Roman youth was a matter of strict legal control, the effect of the edict was to banish from the schools all Christian teachers, and to exclude from those which the Church maintained at her own expense all so called heathen classical authors. Julian firmly believed that the consequence of this prohibition would be to shut up the Christian teachers to their own sacred books, and, inasmuch as he supposed that in these was no "perennial fountain of truth," the Church would certainly be reduced to a mass of ignorant and enthusiastic devotees, whose utter extinction must speedily ensue. The effects of the publication of this edict were far other than the mystical emperor had anticipated. This was the occasion of one of the most interesting phases of Christian literary history.

In the heathen schools alone the influence of classical teaching could be enjoyed, and to these the emperor earnestly invited the youth of the realm. He supposed that this invitation would be gladly accepted, and that a new generation might thus be reared who would reverence the ancient institutions and contribute to their early and complete restoration. But the Church was unwilling to entrust her children to this heathen secular tuition. Moreover, her influence must be lost through neglect of her youth. The result of the edict was to develop a Christian poetry, to take the place of the heathen authors who had been legally excluded from the schools of the Church. Instead of the epic poems with which the professors of rhetoric and grammar

Julian and his policy.

Christians prohibited from teaching.

Effects of these edicts upon Christian culture.

¹Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., chap. xxiii.

had familiarized themselves, a class of able Christian teachers attempted to imitate the heathen epic by substituting biblical characters for those of fable and tradition. Thus the interest in Christian schools was maintained, and the charge of ignorance successfully met. The great men of the Church who were engaged in this struggle did not cease their efforts even after Julian's death. The work whose beginning he had compelled went forward, greatly to the honor and to the edification of the body of believers. Not only were important poems written in order to avert the evils threatened by the imperial edict, but theories of poetry were developed which have not become obsolete.¹

Perhaps no writer of the fourth century more clearly and beautifully expressed the principles of Christian æsthetics than Paulinus of Nola. In his poem addressed to Jovius² we find these brought together in consecutive order. He first claims that Christianity provides the truest and noblest subjects for poetry; that the fables of the gods have amused the childhood of the race; that to yield one's self to the Word of truth is worthy of the adult age of a genuine culture, and of the most conspicuous talent. "Though I may give myself to the art of poetry I will adhere to strict historical truthfulness, since it should be unworthy of a servant of Christ to indulge in the false and the deceiving. Such art may be pleasing to the heathen, but it is abhorrent to those whose master is the Truth." The subjects of Christian poetry are so vital and exalted that they give a higher dignity to language, ennoble the poet himself, and bestow upon him more abundant honor. Faith is the one perfect art, and Christ is the true music, since he first restored the shattered harmonies of the soul, and united in himself the divine and the human spirit which were before so widely separated. In such efforts the poet can confidently ask the aid of the Creator of all things. Therefore, he will not invoke the Muses, nor to them ascribe praises, but he will rely upon Christ, who for us became incarnate and redeemed the world through his own blood. He will invoke Him—"Pour thyself into my heart, O Christ, my God, and slake my thirst out of thy perennial fountains. One drop administered by thee will become in me a river of water. Graciously stoop to my relief, O thou Source of Speech, Word of God, and let my voice become melodious

¹ If we are to believe Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii, 16, the writings which had been prepared to counteract the effects of Julian's edict were little esteemed by the Christians themselves after the death of this emperor. Nevertheless, the interest awakened by this stimulus continued.

² *Poem.* 22.

as that of the bird of spring!" Only such a poetry can deserve the patronage and genuine approval of rational and right-minded judges. "Then," adds Paulinus, "will I call thee a true, divine poet, and will quaff thy poems as a draught of sweet water, since they flow to me as from the fountains of heavenly nectar, because they sing of Christ the Lord of all."¹

Thus this early writer developed the theory of genuine Christian poetry which has widely governed the Church during the centuries.² Consistently with this theory, he carefully avoids all reference to the heathen mythology and to those topics in which the heathen poets were most fully interested. His themes.

While in form he imitates the classic poems of heroic and iambic measure, and sometimes even rivals these in easy rhythm and flow of verse, he adheres closely to Christian thought, and furnishes examples of poetic writing which could take the place of the heathen poetry interdicted by Julian, and after his death was measurably excluded by the power of Christian sentiment. Since Paulinus had received a liberal education in the flourishing schools of Bordeaux, and was, therefore, familiar with the classic literature of the period, he was on his conversion of great benefit to the Church in the education and guidance of the young. His literary and poetic influence upon the Church of his period was marked and permanent.³

Of even greater prominence in the history of Christian hymnology was Ambrose, bishop of Milan, born about A. D. 335. During a life of sixty years he deeply influenced the Ambrose. theology and church life of his own time, and by his intelligent reform of the ritual service made an epoch in Christian history. Among the four great Latin fathers whose works gave substantial aid, and were a bulwark of defence to the Christians, Ambrose stands preëminent. Like his noble contemporary, Hilary, he was of influential heathen parentage. His careful training under the direction of pagan masters was designed to fit him for honorable public station. Under Probus he was appointed governor and judge of Italy, and in the year His education. A. D. 370 obtained the governorship of Milan, together with the control of Bologna, Turin, and Genoa. He began his career as a mere catechumen in the Church, and not until designated by the

¹ *Poemata*, 6, 10, 20, 22, 23, etc., in Migne's *Patrologia*.

² Jacob: *Die Kunst im Dienste der Kirche*, pp. 369, 370.

³ Doubtless the estimates placed upon the writings and services of Paulinus by some Catholic writers are extravagant. On the other hand, we believe that some Protestants are chargeable with almost equal errors from the low value at which they represent his labors.

popular judgment for bishop of Milan did he receive Christian baptism. But when once he entered upon the duties of the episcopal office all his native gifts and his acquired powers were devoted without stint to the advancement of the orthodox faith. When, after the custom of the Greek and North African churches, he had introduced the sermon into the regular services of each Sabbath, he also felt the need of reforming the music and the hymns.

Connected with his eminent services in church music were his attempts to improve its hymnology. In the midst of bitter strifes of factions he aimed to hold the Church steady to its pristine faith. As we have before seen, the reform and perfection of the service were intimately connected with the Arian controversy. The vigorous leaders of this heresy had observed that the mass of the people was more surely influenced through attractive Christian ceremonies than by formal dogmatic statements. Here, as in the East, they aimed to propagate their peculiar doctrines through the impressive means of music joined to sacred song. Numerous hymns of Arian origin had become familiar to the people of the West, and by their pleasing and insinuating influence were leading multitudes away from the orthodox faith. Both Athanasius and the Church historian Philostorgius make reference to this influence. The spiritual songs of Arius were so much in favour as to contribute powerfully to the dissemination of his doctrines. We are told by the historians Socrates and Sozomen that the public services of the Arians in Constantinople were so popular, on account of the hymns and antiphonies, that even Chrysostom felt compelled to introduce into the orthodox churches a like provision in order to retain his congregations. In A. D. 386 Ambrose had completed his important reforms, and very soon these were introduced into many churches of the West.

Some difference of opinion has existed relative to the exact character of the Ambrosian service. It is, however, pretty generally agreed that the whole body of assembled believers participated in it, and that his chant was founded on the ancient Greek music, while it also sought a more intimate union of the rhythm and metre of the hymn with the musical melody. It might be expected that Ambrose himself would become the author of hymns appropriate to the new ritual; still, it is very difficult to distinguish those of his own composition from many which the new order had called into existence, and which also went under the general name of Ambrosian. The Benedictine editors of his works¹ claim that the united testimony of the writers from the fourth to the ninth cen-

¹ Tom. ii, pp. 1219-1224.

ture is to the effect that only twelve of the so-called Ambrosian hymns can be regarded as genuine.¹ Of the form and character of these hymns it can be said, "They rank well with the best heathen poems of that age. When they are compared with the poetry of Ausonius or of Claudianus they are to be preferred both for their perfection of rhythm and earnestness of spirit."² They are of the form of iambic dimetre, which seemed best suited to this service, but avoid all attempt at rhyme. They glow with a pure devotion, and place their renowned author very high among hymnologists of the ancient Church. Both Catholics and Protestants have appropriated these hymns for the enrichment of their service.³

Very prominent as a poet, and in the discussion of the principles which should regulate poetic writing, was the Spaniard, Marcus Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, who flourished in the last half of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. Until his fiftieth year his life was passed in public service, chiefly as an advocate. He then resolved to withdraw from the affairs of state and devote himself exclusively to the Church. In common with so many others of the teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries he clearly perceived what service poetry might render for the education and edification of the Christian assemblies, and for the defence of doctrine. His poems were of both a didactic and lyric character. Of his clearly authenticated writings there have been preserved more than ten thousand lines. Of these his *Cathemerinón*, a collection of twelve hymns originally designed for daily use in the worship of the Church which the poet frequented, was widely accepted by the Latin fathers, and incorporated into the early hymnology. These poems are characterized by simplicity of diction, sublimity of thought,⁴ and a

¹ Daniel: *Thesaur. hymn.*, Bd. i, p. 12, adds largely to the number given by the Dominicans. Mone: *Lateinische Hymnen*, Bd. i, has ascribed to him three others. So also Rambach: *Anthologie*, Bd. i, s. 60, and Wackernagel: *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, are inclined to increase the number of genuine Ambrosian hymns. Neale: *The Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages*, reduces them to ten.

² Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv.

³ Among the most valued of his hymns are the celebrated doxology, *Te Deum laudamus*, *Veni, Redemptor gentium*, and *Deus Creator omnium*. They have found their way through translations into many modern collections. His *Veni, Redemptor gentium* has been translated by Luther, "Nun komme, der Heiden Heiland;" by John Franck, "Komm, Heiden Heiland, Lösegeld;" by J. M. Neale, "Come, thou Redeemer of the earth;" by Ray Palmer, "O thou Redeemer of our race." His *A solis ortus cardine* has been well translated. v. Schaff: *Christ in Song*.

⁴ Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 77.

spirit of ardent piety; they have been cherished by the universal Church as expressive of the believer's richest experiences. His *Peristephanôn* is a like collection of fourteen poems in celebration of the praises of the martyrs who have won their heavenly crown. The growing honor paid to the witnesses for the truth here finds expression. The spirit animating these poems is born of a high and holy faith, but they cannot take rank among the foremost Christian writings of the first six centuries. In his *Apotheosis*, consisting of one thousand and eighty-five hexameter verses, he attempts to set forth and defend the orthodox doctrine of the true divinity and humanity of Christ as against the Sabellians, the Jews, the Manichæans, the other heretical sects. In his *Psychomachia*, of about one thousand verses, the conflict of virtue with vice in the human soul is portrayed. This poem contains some truly eloquent passages which rise almost to the intensity of the dramatic.

The attempt of Symmachus to reinstate heathen worship, by rebuilding the altar of Victory, has already been referred to (v. p. 66). The Christian apologist was temporarily successful. But the spirit of the old faith was not thus easily subdued. The too common view that heathenism was already effete is evidently erroneous. A critical examination of the teachings of the leading minds of heathen Rome from A. D. 150 to A. D. 450 will show that the number of atheistic and purely materialistic thinkers was quite insignificant. Even Lucian substantially confirms this view, though his interest is evidently against it.¹ Thus while the triumph of Ambrose seemed at the time complete, and Theodosius refused to reinstate the altar of Victory, Symmachus renewed this attempt under the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. This was probably the occasion for Prudentius to write the *Libri duo contra Symmachum*, in the first book of which he most zealously defends the excellencies of the Christian faith as against the absurdities and defects of heathen philosophy, and showed that the evils which the empire was suffering were the direct effect of the corruptions and moral delinquencies of the heathen teachers. In the second he refutes the arguments of Symmachus.² The intelligent zeal of the writer appears most conspicuously in this poem. While at times indulging in extravagant statements, it must be ranked among his most vigorous writings.

The works of Prudentius mark a new period in the history of

¹ *Jup. Tragœd.*, quoted by Friedlander: *Darstellungen aus d. Sittengeschichte Roms*, 5te Ausg., Bd. iii, s. 552.

² Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, s. 1029.

Christian poetry. His influence was lasting, and the Middle Ages cherished most carefully his poems and imitated his treatment.¹ His peculiar themes initiated him into an almost unexplored department of literature. His early training put him into sympathy with classical writers, and led him to incorporate into his poems classic constructions. Yet the spirit of the new religion and the sublimity of the themes introduce into these poems a novel and, at times, almost grotesque inharmoniousness.² While his talent was so great, it was, however, insufficient to found a new school of poetry.³

Another eminent writer of the sixth century, whose poems have been preserved in the hymnology of the Church, was Venantius Fortunatus. Both from the references found in the works of Gregory of Tours and of Paul Diaconus, as well as from his own writings, we gain a fair idea of the character and works of this renowned Christian poet. The date of his birth is unknown. According to his own account he was educated in Ravenna, the seat of superior schools for training the young in the principles of the Roman law. He afterward journeyed into Austrasia, where he became the friend and adviser of King Sigibert. He wrote the *Epithalamium* on the occasion of the marriage of Sigibert with Brunihild, daughter of Athanagild, king of the West Goths. Soon after he was appointed superior of a cloister of nuns at Poitiers. Here he took up his residence, and became bishop of Poitiers toward the close of his life. He died in the latter part of the sixth century, and was buried in the Basilica of St. Hilarius. He was of noble character, and his name was held in highest veneration by the mediæval Church. His poems, like those of most of his contemporaries, were largely narrative and panegyric. In this respect, as well as in the form of his poetry, he was in harmony with the fashion of the time. Of the eleven books of his poems, the largest, as *de vita S. Martini*, *de excidio Thuringiæ*, etc., are descriptive and eulogistic. John of Fritenheim speaks of seventy-seven hymns composed by Fortunatus, but scarcely more than a dozen have been preserved to our time.⁴ Some have gone into the hymnology of the general Church, and are of

¹ Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 86.

² Bernhardt: *Gesch. d. Rom. Lit.*, s. 995.

³ Schaff: *Christ in Song*, has pronounced the *Jam mæsta quiesce querela* his masterpiece. It has been very beautifully translated by Mrs. Charles—"Ah! hush now your mournful complainings," etc., and by many others.

⁴ Teuffel: *Op. cit.*, ss. 1177-1181. Bähr: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iv, s. 155.

great excellence and breathe the spirit of a pure devotion. The beautiful hymn on the Nativity, *Agnoscat omne sæculum*, and the two in celebration of the passion of the Lord, *Pange lingua gloriosi*, and *Vexillum regis prodeunt*, are still greatly prized. Their spirit of simple piety is in strong contrast with most of his descriptive poems and panegyrics.¹ In some of his works there is a close imitation of the style and metre of the earlier classic poets, while occasionally the influence of Claudianus is clearly discernible. Close attention is not always given to the measure and rhythm, while all traces of what we understand by rhyme are wanting. The Church has placed very high value on the few gems contributed by this author to her hymnology. As a theologian, scholar, and publicist he held high rank among the men of his century; while as poet he is scarcely excelled by either heathen or Christian of his time.

The genuineness of most of the hymns once attributed to Gregory the Great is now questioned. The *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, formerly reckoned among his noblest productions, is now believed to be the work of another; so, also, the All Saints' hymn, *Christe, nostra nunc et semper*, the Advent hymn, *Christe, redemptor omnium*, and the Baptismal hymn, *Ora primum tu pro nobis*. A few which are believed to be genuine are found in the hymnology of the modern Church. His morning hymn, *Ecce jam tenuatur umbra*, with No. 15 of the appended doxologies, has been translated by Caswell:

"Lo, fainter now lie spread the shades of night,
And upward shoot the trembling gleams of morn."

Other writers, as Augustine and Cælius Sedulius, wrote a number of hymns of considerable excellence; but the genuineness of much which was formerly attributed to them has been seriously questioned, and their influence upon the hymnology of the West has been comparatively unimportant.

We give six specimens of doxologies used in the Latin Church during the first six centuries. They are taken from Wackernagel's work, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, and are numbered as they there stand:

1.

Deo patri sit gloria,
Eius que soli filio
Cum spirito paraclito
Et nunc et in perpetuum.

¹ Some of his hymns have been frequently translated, notably by Neale, Caswell, and Mrs. Charles, and have been very widely used by the modern churches.

4.

Gloria et honor deo
usque quo altissimo,
Una patri filioque,
inclito paraclito,
Cui laus est et potestas
per eterna sæcula.

6.

Gloria patri ingenito
eius que unigenito
Una cum sancto spiritu
in sempiterna sæcula.

11.

Laus, honor, virtus, gloria,
deo patri cum filio,
Sancto simul paraclito
in sempiterna sæcula.

15.

Præstet hoc nobis deitas beata
patris ac nati, pariter sancti
Spiritus, cuius reboat in omni
gloria mundo.

18.

Sit laus, perennis gloria
deo patri cum filio,
Sancto simul paraclito
in sempiterna sæcula.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MUSIC.

THE strict religious education received by every Jew put him in sympathy with the history, the trials, and the hopes of his people. The repetition of the synagogue service three times a day, the duty of private prayer, the ceremonial at every meal, the imposing ritual on the occasion of new moons, new years, feasts and fasts, and the great national festivals celebrated with unequaled pomp and solemnity, must have kept alive in every Jewish heart a warm affection for his nation, and thoroughly indoctrinated him in the truths which were regarded as essential to life and salvation.¹ It is not, therefore, surprising that the converts from Judaism to Christianity were sometimes slow to distinguish between the symbol and the reality, and clung with fondness to what had become so venerable from age, and had pervaded their history as the chosen people of God. Every part of the temple and synagogue service had been prescribed with the utmost minuteness, and maintained with scrupulous care. It is therefore somewhat disappointing that no records of the Hebrew music have been preserved to our time. The contrary opinion of De Sola² relative to the great antiquity of some of the Hebrew melodies, as, for example, "The Melody of the Blessing of the Priests" (No. 44 of his collection), "The Song of Moses" (No. 12 of his collection), etc., can scarcely be accepted by the best historic criticism. It is likewise true that no tune from the first two centuries of the Christian Church has come down to our time. In the absence of actual examples by which a comparison may be

¹ v. Edersheim: *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, bk. ii, chap. ix. Geikie: *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. i, chaps. xiii, xiv. Shürer: *The Jewish Church in the Time of Christ*, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, vol. ii, §§ 27, 28.

² *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, by E. Aguilar and D. A. de Sola, p. 15, et al. The attempts of Delitzsch: *Physiologie u. Musik in ihren Bedeutung für die Grammatik, besonders die hebräische*, Leipzig, 1868; Saalschütz: *Geschichte u. Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, Berlin, 1829, and many others, have failed to convince the unprejudiced that any remnant of the old temple music has been preserved. The traditions in the East and West do not at all agree, and the methods of service of the Jews in Germany, in England, and in Spain are widely different.

instituted, we must betake ourselves to other sources of information relative to the early Christian music.

The first converts to Christianity were Jews. They were therefore entirely familiar with the Jewish forms of worship. The few notices of early Christian assemblies found in the New Testament indicate that the infant Church largely observed the services of the synagogue, and that little peculiar or original was at first introduced. Prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, the chanted psalm, and the exposition and exhortation by some chosen rabbi or educated member of the congregation constituted the chief features of the Jewish synagogue service. But what was the character of the music then used? The characteristic chanting or singing called *cantillation*, so widely practiced by oriental peoples, as well as the fixedness of the oriental type both of music and instruments, might at first sight seem to furnish a suggestion of the probable character of the Hebrew music in the time of Christ. But to suppose that the Jewish music of that period was the music practiced in the Solomonic temple service, or even in that of Zerubabel, would be misleading. By the wide conquests of Alexander Greek influence had been disseminated throughout the subject nations. For three hundred years prior to the Advent Greek thought had been powerful in modifying the Jewish philosophy and literature. Not only in Alexandria and other chief Greek cities where the Jews had congregated, but in Jerusalem, and especially in Samaria and Syria, this Greek influence was felt. The Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is a conspicuous illustration of the mutual interpenetration of Greek and Hebrew thought.¹ Many of the Hellenistic Jews acquired such aptitude and ease in the Greek poetic art that they competed with Greek masters, and produced remarkable poems whose subjects were derived from their own history and religion. The truths of the Hebrew Scriptures were thus cast in a Greek mould. Frequently their teachers assumed the costume of the ancient Greek poets and philosophers. This syncretism of thought continued into the earlier years of Christianity, and must have seriously affected the poetic and musical art of the Jews.²

First Christians familiar with Jewish forms.

Cantillation affords no suggestion as to the ancient music.

Greek influence a powerful factor.

¹ For the extent of the Dispersion and its influence on Jewish thought, religious observances and manners, among others v. Shürer: *Op. cit.*, § 31; Friedlander: *Die Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1881, ss. 570-584; Westcott: article "Dispersion," in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*.

² v. Ewald: *The History of Israel*, translated by J. Estlin Carpenter, London, 1874, vol. v, pp. 260-262, and vol. iii, p. 283. "The music of the temple services was

The old temple service, in which the prescribed forms were observed with scrupulous inflexibility, served, indeed, as a partial breakwater to this insetting tide of Greek innovation. "The old Hebrew music must have been resumed in the new temple of Zerubbabel, and pursued with great zeal. This is plain from the superscriptions of many of the Psalms, which were then collected afresh, and from the historic representations of the Chronicles. But the Greek translators of the Psalter evince only an imperfect and obscure knowledge of the art terms of the ancient music, which clearly proves that the whole of this ancient art suffered severely through the entrance of Greek music, and by degrees entirely disappeared."¹

The purity of the temple service, including music, thus lost under the Greek conquerors, was not recovered under the Roman. The Asmonean princes sedulously cultivated the friendship of their new masters. Only by Roman protection and sufferance, indeed, was this house perpetuated. Moreover, the grand old festivals, which in the time of religious fervor had been celebrated with such pomp, had been partially displaced by others of more recent origin. The retirement from public life of the most devout sect, the Essenes, the proud holding aloof from state affairs by the Sadducees during the period immediately prior to the advent, and the obscuration of the law by the teaching of the Pharisees, tended to the neglect of the temple worship, and strengthened the desire for a Græco-Roman style of music. The magnificent temple of Herod, though reared in accordance with the requirements of the law, and by the encouragement of the priests while wearing their sacred vestments, failed to restore the purity of the service. The temple itself had originated in selfish ambition; its architecture was essentially Greek; its ritual had become contaminated.

The first converts to Christianity probably adopted the modified music then in use in the temple and synagogues. The music used in the celebration of the heathen rites could not be tolerated by

doubtless conducted on a splendid scale, after Solomon's regulations, in all the subsequent centuries; and we know for certain that Solomon set a great value on musical instruments of costly workmanship (1 Kings x, 12). . . . All knowledge of it was, however, gradually lost after the Greek period, and cannot now be recovered; for even the Chronicles, from which we derive most light for understanding it, contains no more than faint reminiscences of the ancient music." *Contra*, Martini, G. B.: *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 350. Saalschütz: *Geschichte u. Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, § 61.

¹ Ewald: *Op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 267.

converts who had been saved from the polluting practices of heathenism.¹

Paul probably refers to the then extant temple and synagogue music when he exhorts the churches which he had planted "to be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart unto the Lord" (Eph. v, 18, 19); "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii, 16).

The first Christians adopted what was in use.

This custom of the early Christians seems to be confirmed by heathen testimony, notably by the younger Pliny in his letters to the Emperor Trajan, in which he states that they were accustomed "to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as God."² The meaning of this passage has been variously understood; but according to the comments of the Christian writers of the first four centuries its evident intent is to speak of responsive chants or songs which the Christians were accustomed to use in their early meetings.³

Confirmed by heathen testimony.

The positive testimony of Justin Martyr⁴ as to the custom of the Eastern church, of Tertullian regarding the African church, of Origen as to the church of Alexandria, of Eusebius, who quotes from earlier authorities to prove the antiquity and continuity of this custom, leaves little doubt respecting the use of music in the services of the Church from the apostolic period. An expression used by Tertullian in describing the worship will aid us to understand the growth or development of Christian music. When he says that each one of the assembly was invited to sing unto God, either from the Scriptures or something indited by himself—"de proprio ingenio"—we may well suppose that thus early was practiced a sacred improvisation which by degrees crystallized into forms which by frequent use and repetition became the common property of the Church. The original style of singing was evidently the chant. The antiphony, in its earliest form, is no more than a responsive chant conducted by the priests and the congregation.

Christian testimony.

Improvisation.

The chant.

Yet the chant bears the same relation to music, properly so called,

¹ Forkel: *Geschichte der Musik*, Bd. ii. ss. 91. 92. We have only to read the odes of Horace which describe the choral processions to be convinced that the music used in such associations must have been excluded from the services of the Christian assemblies.

² *Epistolæ*, Lib. 10, 97. "Carmen Christo quasi Deo diem secum invicem."

³ Tertullian: *Apologeticus*, c. 2. "Cœtus antelucanas ad canendum Christo ut Deo," etc.

⁴ *Apologia*, c. 13. "Rationalibus cum pompis et hymnis celebrare?"

as does speech to a developed language. Speech is spontaneous, while a grammatically constructed language is the product and property of peoples more or less advanced in culture and enlightenment. So man may sing by virtue of his nature; yet it is no more difficult to develop a literary language from primitive speech than to construct a methodical and scientific music from the rudimentary chant.¹ Nor are we to suppose that music

Music is not imitation of nature. comes from imitation of sounds in nature. There is no

music in nature, neither melody nor harmony. The many expressions regarding "the harmonies of nature," "the music of the spheres," etc., are to be regarded as purely metaphorical.

From the simplest musical utterance in the chant or improvisation the musician, with almost infinite pains, must work out the complex results, also the orderly and harmonious combinations called music, which becomes the most effective means for the expression of the deeper emotions of the soul.² At what precise time the first attempt

The beginning of Christian music of uncertain date. of the Church to develop a music peculiarly its own was made we have, unfortunately, no means of determining. In this, as in many other historical inquiries,

we are left to conjecture and tradition, or are compelled to reach conclusions from analogical reasoning. From the circumstances of poverty, persecution, and obscurity with which the early Church was surrounded, it might be expected that little or no effort would at first be made to develop the simple chant into a more methodical and scientific form. The Christian assemblies were generally only tolerated, sometimes they were under the severest ban. These conditions of hardship and proscription were most unfavourable to the cultivation of the fine arts. Moreover, the natural disinclination to use either Jewish or heathen forms in their own services, through fear of some misleading influence upon the worshipers, probably induced in the overseers of the Church of the first two centuries a measure of indifference to whatever of musical science might then have been extant. Doubtless, by frequent repetition of chants and antiphonies a considerable body of simple melody had come to be the common property of the Church. But it was not until a period of quiet and toleration, when the erection of buildings for the worship of God called for a more methodical arrangement

¹ Fétis: *Histoire générale de la Musique*, Paris, 1869, p. 2. See also J. Grimm: *Ueber der Ursprung der Sprache*, ss. 19, 55, et al. Renan: *De l'Origine du langage*, Paris, 1858, chap. v. Max Müller: *Science of Language*, London, 1862, especially Lect. ix. Contra, Clément, Félix: *Histoire de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1885, pp. 3, 4, 5, etc.

² Haweis: *Music and Morals*, London, 1877, pp. 7, 8, et al.

of the public worship, that music could have been carefully cultivated.

The first well-authenticated account of the formal arrangement of church music is given by the historian Theodoret, ^{first recorded attempts.} where he describes the efforts of Flavianus and Diodorus, who divided the choristers of the church of Antioch into two parts, and instructed them to sing responsively the psalms of David.¹ It is probable that this did not originate a new era of musical invention so much as methodize what was already known. But the occasion of this innovation, as given by the surviving authorities, is most suggestive, and renders it probable that from this time the cultivation of music received greatly increased attention. ^{Arian influence.} The governor of the church of Antioch, Leontius, was an avowed Arian, while the monks, Flavianus and Diodorus, were zealous and saintly defenders of the orthodox faith. To draw away the people from the heretical preaching of their bishop these earnest men instituted the antiphonal service. It proved so attractive that the bishop was in turn compelled to introduce the same practice into his own church. Thus from the powerful capital of the East the practice extended to the provincial societies, and soon prevailed in many leading churches of the West.²

The growing attention to the study of church music is shown from the fact that it soon after became a subject of ^{Conciliary action.} conciliary action. The council of Laodicea (360-370), in order to the promotion of good order and the edification of believers, decreed that none but the canons, or singing men who ascend the ambo (or singing desk), should be permitted to sing in the church. Much diversity of opinion relative to the intent of this canon has been entertained by commentators. Baronius seems to regard it as a positive prohibition of the laity to engage in the public singing, thus confining this part of the service to an official class. ^{Opinion relative to this action.} Bingham³ is inclined to the same view from the fact that from the time of this council the singers were regarded as officers of the Church, being called *κανονικοὶ ψαλταί*, canonical singers. He, however, believes that this was only of temporary authority. Neander,⁴ on the contrary, regards this as nothing more than a prohibition of the laity to attempt the office of the

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, l. ii, c. xix. "Hi primi, psallentium choris in partes divisus, hymnos Davidicos alternis canere docuerunt."

² Theodoret says: "Ubique doinceps obtinuit, et ad ultimos terræ fines pervasit" (*in loc. cit.*).

³ *Antiquities of the Church*, b. iii, c. vii.

⁴ *History of the Church*, b. ii, p. 674, n. 4, Torrey's trans.

regularly appointed singers in conducting the church music. He believes that such prohibition of the laity to engage in the singing would have been in direct contradiction to the instruction of the most noted Church fathers, as Basil, Chrysostom, etc., and the almost universal practice of the Eastern Churches. The opinion of Neander is entitled to great respect, since it seems to find confirmation in the teaching and practice of these saintly men. It is certain that

Basil, during his education at Antioch, came to entertain an ardent love for the forms of worship there prevalent, so that when he was installed bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, he introduced the Antiochian music into his own diocese, and greatly encouraged it both by practice and public teaching. From the account preserved in his own writings we may suppose that the singing in the assemblies of Cæsarea in Basil's day somewhat resembled the informal praise service, or service of song, in modern social religious gatherings, barring the harmony, which was not yet known. Nevertheless, we are not too hastily to conclude that the use of simple melody by an entire congregation was necessarily less effective to awaken religious emotions than the more involved harmonies of later times, since it has often been remarked that by the uncultivated ear the simple succession of sounds may be better appreciated than the more involved, which may be pitched above the popular comprehension.¹

The character
of the singing
service.

When he became bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom likewise cultivated the music to which he had earlier become accustomed at Antioch. In the severe contest with the Arians, he, like Basil and others, used the new music to hold the people loyal to the orthodox faith. But in those times of passionate and brutal encounters the services of the Church were frequently interrupted by exhibitions of anger and party strife entirely at variance with the spirit of Christian worship. Only with greatest difficulty could the people be restrained even by the entreaties and authority of this most eminent and spiritually minded father.

Thus it seems fairly probable that the more serious and successful attempts to improve the music of the public services originated in the Syrian churches, and that the Syrian modes were to a greater or less extent adopted by the East and West.

To St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, has usually been attributed the further reform and improvement of the music which was afterward

Conclusion.

¹ v. Wallis: *Philosophical Transactions* (Abridgment), vol. i, p. 618.

extensively used in the Latin churches. This attempted modification dates from the last quarter of the fourth century. The *Cantus Ambrosianus* has come to be applied to a style of music which Ambrose is said to have arranged for his own ^{Ambrosian} cathedral, and which, in modified form, is believed by ^{chant} some to have continued in the Western churches to the present time. The subject is beset with difficulties, and opinions are at variance with respect to the originality, nature, and extent of the reform introduced by Ambrose.

As to its originality, it must be recollected that the Church had now emerged from the catacombs, and had received the protection and patronage of the imperial government. Instead of obscure upper rooms, private houses, subterranean retreats, or humble churches, the Christians now had well-built and splendid edifices, to whose erection even emperors felt honored ^{Changed circumstances of the Church.} in making contribution. The circumstances necessitated a change in the church appointments. The ceremonial now assumed a splendor and an impressiveness before unknown. This is evident from the notices of contemporary writers both Christian and pagan. Christianity was now the state religion. Its votaries occupied the highest positions of trust in the government. Men thoroughly versed in the heathen philosophy were now high office-bearers in the Church. Prejudice against the literature and the art of heathendom had been greatly allayed.

The introduction of art forms into the churches had long ceased to be regarded as sinful or misleading. All that was truly useful and educating was now pressed into the service of Christ, and thus became sanctified. Every analogy of the other arts which we have traced is convincing that the Christians of the fourth ^{Appropriation of art.} century freely appropriated whatever might contribute to the effectiveness of public worship. If they had not been offended by the statue of Hermes, the ram-bearer, if they had pictured upon the walls of the catacombs Orpheus as a type or heathen prophecy of the subduing power of Christ, if they had adopted the Greek style in the sculpture of their sarcophagi, if from their general convenience of form the heathen basilicas furnished suggestions for church architecture, it cannot be reasonably supposed that music alone, of all the fine arts, was an exception to this general Christian appropriation and use. With respect to music and poetry, as to philosophy and the arts of form, it was but natural that the attention of the Christian fathers should be turned toward the writings of the Greeks for suggestions in their attempted development of the congregational chant, which had grown up, from

long-continued repetition, into more regular, scientific, and imposing forms.¹

By his careful training prior to conversion Ambrose was prepared to successfully examine whatever of useful helps might be contained in the Greek writers on music, and to develop a system more in harmony with the conditions and needs of the Church.

It must be remembered that the term "music" had among the early Greeks a much broader significance than in modern times. It embraced poetry, the dance, and the drama, as well as the melody of sounds. It was intimately connected with moral, intellectual, and even physical training; it was not, therefore, chiefly studied as a fine art. It ranked rather among the disciplines necessary to the best and completest education, and was regarded more as a means to an end than as an independent art. Based upon certain harmonic and rhythmical proportions, it was believed to contribute to the best mental training and the highest moral development. There is an essential agreement among the best historians that during the most flourishing period of Grecian art instrumental music had no separate existence. Music, recitative, and poetry were inseparably united. Musical rhythm was governed by the poetical cadence. Musicians were the poets; and poets invented melodies to which they chanted their verse at the national games. The early music of the Greeks had no higher aim than to supply the language of the poet with melody and musical accents. They never strove to invest music with a dignity that should make it independent of poetry.² It was only in the later history that music and poetry attained to a separate existence. Yet Plato complains of this divorce, and argues that it is a departure from the original lofty ethical aim of music, and it is certain that as an independent art Greek music thus suffered a real decadence. Its close association with epic and lyric poetry in the religious life and ceremonial had dignified and inspired it. The decay of religion brought, therefore, like decay to poetry and music. The departure of the spirit left the body lifeless, as institutions do not long survive the wants and the spirit that call them into being. With the prevalent scepticism came the neglect of all which religion and devotion had devised to aid in their cultivation and expression.³

¹ Kieseewetter: *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unser heutigen Musik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2. Ambros: *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. ii, pp. 9, 10.

² Naumann: *History of Music*, translated from the German by F. Praeger, London, 1885, p. 137.

³ Schlüter: *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, etc., Leipzig, 1863, p. 4.

While Christianity alone has brought music to its highest perfection as a fine art, expressive of the deepest spiritual emotion, the Greeks, nevertheless, developed a most complicated and ingenious system of musical notation, whose influence was felt far into the centuries of the Christian era. Their writers on music were the mathematicians, who treated it as a mathematical science.¹ The drama was little more than a musical recitative, while the chorus was intoned. Their theatres being open, roofless areas, where thousands gathered, it was often necessary to resort to the use of metallic masks to increase the sonorousness of the voices of the actors.

The Greeks furnished a musical notation.

The systems thus developed were complex and difficult in the extreme, and were capable of being understood and practiced by only a favored few, who must give years of study to their mastery. Moreover, there was little attempt to popularize these systems and to bring them into general use. On the contrary, there seems to have been a design on the part of those who treated this subject to make it the property of the few who were initiated into the mysteries of the science as it was taught by the philosophers. Their musical notation was, therefore, most involved and perplexing. The characters invented by the Greek writers on musical harmonics have been placed as high as sixteen hundred and twenty.² Since these were no better than so many arbitrary marks or signs placed on a line over the words of the song, and had no natural or analogical signification, the system must have imposed on the memory an intolerable burden.³ Before the advent of Christianity the Greek system had somewhat fallen into disuse, and the practical spirit of the conquering Romans was unfavourable to the cultivation and patronage of the fine arts. Their great men were engaged in the affairs of state, and in developing and perfecting political policies for a now practically unified nation. They had, indeed, rejected the complex musical notation of the Greeks, which had been the product of refined speculation, and in place of the sixteen hundred and twenty characters had substituted the first fifteen letters of their own alphabet. Thus the enharmonic and even

The notation complicated.

Mere arbitrary signs.

The Romans not patrons of art.

¹ Hawkins: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London, 1853, vol. i, p. 103. With this view agree Dr. Wallis and many other high authorities.

² Some authorities place the number at twelve hundred and forty. It is very difficult to determine, but fortunately the question is of slight archaeological importance.

³ Hawkins: *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 104.

chromatic scales had fallen into disuse, and the more natural diatonic with its greater simplicity and sweetness had been accepted.

The old Greek music had virtually perished in its childhood, and the world lost little or nothing. It is highly probable that the Western Church first developed a truly Christian music, such as contributed to the highest edification of believers, when it completely broke away from Greek influences.¹ The art of Greece had no was largely objective. In music, therefore, the Greeks did not attain to those grand results which in sculpture, architecture, and poetry have been entirely incomparable. The best authorities are in substantial agreement that they were not acquainted with music *in consonance*, or with harmony in its modern sense. Their music was simply a succession, and not a harmony, of sounds.²

But with Christianity began an era of feeling and contemplation. From the study of government and the state it directed attention to the life, obligations, and destiny of the individual. This tendency to introspection, and to the study of the condition of the feelings, gave occasion for their expression by methods in harmony with this new view of individual life and duty. Music is the art which of all others is expressive of the feelings of the soul.³ Unlike poetry, architecture, sculpture, or painting, music can express itself freely and completely without the aid of other arts.⁴ Hence it might be supposed that each nation and each independent religious or psychical development would have its own music to express its peculiar emotional condition, just as each nation or tribe has had its own language or idiom.⁵ Since every religion has had much to do with the sentiments and emotions—Christianity most of all—this new revelation of God to man in Jesus Christ would greatly quicken the emotional nature and lead its followers to devise means for its appropriate expression.

¹ Kiesewetter: *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unser heutigen Musik*, s. 2.

² This has been a subject of protracted controversy. Doubtless the lack of clear definition has been one cause of the great diversity of opinion. The preponderance of authority is in favour of the statement of the text.

³ Haweis: *Music and Morals*, p. 10.

⁴ "The musician has less connection with the outward world than any other artist. He must turn the thought inward to seek the inspiration of his art in the deepest recesses of his own being." Goethe: *Wilhelm Meister*, bk. ii, cap. ix. Brendel: *Geschichte der Musik*, s. 8.

⁵ P. Clément: *Histoire generale de la Musique Religieuse*, p. 4.

In obedience to this principle Ambrose was led to devise a more appropriate music for his churches. It is to be deeply regretted that we have such scanty materials by which to judge of the character and extent of the Ambrosian reform. From the few historic notices, and from the musical traditions of the Latin Church, it is believed that he simplified the then prevalent Ptolemaic system by reducing the seven recognised modes to four. ^{Reduced the} He deemed these sufficient for the proper conduct of the ^{modes to four.} Church service. He believed that thus the various tunes which had been hitherto in use could be reduced to systematic form, and yet be so simple that the congregation might use them to their own profit and to the common edification.

The four *modes* which he thus borrowed are indicated as follows:

The Antique.			Mediæval.			Ambrosian.
Phrygian	D to \bar{D}	was the	Dorian	was the	1st tone or mode.	
Dorian	E to \bar{E}	" "	Phrygian	" "	2d " "	
Ionian	F to \bar{F}	" "	Lydian	" "	3d " "	
Hypophrygian	G to \bar{G}	" "	Mixolydian	" "	4th " "	

These seem to have been distinguished from one another only by the place of the half tones in the gamut, thus:

1st mode	D. E. F. G. A. H. C. D.	
2d	" E. F. G. A. H. C. D. E.	⌘Scheme.
3d	" F. G. A. H. C. D. E. F.	
4th	" G. A. H. C. D. E. F. G.	

In this reform the tetrachord system was abandoned, and the metric of the poetry determined the musical accent. It is believed that attention was given only to the pitch, and not to the volume or length of note. In the time of Charlemagne an attempt was made to displace the Ambrosian by the Gregorian chants. Thus the Ambrosian notation was lost. It is not even known whether Ambrose devised an independent notation, but since his system was of Greek derivation, it is conjectured that the Greek notation was retained in so far as was consistent with his ^{Fell into dis-} ^{use.} purpose. The notation found in the so-called Ambrosian singing books is certainly of later origin: of the original nothing has survived. Also, in how far the traditional Ambrosian chant resembles the original is matter of pure conjecture.¹

While the range of the Ambrosian chants must have ^{Effect upon the} ^{service.} been very narrow, the influence of the service of song upon the church of Milan was most happy. Augustine, who was

¹ v. Forkel: *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Bd. ii, ss. 163, 164.

accustomed to visit this then noted church, speaks of its inspiration to himself.¹ He afterward introduced the same form into the churches of his own diocese, and by personal efforts and the writing of a systematic treatise became a zealous promoter of sacred poetry and music.

During the following two and one half centuries the Ambrosian chants seem to have been widely used in the Latin Church. This is evident from the fact that they are mentioned in the acts of the fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 633, as forming a part of the service in the Spanish churches. They gave form, method, and dignity to the public singing. The adaptation of words to these modes became a matter of deep interest to the bishops, so that even in the most trying and stormy times of Roman history the impressiveness and solemnity of the public services were maintained.

The writings of Macrobius, Capella, Cassiodorus, and Boethius exerted little modifying influence on the music of the Church. They lost sight of the practical needs of the times, and returned to the study of the theory of proportions as developed by the aid of arithmetic and geometry. Even the pious Boethius, in his labored work, *de Musica*, does not once refer either to the use of instruments, to the voice as used in the singing of the sanctuary, or to any practical application of his abstract speculations. He was a close adherent of the Pythagorean theory, that consonances or harmonies are to be determined by mathematical ratios and not by the ear. His chief merit is that he has preserved the elements of the ancient systems of music; which fact makes it possible to compare them with what is now extant, and thus determine the originality of the modern masters of harmony.²

So far as can be inferred from either literary or monumental evidence, no further musical reform was effected until near the close of the sixth century. After his elevation to the pontificate, Gregory the Great gave much thought to the improvement of the Church ritual, and originated a style of music which has borne his name. The Gregorian chant (*Cantus Gregorianus*) marks a revolution no less distinct than useful. Such has been the tenacity of its life that it is still the leading form in nearly all the Catholic churches, and has modified the singing in some Protestant churches, notably the Lutheran and Anglican.

By his patrician rank, his sound learning, his wide experience of public affairs, and his thorough acquaintance with the most noted men of his age, Gregory was thoroughly qualified to exert a commanding

¹ *Confessiones*, ix, vii.

² Hawkins: *History of Music*, pp. 124, 125.

influence on both the temporal and spiritual interests of the Western Empire. The missionary and reformatory schemes which he successfully executed give to his pontificate a prominent Gregory's place in the history of the Church. His efforts to great services mitigate the severities of slavery, and to secure a more complete recognition of the rights of the poor before the law, often brought him into conflict with the temporal authorities. He has been accused of undue ambition; but this charge is not sustained, since in all his efforts he seems to have had little thought of personal aggrandizement, but was only zealous for the honor and success of the Church. The service which he rendered Church music was great and lasting. Besides substituting the Roman letters for the Greek characters in his notation,¹ he reformed the antiphonary, and founded and endowed seminaries for the study of music. By the aid of singers herein trained, the improvements which Gregory had devised were widely introduced into the public worship of the West, and thus the influence of his reform was more lasting than otherwise had been possible.

"He also took time, even amid the great cares that severely taxed his frail body, to examine with what tunes the psalms, Maimbourg's hymns, orisons, verses, responses, canticles, lessons, estimate. epistles, the gospel, the prefaces, and the Lord's Prayer were to be sung; what were the tunes, measures, notes, and moods most suitable to the majesty of the Church, and most proper to inspire devotion." The accounts given by John the Deacon in his life of Gregory relative to the services of this pontiff are quite circumstantial, and awaken our admiration of his energy and tireless industry to perfect the Church service.²

The so-called Ambrosian system was the basis of the Gregorian improvement. The four modes of this system were retained. To these were added four others, so that the first note in the Gregory's reform. Ambrosian became the fourth of the Gregorian. The original Ambrosian modes were called *Authentic*, and the four added ones, *Plagal*, as follows:


1st Ambrosian or authentic mode	D.E.F.G.A.H.C.D.	gave rise to 1st Plagal	A.H.C.D.E.F.G.A.
2d " " " "	E.F.G.A.H.C.D.E.	" " 2d "	H.C.D.E.F.G.A.H.
3d " " " "	F.G.A.H.C.D.E.F.	" " 3d "	C.D.E.F.G.A.H.C.
4th " " " "	G.A.H.C.D.E.F.G.	" " 4th "	D.E.F.G.A.H.C.D.


¹ That Gregory was not the inventor of the Latin notation is shown by Fétis: *Histoire générale de la Musique*, t. iii. pp. 521-528.


² Maimbourg: *Histoire du Pontifical de St. Grégoire*, Paris, 1686. pp. 330, 331.


³ Johannes Diaconus: in *Vita Greg.*, lib. ii, cap. vi.


The following modern notation is believed to represent these Authentic and Plagal modes:


1st Authentic. 


1st Plagal. 


2d Authentic. 

2d Plagal. 

3d Authentic. 

3d Plagal. 

4th Authentic. 

4th Plagal. 

With Ambrose, Gregory exchanged the irrational system of the Greek tetrachord for the system of the octave, which is now recognised as the only natural system. He also liberated the melody from the metric accent, thus allowing to the melody a more free and independent development according to its own laws.¹

¹ Kieseewetter: *Op. cit.*, Bd i, p. 5. Reissmann: *Gregorianischer Gesang in Musicalischen Conversations-Lexicon*, Bd. iv, ss. 346, 347. In a melodic sense (Gregory being unacquainted with harmony) an *authentic* mode was a melody moving from Tonica to Tonica. It is thought that by such modes the ancient Christians gave expression to firmness, deep conviction, or abounding joy. Those melodies that



ANIMAM MEAM DOMINE MEUS IN TE CONFIDO
non erubescam. PSALMUS. Viae tuae domine

AD REPETENDUM Dirige me in iustitiam tuam

RESPONSORIUM GRADUALE

Veniuerunt si qui te expectant
non confundentur domine.
Veniuerunt si qui te expectant
non confundentur domine.

52

The contribution to the improvement of music by this increase of tones can be better appreciated by observing the change effected in the place and use of the *Dominant* and the *Final* note. The Ambrosian chant recognized but four modes, or eight sounds in a natural or diatonic order of progression, proceeding from D, E, F, and G to the octave of the same. ^{Nature of this} This system required the chant to begin and end on the same note. The Dominant (so called from the note which was most prominent in the rendering of the chant, "the note on which the recitative is made in each psalm or canticle tune") did not, therefore, accord with the fundamental or key note of modern music, upon which all the harmony must be based. In the Ambrosian chant the frequent return to the fundamental note was necessary in order to keep the voices of the chanters and of the congregation in unison by being sustained at the proper pitch, and holding to the mode to which the chant was set. The Gregorian chant differed from the Ambrosian also in the place of ending. While the latter must return to the note of beginning, the former permitted the final to be other than the lowest note, thereby giving a greater variety to the ending of the chants. "Each of the Plagal modes added by Gregory is a fourth below its corresponding original, and is called by the same name, with the prefix *hypo* (*ὑπο*) *below*, as follows: 5. Hypodorian; 6. Hypophrygian; 7. Hypolydian; 8. Hypomixolydian. Each scale here also consists of a perfect fifth and a perfect fourth, but the positions are reversed; the fourth is now below, and the fifth above. In the Plagal scales the Final is no longer the lowest note, but is the same as that in the corresponding Authentic scale. Thus the final of the Hypodorian mode is not A, but D, and a melody in that mode, though ranging from about A to A, ends regularly on D, as in the Dorian. . . . The semitones in each scale naturally vary as before. The *Dominants* of the new scales are in each case a third below those of the old ones, C being, however, substituted for B in the Hypomixolydian, as it had been before in the Phrygian, on account of the relations between B and the F above and below."¹

This system was subsequently developed by the ad- ^{Further devel-}dition of two other Authentic modes, called the *Æolian* ^{opment.} and the *Ionian*, and of their corresponding *Plagals*—the *Hypoæolian*

moved around the *Tonica* were called *Plagal*. These are believed to have been expressive of variable emotions, or of a more pensive and subdued state of religious feeling.

¹ v. Rev. Thomas Helmore in *Grave's Musical Dictionary*, vol. i, p. 626, article "Gregorian Modes."

and the Hypoionian. Thus resulted a complete scheme which has powerfully influenced the ecclesiastical music of the Western Church. The Ritual Service books have been a means of preserving this improved system, so that in most churches of Western Europe the psalm and canticle tunes, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Benedictus, the Antiphones, the Nicene Creed, the Processions, etc., are based essentially on the scheme which Gregory devised, and on whose strictest observance he so strongly insisted.¹

Gregory also invented a system of notation for his improved Gregorian Antiphonarium. Tradition says that his *Antiphonarium*, the book containing this notation, was kept chained to the altar in the Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, in order that it might be immediately consulted in case of any suspected innovation in the choral service. In order to conform the music in the churches of his empire to this standard it is claimed that Charlemagne, in A. D. 790, applied to Pope Adrian I. for a copy of this manuscript Antiphonarium. The copy is now one of the most valued treasures in the library of the Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland.²

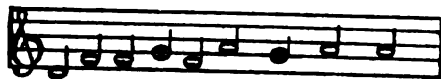
Plate IX represents the first page of Lambillotte's facsimile of this famous manuscript. It contains portions of Psalm xxv; on this page are parts of verses 1, 2, 3, 5.³ The extreme care with which this work was prepared proves the thoroughness of the Gregorian reform. The various marks connected with the words, technically called *neumes*, have elicited the most careful and patient study; but their meaning and use have not yet been determined. Whether they were a system of musical notation, or were indications to the singers of variation in quality and volume of tone, is still a matter of debate. Already in the time of Guido of

¹ Helmore: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 627.

² This copy at St. Gall was most faithfully facsimiled under the direction of the zealous Jesuit, Lambillotte, in 1848 (v. his work *Antiphonaire de Saint Grégoire, Facsimile du Manuscrit de Saint-Gall, VIII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1851, 4to.) He claims that the manuscript is authentic, and contains the system as it was instituted by Gregory. Against the objections to its authenticity urged by Danjou, Fétis, and others (who claim that it is of a later origin) Lambillotte gives what he regards abundant evidence, both external and internal, of its genuineness. The art work connected with the Antiphonarium would point to an origin not later than the tenth century, possibly considerably earlier. v. also Coussemaker: *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge*; and Schubiger: *Sängerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zwölften Jahrhundert*.

³ The text is sufficiently clear to most readers: Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus meus, in te confido non erubescam. [Psalmus.] Vias tuas, Domine [ad repetendum], dirige me in veritate tua [responsorium graduale]. Universi qui te expectant non confundentur, Domine. Vias tuas, Domine, etc.

Alleluia

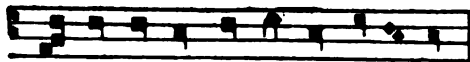


Alle lu - ja
En regna ter coele sti um et

No. 1.

Gloria in excelsis dō.

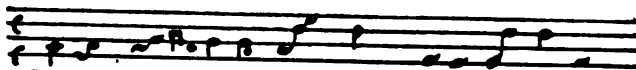
refrains



Glo ria in ex cel sis de - o

No. 2.

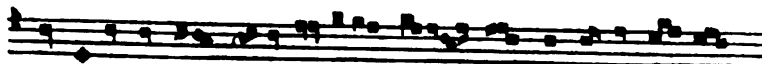
Cō Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur



Domus me a do mus o ra ti o nis.

No. 3.

Rē Tecum principium in die virtutū



Tecum princi pi um in di - e vir tu

No. 4.

PLATE X.—Facsimiles of earliest musical manuscripts.

1890-1891

1891-1892

1892-1893

1893-1894

1894-1895

1895-1896

1896-1897

1897-1898

1898-1899

1899-1900

1900-1901

1901-1902

1902-1903

1903-1904

1904-1905

1905-1906

1906-1907

1907-1908

1908-1909

1909-1910

1910-1911

1911-1912

1912-1913

1913-1914

1914-1915

1915-1916

1916-1917

1917-1918

1918-1919

1919-1920

Arezzo (eleventh century) their signification had been lost.¹ Much learned comment upon them has appeared, and a few writers claim that the key to their meaning has been discovered.

We give examples from four most ancient and interesting codices, now preserved in the abbey libraries of St. Gall and Einsiedeln, Switzerland (v. Plate X). No. 1 is a "Hallelujah" from the tenth century,² giving the accompanying numæ and the suggested translation into modern musical notation. It is from the library of St. Gall.

Illustrations
and transla-
tions.

No. 2 is a facsimile of an early *Gloria in excelsis* from a codex now preserved in the abbey library of Einsiedeln.³ The numæ are well defined; the manuscript is among the earliest. It is very interesting as giving this noble hymn of the early Church, and seems to justify the earnest attempts to find the key to the strange notation whose discovery would so materially aid in the appreciation of the work of Ambrose and of Gregory in the reform of ecclesiastical music.

No. 3 is from the same codex, showing a still more complicated system of numæ.⁴ In the appended scale is given the proposed equivalent in the modern notation.

No. 4 is the copy of a portion of a very early codex in the abbey library of St. Gall,⁵ in which the numæ are found in their greatest complication. As in the foregoing, the accompanying scale is a tentative translation of the same.

While names and values have been given to every distinct numæ and to their combination in these early manuscripts, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of the interpretations have proved satisfactory; much less have they real historic foundation.

The Gregorian system contained the germs of the later advanced and perfected system of Church music; but during the stormy times following the pontificate of Gregory it fell somewhat into neglect, and even the hymns which he had so carefully prepared and arranged to music for the use of the Church were in danger of being lost. A few learned men took upon themselves the duty of saving

¹ v. Migne: *Patrologia*, tom. 141, pp. 413, 414. *Aliae Guidonis regulæ de ignoto cantu*, "Vix denique unus concordat alteri, non magistro discipulus nec discipulus condiscipulus," etc.

² From *Cod. S. Galli*, No. 338, sec. x. v. Schubiger: *Sängerschule St. Gallen*, s. iv, No. 22.

³ From *Cod. Einsidlensi*, No. 121. Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 5.

⁴ Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 12.

⁵ From *Codex S. Galli*, No. 359. Schubiger: *Op. cit.*, s. iii, No. 7.

to the Church what it would have been impossible to do by means of simple tradition. Even during the lifetime of Gregory the ambition of musical leaders strove to break away from the simplicity of his prescribed methods, and so frequent and serious were the innovations which threatened the purity of the choral service after his death that the ecclesiastical court at Rome was frequently besought by the temporal princes to interpose to restore it to its simplicity and save it from utter extinction.¹

It is evident, therefore, that in the development of this new system Gregory and his helpers had a deeper insight into the essentials of an ecclesiastic music than any of their predecessors. While he betook himself without stint to the study of the music of the Greeks, his system was original in its greater simplicity, in the richness of its results, and in its practical adaptation to the wants of the Church. As in other fine arts, so here, from the materials at hand Christianity constructed a new body, and breathed into it its own new spirit of life and hope.² It is probable that the chants of the Christian liturgy had no more resemblance to the Greek melodies than the sacerdotal garments of the Christians had to those of the Levites or the priests of Zeus. In these respects this ecclesiastical music may be regarded as original, and not a derivation from the old Greek musical theory or notation.³

While it is probable that the Ambrosian chant, introduced into Milan, resembled in some respects that which was used in the churches of Basil and Chrysostom, it is nevertheless true that neither these simple modes, nor even the improved and perfected modes of the Gregorian chant, could satisfy the restless and fiery spirit of the East.

The Greek Church was then expending her energies in wrangling over dogmas often the most insignificant. The intimate relations of the temporal and ecclesiastical powers likewise subjected this Church to influences destructive of the simplicity and purity of Christian faith. The great festivals were celebrated with a pomp and splendor of ceremonial before unknown. It was not the happy alliance of religion and art to express and more powerfully to inculcate the saving truths of Christianity, but a degeneration into a semibarbarian finery and senseless extravagance indicative of spiritual bondage, and destructive alike of purity of doctrine and of nobility of art. Hence this

¹ Kiesenwetter: *Op. cit.*, p. 7. Hawkins: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 131.

² Ambros: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 11.

³ Clément: *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

condition of absolutism in the state, and of superstition in the Church, was most unfavorable to the development of poetry and music, as well as of painting and sculpture. Hence, too, the simple and impressive Gregorian modes were never introduced into the Greek Church. New and extravagant modes were devised, and the singing of the processions and of the Church services was intermingled with the braying of trumpets and the clangor of horns. Only eunuchs were admitted to the choirs, whose very dress was an example of degenerate finery. Thus every thing in the Greek Church, after the sixth century, took on that type which is the sure effect, as well as evidence, of a decadence of faith and manners.¹ The bondage of art to false and degenerate Church standards repressed all vigor and originality in the artists. The iconoclastic spirit declared war against sculptured images, while a subsequent degrading superstition came to attach special sanctity to the most grotesque and repulsive pictures.²

¹ Early Christian music is a subject of peculiar difficulty. The researches of the historians have been most thorough; yet with respect to some features of the subject there seems to be little promise of substantial agreement. The immense literature of the subject, down to near the end of the eighteenth century, as given by Forkel: *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik*, etc., Leipzig, 1792, and by other writers since his day, may well induce modesty of opinion respecting many controverted points.

² "The ruder the art the more intense the superstition. The perfection of the fine arts tends rather to diminish than promote such superstition. . . . There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and illshapen image, or the flat, unrelieved, or staring picture—the former actually clothed in gaudy or tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of goldleaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of light and shade." Milman: *Latin Christianity*, ii, pp. 303, 304.

"These miraculous images were not admitted to be the work of man, but were proclaimed to have fallen from heaven, to have been dug from the bowels of the earth, or obtained in some similar mysterious manner. Others were said to be as old as the religion itself, such as the picture of Christ in Edessa, given by the Saviour himself to the messengers of King Abgarus, and the many portraits of the Madonna painted by the evangelist Luke, etc. Idolatry of this kind excited the ridicule of the unbelieving, the serious disapprobation of the Church, and, finally, the forcible interference of the temporal powers. This destruction of earlier artistic monuments, and interference with the customary pictures, resulted in a change in the traditional manner of representation, and gave to all succeeding Byzantine art a somewhat different character. The objection had not been raised against painting itself, but against the portrayal of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the saints: thus the attention of the artists was diverted from sacred subjects to other themes, and the merely decorative treatment of the ecclesiastical edifices again became of importance." Reber: *History of Mediæval Art*, New York, 1887, p. 92.

"Let us be thoroughly penetrated with the thought that art is also to itself a kind of religion. God manifests himself to us by the idea of the true, by the idea of the

good, by the idea of the beautiful. Each one of them leads to God, because it comes from him. True beauty is ideal beauty, and ideal beauty is the reflection of the infinite. So, independently of all official alliance with religion and morals, art is by itself essentially religious and moral; for, far from wanting its own law, its own genius, it everywhere expresses in its works eternal beauty. . . . Every work of art, whatever may be its form, small or great, figured, sung, or uttered—every work of art, truly beautiful or sublime—throws the soul into a gentle reverie that exalts it toward the infinite. The infinite is the common limit after which the soul aspires upon the wings of imagination as well as reason, by the route of the sublime and beautiful as well as by that of the true and the good. The emotion that the beautiful produces turns the soul from this world; it is the beneficent emotion that art produces for humanity." Cousin: *The True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, p. 164.

BOOK SECOND.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT
OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH.



THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHURCH CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ITS IDEA AND ORIGIN.

§ 1. *New Testament Idea of the Church.*

CHRIST taught his disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come" (Matt. vi, 10). He designates his Church as "the kingdom of God," τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Matt. vi, 33; John iii, 3, ^{A kingdom.} *et al.*); "the kingdom of heaven," ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt. v, 3; xi, 11; xviii, 1, *et al.*); or simply "my kingdom," or "the kingdom," ἡ βασιλεία μου, τὴν βασιλείαν (Matt. xiii, 38; Luke xii, 32; Luke xxii, 30, *et al.*).

The term ἐκκλησία is used by Christ (Matt. xvi, 18) to describe the unified and collected body of his disciples; in Matt. xviii, 17 this term seems to be restricted and localized ^{Ἐκκλησία.} in its reference.¹ The term is applied by Luke to the company of the disciples on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii, 47); and to an ordinary town assembly (Acts xix, 41). In other passages in the New Testament it signifies the whole body of sanctified Christian believers (Eph. v, 27; Phil. iii, 6; Col. i, 18, 24, *et al.*); an organized church placed under pastors (1 Cor. xii, 18; Phil. iv, 15, *et al.*); the separate societies of a district or province (Gal. i, 2; 2 Cor. vii, 19); and sometimes the Christians gathered for worship, or the assemblies of these societies (1 Cor. iv, 17; xiv, 19-28, *et al.*). In all these passages the word measurably preserves its radical signification, καλεῖν, to call, to invite; κλήσις, a call, a calling, "the divine invitation to embrace salvation in the kingdom of God" (Thayer's Grimm Wilkie, *s. v.*); κλητοί, the called, "the invited to salvation," etc. The fundamental notion thus suggested by this word is the body or assembly of those called or "invited to obtain eternal salvation in the kingdom of God through Christ" (Thayer's Grimm Wilkie, *s. v.*).

¹ On the genuineness of Matt. xvi, 18, and xviii, 17, much diversity of opinion exists.

Another characterization quite frequent in the epistles is *σῶμα*
 The body of Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. xii, 27; Eph. iii, 6; iv, 4, *et al.*). "Ye
 Christ. are the *body of Christ*," and this "body is one," of
 which "Christ is the Saviour."

The Church is also represented under the figure of a "spiritual
 house," *οἶκος πνευματικός* (1 Pet. ii, 5), which is composed
 A temple. of all God's people, and which he makes his dwelling-
 place (1 Cor. iii, 16, 17; 2 Cor. vi, 16; Rev. xxi, 3, *et al.*); of "a
 house, a holy temple in the Lord," *εἰς ναὸν ἁγίον ἐν κυρίῳ* (Eph. ii,
 21, 22).

It is also spoken of as the Bride, of whom Christ is the Bride-
 groom, *τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν νύμφην τοῦ ἀρνίου* (Eph. v, 31,
 The Bride. 32; Rev. xxi, 9); the Light of the World, *τὸ φῶς τοῦ*
κόσμου (Matt. v, 14), *et al.*

From such characterizations it is evident that the vital element of
 the Church is spiritual. Its inspiration is from above; its essential
 life comes from direct contact with its Head and Lord. It is more
 than the aggregated life of those who have been sanctified by the
 Spirit through faith in Christ; it is a living organism,
 An organism. in which each feels the inspiration of the entire body,
 and the whole is sustained and invigorated by the abiding holiness
 of the individual members.

Nevertheless, like the Holy Scriptures, it contains a divine and a
 human element—a spirit and a body. While the life is spiritual,
 it must have a medium of manifestation. The visible Church is
 this body of divinely called or invited men and women, organized
 for moral and religious ends, and which is to become the channel
 through which, ordinarily, redemption is brought to fallen men, and
 they are fitted for the companionship of the Church triumphant.¹

The Church is therefore the outward form which results
 A visible form. from the Christian life, as this is inspired and developed
 by the divine Spirit, and modified by providential environments
 (Matt. xviii, 15-18; John x, 16; 1 Cor. xii, 27; Eph. iv, 25, *et al.*).

§ 2. *The Names applied to its Members.*

The terms applied to its individual members will further illus-
 trate the original conception of the Church. In the
 Disciples. evangelists they are known only as "disciples," *μαθηταί*,
 of Christ; those who are in the relation of learners to a master,

¹ This triumph and completion of the "kingdom of heaven" would be fully realized only at the reappearing of Christ on earth. The powerful influence of this expectation of the speedy second coming of the Saviour is seen in various passages of the apostolic writings.

whose doctrine they seek to understand and heartily embrace. They are believers, *πιστοί*, who apprehend the Messiahship of Christ through his words and works. They are brethren, *ἀδελφοί*, who are born of the same spirit, and are associated in most intimate fellowship with their Lord and with each other, as in a common family.

Believers.

Brethren.

In their epistles the apostles frequently speak of the members of the Church as the "holy," *ἅγιοι*, set apart to sacred uses; the "elect," *ἐκλεκτοί*, chosen for good works to the honor of his name; "a chosen generation," *τὸ γένος ἐκλεκτόν*; "a royal priesthood," *βασιλείον ιεράτευμα*; "a holy nation," *ἔθνος ἅγιον* (1 Pet. ii, 9). In Antioch they were first called "Christians," *Χριστιανοί*, that is, the dependents, the clients of their master, Christ.¹ Their Jewish enemies applied to them opprobrious epithets, as Nazarenes, *Ναζωραῖοι* (Acts xxiv, 5); Galileans, *Γαλιλαῖοι*,² expressive of the low popular estimate placed upon the city and province where was the home of Christ and his first followers (Acts ii, 7).

Opprobrious epithets.

§ 3. *The Apostolate.*

While the institution of a church by Christ is unquestionable, and its essential nature and design are clearly revealed, we search in vain in the acts and words of our Lord for any traces of an ecclesiastical constitution. He spoke of a kingdom; he chose and trained apostles to preach the truth pertaining to it; he prescribed the conditions of citizenship therein; in the last Supper he provided a centre of worship, and of possible future organization. The Church shall not lack an infallible Guide, for "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth" (John xvi, 13). Nor shall the kingdom which Christ has established fail; rather must it "accomplish that which he please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto he sent it" (Isa. lv, 2). But what specific form it is to assume in fulfilling the purpose of its institution is not given by the Founder; no type of organization

Its triumph assured.

¹ The origin of this name is not altogether certain. Probably it was first applied to the disciples by the heathen residents of Antioch. It is only in harmony with other examples in the history of the Christian Church, where a name that was at first used derisively was afterward accepted by the parties themselves. For example, Beghards, Methodists, etc. v. Lipsius: *Ueber Ursprung u. Gebrauch den Christenamen*, Jena, 1873.

² The Emperor Julian "countenanced, and probably enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of Galileans, . . . contemptible to men and odious to the gods." v. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., chap. xxiii.

is anywhere revealed. The single suggestion relative to the treatment of offenders seems to recognise the body of the Church as the depository of all governing and disciplinary power (Matt. xviii, 17); and the decisions of the early church, thus guarded from error by the Holy Ghost, were to be final with respect to faith and morals (Matt. xviii, 18; John xx, 23; Gal. ii, 7-9, *et al.*). By virtue of their receiving divine enlightenment, of sharing the divine nature, and of the impartation of those special charisms by which they could discern the character of spirits, the apostles and the primitive church were qualified to bind or loose (*δέειν, λύειν*), to remit or retain (*ἀφίεναι, κρατεῖν*), the sins of the people.

The lack of a distinct and thorough organization is likewise manifest from the continued participation of the apostles and disciples in the temple service after the ascension of Christ. They still observed the Jewish ordinances, and acknowledged the rightful authority of those in Moses' seat. While often meeting by themselves to listen to the preaching of the apostles, to pray, and to celebrate the communion in the breaking of bread, they nevertheless regarded themselves as still within the pale of the Jewish church, fulfilled the obligations thereby imposed, and revered the temple as the sanctuary of the Most High God.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the new spirit of brotherly love, which led them to hold all things in common, and to sell their estates and place the price in the apostles' hands; and notwithstanding the rapid increase of the number of the disciples, from about six hundred at the date of the ascension to five thousand within forty days thereafter, there is no evidence of an ecclesiastical organization. The apostles appear prominent as actors in the history, but the spirit of prophecy rests upon the body of believers as well. The pungent preaching of Peter is scarcely more effective than the exercise of the varied gifts of the Spirit bestowed upon both men and women. The statement that the multitude who were converted under the preaching of Peter "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine" (Acts ii, 42) might at first appear to clothe the apostles with the authority of original teachers, to whom the others stood in the relation of disciples (*μαθηταί*). This view appears, however, untenable from the positive injunction of Christ himself, "But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your master, *ὁ διδάσκαλος*, even Christ; and all ye are brethren," *οἱ ἀδελφοί* (Matt. xxiii, 8). The apostles imposed no doctrines of their own origination; they claimed no power to found

schools or make disciples;¹ rather were they, and all who should believe on Christ through their preaching, alike disciples (*μαθηταί*) of one common Master. This view was strongly emphasized by Paul when he rebuked the Corinthian believers for their factious attachment to different teachers, thus fostering contention and dividing the body of Christ (1 Cor. i, 12, 13; iii, 4-6). The business of the apostles was not to make law for the Church, nor to institute any exclusive form of ecclesiastical constitution; but they were to preach the Gospel as they had received it from their Master, and inspire in the hearts of men faith in the doctrines which Jesus had taught them, and in the kingdom which he had come to establish (Matt. x, 7, *et seq.*; Acts ii, 32; iii, 15, 16; xiii, 31; xxvi, 22, 23; 1 Cor. iv, 5; Eph. iii, *et al.*).

The bond existing between the early disciples was, in its essential nature and purpose, far other and much more wide-reaching than that implied in a "school," or "guild;" it was best expressed by the word "fellowship" (*κοινωνία*);² they being partakers of a like faith in Christ, which was the inspiration of all their activities, and having a consciousness of common citizenship in the kingdom of God. This helps us to understand the fact already hinted at; namely, that the apostles and first disciples did not wish to be considered apostates from the old faith, but because they remained Jews they regarded themselves subject to the local authorities, and recognised the Sanhedrin as the supreme court.³ A special and independent constitution was not yet thought of.

The apostolate was originally instituted as a means of extending the Church through the preaching of doctrines which had been communicated by the infallible Christ (Mark xiv, 15). Its original number corresponded to that of the twelve tribes of Israel, and was, therefore, chosen in deference to the history and prejudices of the existing Jewish church (Matt. xix, 28; Luke xxii, 30). By careful training the twelve had been fitted to become the preachers and custodians of the truth which

A fellowship.

This view further illustrated.

¹ "Jesus was no founder of a sect. He had no desire to found a school; his ministry was directed to the people as a nation." v. Weiss: *Life of Christ*, Clark's trans., vol. ii, pp. 259, 260. "He was conscious of being in the strictest sense the King of humanity, and of founding a kingdom." Lange: *Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1864, vol. ii, p. 188.

² Compare Acts ii, 42 with Gal. ii, 9; also Acts i, 13, *sq.*, reveals the real bond of the first believers, and the simplicity of their assembly.

³ Weizsäcker: *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*, Freiburg, 1886, ss. 36-38.

was to be accepted by all who would become the disciples of their Master.¹

The term "apostles" was in familiar use among the Jews. In the various centres where the Jews of the Dispersion had settled, large sums of money were contributed for the maintenance of the temple service at Jerusalem; and after the destruction of the temple by Titus this tribute was still collected by messengers, ἀπόστολοι, sent out by the patriarch of Jerusalem for this purpose. These are referred to by the early Christian writers and were the occasion of legal enactments.² It has also been well established that there was a Jewish propaganda for the dissemination of correct religious knowledge among the heathen, as well as for the preservation of the true faith among the Jews.³ Nor can it be doubted that the Christians may have accepted the institution of apostles and their work from the then existing Jewish apostolate, and not the contrary.⁴ The account (Acts xi, 27-30) of the work of Barnabas and Saul in bringing aid to the suffering brethren at Jerusalem reminds us directly of the functions of the Jewish apostles, so that before they are called apostles (Acts xiii, 14) they are doing the identical work which fell to these officers in the Jewish church. When, therefore, Jesus used the word "apostles" to designate the disciples whom he called to a special work, the term was not new nor unfamiliar to his hearers.⁵

By the spiritual endowments vouchsafed to them in virtue of being witnesses of the resurrection, and by the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, they were to be the representatives of Christ with respect to matters of life and doctrine. They were to be overseers and guides of no single society or diocese, but were themselves to be the pillars of the whole Church, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Their work was peculiar, their relation was unique. They were without predecessors; they were to have no succes-

¹ The exact time and circumstances of the call of the apostles are not readily determined, since it is not easy to harmonize the statements of the Synoptists. It is very probable that they were called at different times, as Jesus found men who were judged fit to be trained to become preachers of his doctrine.

² v. Schürer: *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1885, vol. ii, pp. 269, 289. S. quotes the following authorities: Eusebius: *Comment ad Jesaj.*, xviii, 1. Epiphanius: *Haer.*, xxx, 4, 11. Jerome: *ad Gal.*, i, 1. *Codex Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 14.

³ v. Hausrath: *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Bd. ii, ss. 95, seq., 101, seq.; Schürer: *Op. cit.*, pp. 297-307; and the authorities cited by S., pp. 304, 305. Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1886, bd. i, ss. 73-75.

⁴ v. Lightfoot: *Com. on Galatians*, p. 94, note 1.

⁵ v. Seufert: *Der Ursprung u. die Bedeutung des Apostolates*, etc., s. 13.

sors.¹ The preaching of the word, the care of all the churches and their grounding in the truth, the careful guarding of the doctrine which they had received from all admixture of error, the care of souls, and the relief of the pressing needs of the poorer brethren were the distinguishing features of the apostolic function.

With the apostolic age this function ceased. The term apostle was not, however, confined to the original twelve, but other ministers was extended to those who had been intimately associated with them, and with Paul and Barnabas, in the extension of the Gospel and in the care of the churches. At this time the word seems to have had a broader application. Paul calls Titus and his fellow laborers "apostles of the churches," *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*, (2 Cor. viii, 23); and he speaks of himself, Timothy, and Sylvanus, as the "apostles of Christ," *ἀπόστολοι Χριστοῦ* (1 Thess. ii, 6); he is associated with Barnabas under the expression, *σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις* (Acts xiv, 4); Barnabas and himself are equal to the other apostles, the brethren of the Lord and Cephas, *ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι κ.τ.λ.* in matters of Christian freedom and privilege (1 Cor. ix, 5); and James seems to be reckoned among the apostles, *ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων κ.τ.λ.* (Gal. i, 19).

From these passages, as well as from the statements in the apostolic fathers, and of the "*Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*,"² it must be inferred that there was no strict limitation of the term apostle to the number of twelve. "The twelve" was applied to the twelve—the apostles of the circumcision as representative of its significance. the twelve tribes of Israel, and continued to be the leading idea in the Apocalypse, whose whole imagery is essentially Jewish.³ Paul (1 Cor. xv, 5, 7) distinguishes, however, between "the twelve" and "all the apostles," *τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*, who had seen the Lord. His statement may help to understand the ground of the extension of the term "apostle" to the seventy whom Christ had sent forth, and to those who had seen him after his resurrection, and were therefore competent witnesses to this vital truth.

While these various persons were performing duties which might characterize them as "the sent," they were, nevertheless, in the opinion of the Jewish Christians, lacking in some of the qualifica-

¹ "The twelve, as the first preachers of the Gospel trained by the Lord for that end, occupied a position in the Church that could be filled by none that came after them. They were the foundation stones on which the walls of the Church were built. They sat, so to speak, on episcopal thrones, judging, guiding, ruling the twelve tribes of the true Israel of God, the holy commonwealth embracing all who professed faith in Christ." v. Bruce: *Training of the Twelve*, pp. 257, 258.

² *Teaching of the Twelve*, ch. xi.

³ Lightfoot: *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 95.

tions essential to the real apostolate. As Paul here informs us, these had "seen the Lord," but had not been immediately chosen by him for their work, nor received from him special instruction in the truth, both of which were regarded by the Christians of the circumcision as among the peculiar marks of an apostle. The persons thus referred to as apostles, together with Mark, Timothy, Silas, Apollos, Trophimus, and others, were probably evangelists, itinerant preachers,¹ fellow-labourers with "the twelve," ministers of the word, or delegates entrusted with some special mission to the churches.

Others, as Barnabas,² Manaen, Agabus, etc., were specially endowed with prophetic gifts, and had the peculiar power of discerning the qualities and spiritual condition of those to whom important functions were to be entrusted. They thus possessed another indispensable requisite for an apostle, to which Paul appealed in his conflict with the Judaizing opposers of his own claim to be of equal rank, dignity, and authority with even the "pillar apostles," namely, success in preaching the word and in building up the kingdom of the Messiah (1 Cor. ix, 1, 2). When this important test of the apostolic office is applied to those whom Paul calls apostles, it may be safely inferred that only by the Christians of the circumcision could this term be limited to "the twelve," while in the thought of those who had embraced the universalism of the apostle to the Gentiles the apostolate was of broader scope and deeper import. This struggle between narrow and exclusive limitations on the part of the Judaizing sects and the Gentile Christians continued in the second century, long after the death of the original twelve.

¹ It is interesting to notice the use of the term "apostle," ἀπόστολος, in the "Teaching of the Twelve," which probably belongs to the last quarter of the first, or the first quarter of the second century. He is a sort of itinerant preacher, having less claim to honour than the prophet, προφήτης. "But in regard to the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the gospel, so do ye. And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the Lord; but he shall not remain *more than one day*; if however there be need, then the next *day*; but if he remains three days he is a false prophet. But when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough until he lodge *again*; but if he ask money he is a false prophet." v. chap. xi.

² Barnabas by special ordination (Acts xiii, 3), and by intimate association with Paul (Acts xiv, 12; xv, 2; Gal. ii, 1, *et al.*), stands specially near the twelve in dignity and honour.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH—ITS COMPOSITION AND OFFICERS.

§ 1. *The Apostles and Deacons.*

IN the earliest stage of the history of Christianity scarcely a trace of a distinctive organization is noticed. The Christian church, as sharply distinguished from the Jewish, did not yet exist. Of a distinctive church office, and of a formal church constitution, there is as yet no evidence. The apostles were, for the most part, the mouthpiece and representative authority of the Christian community while it was yet one and undivided at Jerusalem. To them the freewill offerings were brought, through their word the first ecclesiastical discipline was inflicted in the death of Ananias and Sapphira.¹ As helpers in the performance of mere manual labor they appear to have had some younger men, *οἱ νεώτεροι*, of the company (Acts v, 6-10), whose service was voluntary rather than official. This superiority and leadership, and the consequent limitations of the authority of the body of believers, seemed due rather to the personal endowments of the twelve, their authority derived from Christ, and the manifest success of their ministry, than to the prerogatives attaching to a specific office² (1 Thess. ii, 7-10; 1 Cor. ix, 2; 2 Cor. xii, 12, etc.).

The large accessions to the body of believers, however, early brought with them the necessity for a more methodical administration. The diversity of elements already found in the Christian society occasioned an unequal distribution of the charities which had been so liberally provided under the first impulse of a new faith and experience. To remove the cause of complaint, the recommendation of the twelve that "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom" (Acts vi, 3), be appointed to this business, resulted in a division of labour most simple and salutary. The choice of the "multitude of the disciples,"

¹ Thiersch calls this punishment "the fearful act of divine ecclesiastical discipline." v. *Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*, 3te Aufl., 1879, s. 75.

² Among others v. Bickell: *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Frankfurt, 1849, s. 71. Neander: *Planting and Training*, etc., trans. by Ryland, New York, 1844, p. 33. Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 611. Lechler: *Das apostolische u. nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Leipzig, 1885, s. 91.

"the whole multitude," fell upon seven devout men "whom they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed they laid their hands upon them" (Acts vi, 6). Such was the occasion and such were the circumstances of the institution of the earliest distinct class of officers—the deacons.¹

While the terms *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν*, etc., are used both in the New Testament² and by the early Christian fathers³ in connection with any one who ministers, it is likewise applied to presbyters and bishops, and even to the apostles themselves. From the history given in the Acts of the Apostles, no conclusive evidence appears that in the apostolic Church there was more than one order of ministers, aside from the apostles.⁴ While there is a variety of terms, these are neither clearly defined nor are the duties easily determinable. This was in harmony with the existing conditions of religious activity and devotion, and is entirely analogous to other institutions in the incipient stages of their organization. Not until the second century is the term deacon used with absolute precision of reference and function.

Nevertheless, when Irenæus⁵ marks with definiteness this term, he also insists that the order instituted by the apostles was identical with that of his day. The almost uniform traditions sustain this view, while the Latin Church, in deference to the apostles' institution, long restricted the number of deacons in a single church to seven. At a later period, when the organization of the Church had become more formal, the original functions of "the seven" were more clearly limited to the deacons, until the institution of hospitals, almshouses, orphanages, etc., transferred to others the services at first assigned to them.

The qualifications for this office, as enumerated by Paul (1 Tim. iii, 8, *seq.*), are just of that nature to fit them for ministering with the church in most familiar relations, to ascertain and relieve the wants of the poorer members with delicacy, appropriate reticence, and freedom from temptation to avaricious greed. It is noticeable that gravity, honest words, temperance, unselfishness, probity in themselves and in their households, and an honest faith outrank "aptness to teach," which in the context is said to be an indispensable qualification of the presbyter or bishop.

¹ While Luke does not call the seven "deacons," the word was evidently derived from *διακονία*, the distribution of alms, which was their original function.

² Acts i, 24; 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. vi, 4; Eph. iii, 7, *et al.*

³ Chrysostom: *Hom.* 1 in Phil. i, 1, *et al.*

⁴ Neander: *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁵ Irenæus, i, 26, 3; iii, 12, 10.

There is abundant evidence that this office, first instituted in Jerusalem in a church composed almost exclusively of Jewish converts, was also widely adopted by churches of Gentile origin. At Corinth and Rome, likewise in the societies of Asia Minor, are met those "helps," ἀντιλήψεις (1 Cor. xii, 28), and "ministrations," εἶτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ (Rom. xii, 7), which were the peculiar duty of the deacons.¹ The office seems to have been generally recognized, although there are intimations that it was not regarded as absolutely indispensable.² A little later in the apostolic period is noticed a further provision for the more complete oversight and care of the poor. "The strict seclusion of the female sex in Greece and in some Oriental countries necessarily debarred them from the ministrations of men; and to meet the want thus felt it was found necessary at an early date to admit women to the diaconate. A woman deacon belonging to the church of Cenchræ is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.³ . . . Again passing over an interval of some years we find St. Paul, in the First Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. iii, 8, *seq.*), about A. D. 66, giving express directions as to the qualifications of men-deacons and women-deacons alike."⁴

Thus it is seen that to the deacons and deaconesses was assigned primarily the duty of ministration to the poor, and the oversight of the temporal affairs of the Christian societies, yet the deacons retaining, as in the case of Stephen and Philip, the right to teach and baptize.⁵ "The deacons became the first preachers of Christianity; they were the first evangelists, because they were the first to find their way to the homes of the poor. They were the constructors of the most solid and durable of the institutions of Christianity, namely, the institutions of charity and beneficence."⁶ Of all the offices of the Church the diaconate seems peculiarly Christian in conception and origin. The attempts to derive it from the synagogue⁷ have proved unsatisfactory. The peculiar exigencies of the early apostolic Church com-

¹ v. Lightfoot: *The Christian Ministry*: in *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, 8th edition, London, 1885, p. 191.

² v. Titus i, 5, *seq.*

³ Chap. xvi, l. Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, ὅσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, id.

⁵ Acts vii: viii, 35-40.

⁶ Stanley: *Christian Institutions*. New York, 1881, pp. 210, 211.

⁷ Vitrings: *de Syn. Vet.*, p. 885. *seq.*, especially insists that the deacon of the Christian Church finds its suggestion in the chazan of the synagogue.

pelled its institution. It was almost entirely independent of all then extant models and precedents, and in nature and function was original and unique.¹

To their humbler work of the administration of charities were united, in the case of some, at least, certain spiritual functions. Stephen, a Hellenist, "with a remarkable depth of historical perspective," shocked the narrow exclusiveness of the orthodox Jews by clear intimations that the temple might not remain the center of the national worship, but that the principle expressed by Christ to the Samaritan woman might be an accomplished fact in the history of the favored people (John iv, 21-23). His powerful preaching precipitated a crisis, and the disciples "were scattered abroad" by the persecution that followed. Another of the seven, Philip, exhibited his broad catholicity of spirit by preaching to the Samaritans and to the Ethiopian eunuch. His baptism of the latter also illustrates the nature and importance of the functions of the diaconate. Added to distribution of alms for the relief of the poor, the work of preaching the Gospel and the administration of baptism are here connected with the work of a deacon.

The dispersion which resulted from the persecution after the martyrdom of Stephen, and the large accessions of believers through preaching of the Gospel in other parts of Judea, in Samaria and in Syria, compelled a new order of supervision. Prior to this scattering abroad the distinction between a simple congregation of believers and a church had not been recognised. It was but natural that the new societies should, in their order and management, be modeled after the parent church. Moreover, in Jerusalem and the adjacent districts there seems to have been a method of supervision and government somewhat similar to that which later obtained in the cathedral churches of other great capitals, and in the suburban societies. No sooner does news come to the apostles of the acceptance of the Gospel in any part than a delegation is sent to make examination, to direct the work, and confirm the believers in the truth (Acts vii, 14, *seq.*; xi, 22, *seq.*).

This fact assists to answer the question: how far the different

¹ In this view Neander, Baumgarten, Schaff, Baur, Renan, Lightfoot, and others substantially agree. Böhmer supposes that "the seven" had been elders; and with him Ritschl agrees: *Altkath. Kirche*, 2te Aufl., ss. 353, *seq.* Lange holds that from "the seven" the two orders of deacons and of elders were afterward differentiated. v. *Apostolische Zeitalter*, Bd. ii, ss. 73, 539, *seq.* This is also the opinion of Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 111.

societies of Jewish Christians were thenceforth unified in what may properly be called "the Church." A careful study of all the circumstances attending these visitations will impress us that the various societies were, to a large degree, united in ^{There was a} spirit, life, doctrine, and government. The apostles had ^{union.} an oversight and care of these as well as of the mother church in Jerusalem. This is manifest from their sending Barnabas to confirm the disciples at Antioch (Acts xi, 22). True, no definite proof is found in the history that this union was legal, formal, or expressed through the appointment of officers, or by the adoption of a formal constitution; but the conduct of the Apostles during their visitations shows that by virtue of their own personal character, of the authority derived from Christ in their first call to be the leaders of his Church, and of a common spirit that animated all believers, there was a unity of the various societies into ^{The Church} a virtual Church.¹ It is remarkable that the historian ^{first organized.} says (Acts ix, 31): "So *the Church, ἡ ἐκκλησία*, throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, had peace, being edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, was multiplied."²

The second stage in the development of the organization of the Church is further marked through the occupancy by ^{James—his of-} James of the chief place at Jerusalem. While the ^{see.} apostles were absent upon their missionary journeys, proclaiming the Gospel of the kingdom, or visiting the new communities that had believed, he became their mouthpiece or vicar. His personal character, as brother of the Lord, gave to his leadership dignity and authority which were generally recognised by the churches of Samaria, Judea, Galilee, the Phenician coasts, and by the congregations of the Dispersion. While he is never in the Scriptures called a bishop, and while there is no evidence of his special ordination to this office, his functions seem to have been very similar ^{similar to the} to those of the bishops of the following century; he is, ^{later bishop.} therefore, sometimes recognised as the first bishop of Jerusalem.³ At other times, however, he appears as a member of a council with

¹ Compare Rothe: *Op. cit.*, ss. 278, *seq.*, and Lechler: *Op. cit.*, ss. 86-91.

² The preponderance of authority is certainly in favor of *ἡ ἐκκλησία* rather than *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*. The New Version adopts the former as the true text.

³ Rothe: *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, s. 271. Lightfoot: *The Christian Ministry*, in *Com. on Phil.*, p. 197. Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, etc., London, 1886, p. 60. "It is possible his position may have 'adumbrated' the episcopate, or even have done something toward paving the way to it." "But it is more probable that he owed this to his personal character."

the apostles and presbyters, of commanding influence, but with no official character.¹

§ 2. *Presbyters and Bishops.*

In the apostolic Church are found other officers called indifferently *πρεσβύτεροι*, presbyters, or elders, and *ἐπίσκοποι*, bishops, or overseers. This office pertained to local congregations, and was ex-

First pertained
to local socie-
ties.

tended as the churches multiplied under the preaching of the apostles, prophets, and evangelists. In distinction from the deacons, both "presbyter" and "overseer"

were terms in common use by the Jewish church, by the heathen municipalities, and by the religious clubs, which were numerous

Presbyters
common to
Jewish and
Christian soci-
eties.

throughout the Roman Empire. While the record is silent, it is nevertheless probable that peculiar exigencies of the Church called for the institution of the

presbyters, as had been the case in the choice of "the seven." They first come into prominence on the scattering abroad of the disciples, and the withdrawing of the apostles from Jerusalem, in consequence of the persecution following the death of Stephen. In the absence of apostolic advisers, a body of presbyters is associated with James to give direction to the affairs of the Church. The manner in which they are mentioned in Acts xi, 30 (*τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*) indicates a class of officials well known and established, and their connection with the reception of gifts for the poor, in the opinion of some, allies their duties with those of the deacons.² They come into greater prominence in Acts xv, 2, in association with the apostles. These, with the "brethren," constitute the council to which Paul and Barnabas, and the other messengers from the society at Antioch, refer the questions respecting circumcision. They unite with the apostles and the Church (*σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*)

A council.

in sending delegates to Antioch and other churches, who should bear the decision of the council (Acts xv, 22, 23). When Paul visits Jerusalem for the last time, he betakes himself to James, the president, where he finds all the elders assembled (Acts xxi, 18, *seq.*).

¹ Neither Acts xii, 17, nor xv, 13-21, furnishes positive proof of the presidency of James, much less of a distinctively episcopal function. Acts xxi, 18, *seq.*, and Gal. i, 19; ii, 9, point somewhat more clearly to an official position. Hegesippus, among the very earliest of the writers of the second century, does not call James a bishop, but represents him as sharing with the apostles the government of the Church at Jerusalem. Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 23, 24. v. Lechler: *Das apostolische u. das nach-apostolische Zeitalter*, 3te Aufl., s. 83. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, ss. 417, *seq.*

² This is one ground for Ritschl's opinion, already referred to, that from "the seven" and their functions both the future diaconate and elderate were differentiated. v. *Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, s. 358.

The presbyters already appear as the representatives and directors of the society at Jerusalem. Since their original function was chiefly oversight or government, the Jewish Christian congregations found in the Jewish synagogue a model which they readily adopted, and the Gentile churches found in the *ἐπίσκοπος* of the religious clubs an officer very similar in authority and function. It was his duty to care for the general order and preside at public deliberations. Nevertheless, it is manifest from various passages in the Acts, as well as from the epistles, that the whole Church participated in such deliberations, and sanctioned the decisions. In the various Jewish communities of the Dispersion, to which the apostles first betook themselves in the preaching of the Gospel, "there existed a governing body of elders whose functions were partly administrative and partly disciplinary. With worship and with teaching they appear to have had no direct concern. For those purposes, so far as they required officers, another set of officers existed. In other words, the same community met, probably in the same place, in two capacities and with a double organization. On the Sabbath there was an assembly, presided over by the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* or *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, for the purposes of prayer and the reading of the Scriptures and exhortation; on two other days of the week there was an assembly, presided over by the *γερονσιάρχης* or *ἀρχοντες* or *πρεσβύτεροι*, for the ordinary purposes of a local court. Each community, whether assembling for the one class of purposes or the other, appears to have been in most cases independent. . . . Consequently, when the majority of the members of a Jewish community were convinced that Jesus was the Christ, there was nothing to interrupt the current of their former common life. There was no need for secession, for schism, for a change in the organization. The old form of worship and the old modes of government could still go on. . . . There is no trace of a break in the continuity; and there is consequently a strong presumption, which subsequent history confirms, that the officers who continued to bear the same names in the same community exercised functions closely analogous to those which they had exercised before; in other words, that the elders of the Jewish communities which had become Christian were, like the elders of the Jewish communities which remained Jewish, officers of administration and discipline." ¹

The entire society had part in the deliberations.

A double function.

Each congregation independent.

The presbyters officers of administration.

The fact that the Jewish Christians regarded themselves as only a sect within the Jewish church cannot be too much emphasized.

¹ Hatch: *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 59-61.

They only recognised Jesus as the Messiah, and were awaiting the time when all should receive their King, and Christ should return to set up his universal reign. The more thorough examination of all the hopes and expectations of the Jewish Christian societies, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, leads to the belief that they looked upon their provisions for a special service, the care of their own poor, and the maintenance of order and regularity in their assemblies as something merely temporary, or as a means of influencing the whole chosen people to unite themselves with the new kingdom which was soon to be established.¹

The function of this body of Christian presbyters being at first like that of the Jewish presbyters in the synagogue, they must be regarded as an advisory board, whose decisions were looked upon with respect, and whose care for the congregations was official. Nor is there evidence that each ruled over a separate congregation, or over a section of the same congregation, without associates. The monarchical type of government which appeared at a later date does not accord with the genius of the apostolic age. The elders constitute rather a free deliberative body, which more resembles the meetings of the councils in the republics of early Greece. While no evidence exists that they or any other class monopolized the right of spiritual teaching and edification, they nevertheless so far directed it that it might be saved from confusion, and not degenerate into license or into the inculcation of false doctrine. Thus, while the apostles and evangelists were doing their work for the whole Church, the deacons and the body of presbyters became the instrument for the government of local societies, and for the regulation of its teaching, its worship, and its charities. The *χάρισμα διδασκαλίας* being of only transient utility, the more permanent and regular provision was necessary.

Nevertheless, the teaching function is clearly recognised as pertaining to this office. Especially after the rapid spread of the Gospel subsequent to the death of Stephen, when the apostles were no longer able to superintend the work in person, nor give direct instruction, the need of special and careful teaching by the elders was felt to be of chief importance. Doubtless the customs of the synagogues had direct influence in the appointment of the presby-

¹ Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 93. This author says with regard to the seeming contradiction of this view in the fact of the fierce opposition of the Jews to the Christians, "The sundering of the band binding them to the theocracy was at first regarded as only possible, next as desirable, and finally as necessary." ss. 93, 94.

ters in the Christian societies. Just as there was no distinct line of demarkation between the ordinary members of the synagogue court, whose chief function was oversight and watchcare, and the learned members, wise men and scribes, who, in the time of Christ, had come to form a pretty well-defined class, but each did that for which his peculiar gifts or training best fitted him, so in Christian congregations, chiefly of Jewish origin, there was no sharp distinction between the teaching and governing function, but a large liberty was recognised, only that it be exercised in obedience to that wise law of spiritual economy inculcated alike by both the foremost apostles: "According as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." "But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal, . . . but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will" (1 Pet. iv, 10, *seq.*; 1 Cor. xii, 7, *seq.*).

In the later Pauline writings, especially in the pastoral epistles and Ephesians, church officers and their duties are more fully treated than elsewhere in the New Testament. The language of the instructions suggests a more advanced stage of church organization than is implied in the writings of Peter or in the earlier epistles of Paul. The simple associations of the first believers, pervaded by a common spirit, and realizing the truest idea of fellowship, are, in these later writings, instructed as to the character and endowments of their office-bearers and the use of their gifts. The elders are here represented as overseers of the Church, and combine therewith the teaching function; but the distinction between a body of so-called "ruling" elders and of "teaching" elders is not clearly made; the same persons are represented as acting in this double capacity (Eph. iv, 11; 1 Tim. v, 17-19). Nevertheless, among the special qualifications for this office, as enumerated by Paul, is "aptness to teach" (1 Tim. iii, 2; iv, 13-16; 2 Tim. ii, 2, 24; Tit. i, 9, *seq.*); and it cannot be doubted that this function became increasingly important after the death of the apostles had deprived the Church of authoritative living teachers, and when the prediction of Paul respecting heretical doctrines had been sadly fulfilled (Acts xx, 29, 30).

The origin of the presbyters in those churches which were composed chiefly of Gentile converts is not so manifest. It has been suggested that it was spontaneous, and at first independent of Jewish influence. In the Græco-Roman world the two elements peculiar to the Jewish system of synagogical government, namely, a council or committee, and

Presbyters
in Gentile
churches.

seniority, were widely recognised. "Every municipality of the empire was managed by its curia or senate. All associations, political or religious, with which the empire abounded had their committees of officers. It was, therefore, antecedently probable, even apart from Jewish influence, that when the Gentiles who had embraced Christianity began to be sufficiently numerous in a city to require some kind of organization that organization should take the prevailing form; that it should be not wholly, if at all, monarchical, nor wholly, though essentially, democratical, but that there should be a permanent executive consisting of a plurality of persons. . . . So strong was this idea (respect for seniority) that the terms which were relative to it were often used as terms of respect without reference to age. In the philosophical schools the professor was sometimes called *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*."¹

It must not, however, be forgotten that, during the missionary activity of Paul and his associates in founding the churches which afterward were very largely composed of Gentile converts, the first believers, constituting the germ of these churches, were Jewish Christians, to whom the government of the synagogue was entirely familiar. When it is further considered how carefully Paul, in his extensive journeys, provides for the spiritual oversight of the churches, for the discipline, and for the general administration of their affairs; how he appoints elders in the churches of Pisidia and Lycaonia, in Ephesus, Thessalonica, Philippi, Rome, and Colossæ; how he declares to Titus that the chief reason of his being left in Crete was to "set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city" (Tit. i, 5), the conclusion is almost inevitable that the Jewish synagogue system must have had a very marked influence on the organization of the Gentile churches.

§ 3. *Essential Identity of Bishops and Presbyters.*

The essential identity of presbyters and bishops in the apostolic age is a matter of well-nigh absolute historic demonstration. "They appear always as a plurality or as a college in one and the same congregation, even in smaller cities, as Philippi. The same officers

of the church of Ephesus are alternately called presbyters and bishops. Paul sends greetings to the bishops and deacons of Philippi, but omits the presbyters because they were included in the first term, as also the plural indicates. In the pastoral epistles, when Paul intends to give the qualifications for *all* church officers, he again mentions only two, bishops and deacons, but uses the term presbyters afterward for

Arguments.

Schaff's summary.

¹ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64.

bishops. Peter urges the presbyters to "tend the flock of God, and to 'fulfill the office of bishops,' with disinterested devotion and without lording it over the charge allotted to them. The interchange of terms continued in use to the close of the first century, as is evident from the epistles of Clement of Rome (about A. D. 95), and still lingered toward the close of the second."¹ This is substantially the opinion of the most thorough students of the apostolic history.²

The reason of the use of two terms for persons having the same essential functions has given rise to much discussion. **Why two terms?** With those who hold to the diversity of the offices the use of two terms is but natural and necessary. To those who regard these offices as identical, in the apostolic age, the reason for this double designation seems important to discover.

Two general suggestions have been made: 1. The term *πρεσβύτερος*, presbyter, has been claimed to be of Jewish derivation, and to have been used at first only by Jewish-Christian congregations. In communities where a Christian church had **First theory.** sprung from the bosom of the local synagogue, and was, therefore, chiefly under the control of Jewish tradition and thought, the term presbyter, which was the name of the governing body of the synagogue, would be naturally transferred to officers of similar function in the Christian societies.³ It is likewise true that the term 'bishop,' *ἐπίσκοπος*, is used to designate one of like official duty in the churches of almost exclusively Gentile origin. Nevertheless, the term presbyter was used by these same congregations, and at a somewhat later date it was applied to the members of that governing body over which the bishop presided.⁴ 2. A second theory is

¹ Schaff: *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1884, vol. i, p. 493. He cites the following: Acts xx, 17 and 28; Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 1-13; v, 17-19; Tit. i, 5-7; 1 Pet. v, 1, 2; Clem. Rom.: *Ad. Cor.*, cc. 42, 44.

² v. Among others, Neander: *Op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93. Rothe: *Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, s. 176, et al. Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-99. Baur: *Hist. First Three Centuries*. Stanley: *Op. cit.*, chap. x. Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lects. iii, iv. Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, pp. 110, 111. Kraus: *Real-Encyclopædia der Christ. Alterthümer*, art. "Bischof." Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, ss. 637-641. W. says that they were not absolutely identical; all bishops were presbyters, but not every presbyter was a bishop. Lechler: *Op. cit.*, p. 577, seq. "The elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, are not mentioned because in the earliest Christian period 'presbyter' and 'bishop' were identical."

³ Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 628, regards this transference of the leadership and government by presbyters from the Jewish church to the Christian at Jerusalem as by no means self-evident, "Keineswegs eine selbstverständliche Sache;" but there is no doubt but that the Jewish Christian societies going out from Jerusalem, as well as the Jews of the Diaspora, had a presbyterial constitution. s. 629.

⁴ Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, 194.

that the bishop of the Christian Church was analogous in office and function to that of the president of the heathen fraternities or clubs. One chief duty of this officer was to administer the funds of the society, and to be a medium of communication between the members who might be widely separated. Christianity was established just at a time when poverty was widespread throughout the Roman world, and when government and society were in a condition of fearful strain. What the state could or would not do for its subjects must be done by themselves through association for mutual succor and relief. The fraternities were numerous and influential. Their professed objects were various; but into most of them there entered both a charitable and a religious element. To administer the funds of these organizations became a matter of primary importance, and the officer charged with this duty was termed an *episcopus*.¹

The peculiar environment of the first Christian believers compelled like provision for the exercise of systematic charities. Most of the early disciples were of the poorer class; and many more, upon profession of the Christian faith, became outcasts from their families and homes. The strict morality of the Christian teaching and the severity of discipline compelled the abandonment of trades which before had been highly lucrative, and thus a measure of systematic aid must be furnished by the fraternity of believers. The widow, the orphan, and the stranger journeying in foreign parts must have issued to them certificates of membership, or letters of commendation,² on whose authority they were admitted to the sacred mysteries, and received assistance and encouragement. The importance of this administration cannot be overrated, and it was therefore entrusted to those best fitted by intelligence and unquestioned integrity to superintend the work. According to this view the functions of the early Christian bishop were similar to that of the *episcopus* of the contemporary clubs of the heathen world, in having chiefly to care for the funds and to administer the charities.³

¹ v. Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lect. ii. His argument from the epigraphical evidence is original and striking, if not entirely convincing. *Contra*, v. Gore: *The Church and the Ministry*, Second Edition, London, 1882. v. also Harnack: *Analekten*, in his translation of Hatch. Heinrici: *Erklärung der Korintherbriefe*, i, Leipzig, 1879; ii, Berlin, 1887. Holtzmann: *Die Pastoralbriefe*, Leipzig, 1880.

² The custom of commendation by letters, *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*, is referred to in Acts xviii, 27, and 2 Cor. iii, 1-5. The same practice, dictated alike by affection and by common prudence, also prevailed among the ancient secular fraternities and among the powerful guilds of the Middle Ages.

³ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, Lect. ii.

§ 4. *General Conclusions.*

While the distinction of offices and functions may be ascertained in a most general way, it is manifest that the character and duties of these, during the lifetime of the apostles, were not sharply defined. The peculiar functions of the deacons are at one time assumed by the presbyters, at another by the *ἐπισκοποι*. The cir- ^{Duties not} cumstances determine the behaviour of the different ^{sharply defined.} officers. In the apostolic church are found germs of every order of the ministry, and indications of every form of church government. From these were to come such forms as the peculiar providential environment might most fully develop. At first only those who were endowed with special charisms were entrusted with the direction and government of the Church.¹ The gift corresponding to this function was the *χάρισμα τῆς κυβερνήσεως* (1 Cor. xii, 28).

The elders were charged with teaching, the preservation of the purity of doctrine, the direction of the assemblies of the societies, the oversight of the general secular affairs of the ^{The charisms} churches, the care of souls, the warning and encourage- ^{at first the} ment of individual members, etc. Nevertheless, Paul ^{preparation.} in his letter to the Corinthian church, in which ecclesiastical order and the functions of rulers are discussed at length, nowhere represents these as pertaining to an office, but recognises in them a class of duties which depend upon the possession of special gifts and charisms.² With the exception of his latest epistles to the Philip-
pians, to Titus, and to Timothy, he never mentions deacons, pres-
byters, or bishops. Even when he enumerates the teachers given
by God to the Church, according to their gradations and peculi-
arities, the names of deacons, presbyters, and bishops do not occur.
In so important a church as Corinth there seems to have been no
bishop,³ and it may be reasonably questioned whether in any other
than the latest epistles can be found any mention of the office in
connection with the Gentile church.⁴ In all of his earlier writings he
speaks of gifts and not of offices. From the apostles to the hum-
blest ministers the ruling thought is that of spiritual endowments,
and not of official functions.⁵ So manifest is this in the early apos-

¹ Baur: *Christenthum*, s. 241; Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 362.

² Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

³ Weizsäcker: *Op. cit.*, s. 638. Bunsen: *Ignatius u. seine Zeit*, s. 103. Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁴ Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁵ Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, pp. 104, 105. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 347. Heinrici: *Kirchengemeinde Korinths u. die religiösen Genossenschaften der Griechen in the Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1876, s. 478.

tolie Church that the function of teaching was not confined to the presbyters or bishops, but extended to the laity as well, and in cases of extreme necessity the latter could administer baptism and celebrate the eucharist.¹ Even in the writings of John the bishop is still a minister of the society and not a church official, and there is no evidence of a distinct ordination or confirmation to a distinctively episcopal office.

Aside from the statements found in the New Testament, the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is about the only contemporary authority.² In this letter the distinction between bishops and presbyters is no more clear than in the canonical Scriptures, and these offices and their duties are generally noticed as synonymous.³ No priestly authority or function is delegated to them. They are in the strictest sense ministers and stewards appointed to teach, to preach, and care for the discipline and charities of the local churches. No irresponsible or sovereign authority is attached to their office, but the body of believers is the real depositary of power.⁴

Nor is there a trace of the subordination of one bishop to another, any more than in the apostolic college a primacy, aside from personal character and influence, is found. While in the pastoral epistles (v. 1 Tim. v, 17, 19, 20) there seems to be a slight tendency to centralization, and the idea of a special office is somewhat more clearly developed, it may, nevertheless, be regarded as historically certain that prior to the destruction of Jerusalem the officers of the Church and their functions were not fully differentiated, but, on the contrary, a great diversity of practice and a plastic condition of church government were prevalent throughout the empire.

¹ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 117-119. "In regard to baptism there is no positive evidence, but there is the argument *a fortiori* which arises from the fact that even in later times . . . baptism by an ordinary member of the church was held to be valid," etc.

² The chronology of the *Adaxh* is not so satisfactorily determined as to make it a strictly original authority for the history of the apostolic church.

³ v. cc. 42-44.

⁴ Bannerman: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Church*, Part vi, chap. iv, seems too strongly to insist on a settled and fixed ecclesiastical system in the Corinthian church during the second period of apostolic Church history. Such condition of this church in a distinctively presbyterial form of government is demonstrable neither from the Pauline epistles nor from the letter of Clement of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF
JERUSALEM TO IRENÆUS.§ 1. *Influence of the Death of the Apostles and of the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

SUCH seems to have been the condition of the Church and of church government for the first forty years after the Ascension. The death of the apostles, and especially the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, were most momentous events in the history of Christianity.¹ They were scarcely less transforming to the Christian than to the Jewish church. If the Jewish polity was thoroughly destroyed and the hope of a temporal supremacy perished, the separation of Jewish-Christian from Gentile-Christian churches, which had before been so prominent, largely disappeared.

Importance of
the destruction
of Jerusalem.

During their lifetime the apostles had been the jealous guardians of the purity of Christian doctrine and the defenders of Christian discipline. There had been a general acquiescence in this apostolic authority, and the extraordinary spiritual enlightenment conferred upon the body of believers had measurably saved them from the destructive influence of the heresies which afterward threatened not only the unity but the success of the Church. The destruction of the sacred city hastened the consummation of what had been felt by all parties to be a pressing need; namely, the union of the individual societies into a firm, compact organization in the Christian Church. This event emancipated the disciples from the burdens of the Jewish ceremonial; it revealed Christianity to the pagan world as an independent religion; it completely fused the hitherto inharmonious Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian elements;² it scattered believers still more widely throughout the Roman world.

Scattered the
apostles.

But when the original preachers and defenders of Christ's gospel had been removed, the heresies which were lying latent, or had been checked in their first beginnings by the watchful administration of the apostles, soon began to

Emancipated
the Church
from Jewish
prejudices.

¹ For a striking popular statement of the effects and the probabilities see Renan: *Hibbert Lectures*, Boston, 1880, III Conference.

² Rothe: *Op. cit.*, ss. 340-343; Ewald: vii, 26.

assert themselves more vigorously, and to draw away multitudes from the Church. The lack of apostolic guidance was now felt to be a most serious privation. The absence of an authoritative interpretation left each teacher free to attach to the Scriptures, and especially to the instructions of the apostles, the meaning which best accorded with his own peculiar dogmas. The instinct of self-preservation compelled a readjustment of ecclesiastical supervision and government. From the closing years of the first century new principles are recognised, and influences before hardly noticeable become prominent. While during the lifetime of the apostles there had been a ministry of Christ's own institution, in the second century the distinction between clergy and laity is more manifest; the priestly function, which before had pertained to the entire body of believers, becomes circumscribed;¹ the duties of the deacons and presbyters are more clearly defined; the existence and prerogatives of the bishops as a distinct order become more generally recognised. Admission to a sacred order is now gained by the solemn rite of consecration or ordination. There are now found in the Church *ordines majores* and *ordines minores*, each having a more clearly defined function.

Thus in the brief interval between the death of the apostles and the middle of the second century the idea of the Church had undergone important transformations, and the orders and duties of its officers had become subjects of clearer definition. The believers on Christ passed from the condition of individual congregations to that of an organized Church.

§ 2. *The Ignatian Episcopacy and its Effects.*

Ignatius is the earliest writer who develops this new notion of church order and discipline. He defends the essential unity of the Church, to maintain which obedience to the doctrines and authority of the bishops is necessary. Look to the bishop that God may also look on thee.* Plainly we should

¹ The idea of the universal priesthood of believers did not wholly disappear. Indeed, it is rigorously asserted by Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.*, iv, 8, § 3). The Montanists were most strenuous in their advocacy of this doctrine, and Tertullian (*De Eschort. Cast.*, c. 7; *De Bapt.*, 17) affirms that it is the authority of the Church alone that has created the distinction between laity and clergy. Even the high-church Cyprian uses expressions which suggest that the body of believers is the true source of ecclesiastical authority (ep. 41, 8). The mode of the election of Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, and others in the fourth century illustrates the power of the laity.

* *Ad Polyc.*, cc. 5, 6.

regard the bishop as we regard the Lord himself.¹ Be subject to the bishop and to one another, as Christ to the Father, in order that there may be unity according to God among you.² Without the bishop let no one attempt any thing in the Church. Let that sacrament be accounted valid which is under the direction of the bishop or one whom he has appointed. Without the bishop it is not permitted either to baptize or to celebrate the agape.³ Where the bishop is, there is the congregation, as where Christ is, there is the catholic Church.⁴ This strong characterization of the episcopacy is in most direct contrast with the spirit of the New Testament teaching. Yet it is likewise to be observed that the episcopacy of Ignatius is strictly congregational. The bishop has no authority outside of and beyond his individual congregation, in which alone he is the vicar of Christ, as well as an equal to every other bishop of every other congregation: no trace of subordination or primacy appears in these epistles.

Nevertheless, Ignatius distinguishes the bishops from the presbyters, inasmuch as the former are the successors of Christ, while the latter, on the contrary, are the vicars of the apostles.⁵ The institution of the bishops is, according to his view, not the work of the apostles, but a commission, ἐντολή, or grace, χάρις, of God, while the presbyters owe their origin to the decree or sanction, νόμος, of Jesus Christ.⁶ Inasmuch as the episcopacy connects the individual churches with the Church universal, at whose head Christ stands, it thereby becomes the organ of church unity.⁷ In nearly all these letters of Ignatius the threatening dangers to the Church from the current heresies are revealed. They contain warnings, exhortations to concord, and to a close affiliation with the bishops, the presbyters, and the deacons, since thus alone can the unity of the Church be best maintained.⁸ Yet Ignatius plainly teaches that while the congregation should undertake nothing without the bishop, no more should the bishop without the will of God. The ordinances of the bishop are valid only so far as they are accordant with the divine will.⁹ Nevertheless, from the very nature and

¹ *ad Ephes.*, c. 6.

² *ad Magnes.*, c. 13.

³ *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

⁴ *Ep. ad Philad.*, c. 3, 7; *Smyrn.*, c. 8, 9, *et al.* v. also Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., 2te Ausg., Tübingen, 1860, ss. 277-279.

⁵ *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8; *ad Ephes.*, c. 2; *ad Polyc.*, c. 6.

⁶ *ad Magnes.*, c. 2.

⁷ *ad Philad.*, c. 3; *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

⁸ *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

⁹ Compare especially *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8, and Rothe: *Op. cit.*, s. 445; Uhlhorn: *Ueber die Ignatianischen Briefe*, in *Ilgens Zeitschrift*, Bd. 21, s. 282. Ritschl: *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1857, s. 455; and best of all, Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers: Part ii, St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*.

dignity of the episcopate, it, before all other offices, lays claim to obedience on the part of the societies.¹

§ 3. *The Clementine Homilies.*

As we pass from the Ignatian epistles to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which were probably written from fifteen to twenty years later, there is a yet stronger claim for the dignity and authority of the bishop's office. The episcopacy of these writings is of the high monarchical type. The bishop has power to bind and loose. He stands in the place of Christ;² the presbyters and deacons are subordinate to him.

Here, too, the episcopate is represented as the succession to the apostolate, and the bishops are the guardians and depositaries of the apostolic doctrine. As usual in Ebionitic writings,³ James is the bishop of bishops,

¹ The importance of the testimony of Ignatius is manifest from the protracted controversy respecting the genuineness and integrity of his writings. Scarcely less earnest than that over the genuineness and authority of the Gospel by John, the Ignatian question still remains an open one. An important literature has resulted from these scholarly researches. There are three versions of the writings of Ignatius, namely: 1. The longer Greek recension, consisting of seven epistles and eight additional ones. 2. The shorter Greek recension, referred to by Eusebius, consisting of seven epistles. 3. The Syriac version, discovered in a monastic library in the Libyan desert in 1839-1843, containing but three of the seven epistles of the shorter Greek recension, and these in very abbreviated form. Of the first it may be said that the added eight epistles are now regarded as forgeries. Respecting the second and third the scholars are divided. The Tübingen school reject the entire Ignatian literature as spurious; another class accept only what is common to the shorter Greek and to the Syriac recensions; while the tendency to-day is to hold to the genuineness of the shorter Greek recension and to regard the Syriac version as essentially an extract from the older Greek. The most satisfactory examinations and defence of the shorter Greek recension are Zahn: *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873; also his *Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulae Martyria Fragmenta*, in the *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Fasciculus ii, Lipsiæ, 1876; Uhlhorn: Article "Ignatius," in 2d ed. of Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*; and Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers: Part ii. St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, London, 1885. Lightfoot formerly accepted the Syriac version, but in this later work regards the shorter Greek version as defensible. The importance of this controversy appears from the different grounds of the bishop's authority in the two later recensions. In the Syriac version his exercise of leadership and discipline is derived solely from his personal worthiness; according to the shorter Greek recension, by virtue of his office alone the bishop has the power to exercise priestly teaching and ruling functions. In the Greek recension the will of the bishop has unconditional validity, while in the Syriac his will must harmonize with the divine will in order to claim obedience.

² *Ep. ad Jacob.*, c. 14, hom. iii, 62.

³ This expression is here used, notwithstanding the opposing views of able critics. Like much of the early Patristic literature, the *Clementines* have given rise to much

ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐπισκόπων,¹ to whom even Peter is subordinate, and Jerusalem is the capital of Christendom. In the pseudo-Clementines is first met the expression, "the chair or seat of the bishop," καθέδρα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, which denotes the high dignity of the bishop and his relation to the presbyters, so changed from the New Testament idea. To the bishop specially belongs the promulgation of doctrine, while to the presbyters is assigned the preaching of ethical truths.² The duty of Church discipline is so divided that the bishop and the presbyters exercise judicial functions, while the deacons are charged with the duty of careful scrutiny of the conduct of the members. The bishop exercises rule over the society and is arbiter of doctrine, while the presbyters are his assistants in the maintenance of moral conduct. The care for the poor is shared by the bishop and the deacons. In the opinion of the writer, the purpose of the institution of the episcopate was the restoration of the unity of the Church, and the reconciliation of the conflicting parties. This reconciliation was to be effected by the triumph of the Ebionite party, whose peculiar views of the episcopacy became at last predominant in the Christian Church.³ The conception of the episcopacy common to the Ignatian epistles and pseudo-Clementines is that the bishop is the vicar of God and Christ. The same substantial unity existing between God and Christ is the relation which exists between the bishop and Christ; for as Christ is the hypostatic will of God, so should the bishop be the hypostatic will of Christ.⁴

§ 4. *The Shepherd of Hermas and Polycarp.*

The Shepherd of Hermas and the epistle of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, belong to a date intermediate between that of the Ignatian epistles and the pseudo-Clementines. These are important as illustrations of the principle that not only the episcopate but the entire polity of the Christian Church was a development out of the peculiar needs of the times. In the "Shepherd" mention is made of apostles, bishops, doctors, and deacons. While the term doctors is somewhat obscure in import, the

Distinction between lay and clerical.

varied controversy and the results have not proved entirely satisfactory to any parties. The candid statement of one of the most scholarly of these investigators, after a criticism of the different opinions, seems entirely truthful. "Undoubtedly the questions of the *Clementines* need even yet a further discussion." v. Ullhorn: Article "Clementinen," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. iii, s. 286.

¹ *Ep. ad Jacob.*, suprascription.

² *Ep. ad Jacob.*, Hom. iii, 65.

³ v. especially Baur: *Ursprung der Episcopate*, Tübingen, 1838, ss. 122, 148, et al.

⁴ v. Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., s. 283.

bishops are no longer identical with the presbyters, and the lay function is distinct from the clerical.¹

Polycarp's letter falls in just that period when a number of Philippian churches had preserved their autonomy, and hence the development of the monarchical episcopacy was yet incomplete. There are evidences of a vigorous organization, and the officers of the Church are recognised as clothed with authority to exercise their functions; for he strongly exhorts the believers to be obedient to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ, *ὡς θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ*.²

From the manner in which the term presbyter is here used, it has been argued that Polycarp recognised the identity of bishops and presbyters.³ By some this passage has been construed to teach "the supreme oversight of the presbyters in all matters of administration,"⁴ while others have from it inferred the absence of bishops from the Philippian church.⁵ Whatever may have been the facts, it seems certain that in the teaching respecting the exalted position which is assigned to the bishop there is not yet found the conception of a church office in that specific sense which later obtained. When, therefore, in the Ignatian epistles the expression is met,

No catholic
Church yet
existing.

"where the bishop is found there is the congregation, even as where Christ is there is the catholic Church," there is manifestly wanting to the idea of the catholic

Church an element which was supplied in the next century, namely, that of unified doctrine. In the absence of this factor there could properly be no officer of the catholic Church, and in the writings of the first half of the second century the bishop bears only the character of a ruler of the congregation. Nevertheless, by the extension of this office over all congregations, the episcopate becomes the instrument of the unification of the Church.

This was to be effected both by correspondence between the societies, and by conferences or synods of the bishops themselves. The first was only in imitation of the custom of the apostles, and was a most natural means of fostering the spirit of unity and of conserving a common doctrine. The catholicity of the Church was further

Church letters.

promoted by giving certificates of Church membership or commendation, *γράμματα τετυπωμένα*, to those who were travelling into foreign parts, by means of which the bearer was admitted to the sacraments and privileges in other societies. They were also proofs, *γράμματα κοινωνικά*, of the agreement and fellowship of the bishop who gave, with him who received them.

¹ *Pastor*; Vis. iii, 5, 6.

² *Epist. ad Phil.*, c. 5.

³ v. especially Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 402; Hase: *Kirchengeschichte*, s. 42.

⁴ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁵ Bunsen: *Ignatius*, s. 109.

Added to all this was the custom of each society to inform every other of all important affairs of its communion, and of each bishop to publish to every other bishop the fact of his election and consecration, that he might in turn receive the assurance of their approval and coöperation.

It has already been seen that the apostolic Church recognised no priestly function or authority on the part of its ministers of any kind or grade. The New Testament teaching that the whole body of believers are priests unto

No priest recognised by the apostles.

God, and that one alone, Christ, is the Highpriest, making offering of himself for the sins of the world, is clear and unquestioned (1 Tim. ii, 5; Heb. iii, 1; v, 10; ix, 11, *et al.*). This continued until after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. That epoch-making event marks the introduction into the Christian Church of two new ideas which were familiar alike to Judaism and to the Gentile-Christian churches; namely, the idea of an offering or sacrifice, and the idea of a priesthood. These correlative notions were not foreign to the Gentile-Christian congregations. They had been converted from a religious system which was thoroughly acquainted with the thought and practice of sacrifice, and of a priesthood whose functions included the care of the offerings. The smoking or garlanded altar, the procession leading the victims, and the officiating priests, were most familiar sights in

Rise of sacerdotalism.

every province of the Roman Empire. True, this priestly function in the Church was not that strong and complete sacerdotalism which was victorious in the following century; but the references to the priestly office of the bishop are now more frequent. While not exclusive or absolute, it is evident that even the partial and limited recognition of the priestly office of the bishop may be regarded as among the most important facts in the history of Church government and worship in the second century. The effect was to limit the spiritual authority of the presbyter. While he might baptize, yet the complete endowment of faith rested with the bishop; the bringing of the eucharistic offering was only by episcopal sanction; the institution of the clergy by ordination, and the confirmation of the baptized, were the exclusive prerogatives of the bishops. They were entrusted with the oversight of the

Its effects.

clergy; they were the shepherds of the flock, who were to teach the ignorant, lift up the fallen, and punish the incorrigible.

The presbyters were the governing body or council; teaching was at first not their necessary or even usual function. The Clementine writings make a distinction between doctrine and morals—the bishop teaching the former, the presbyters enforcing the latter. The

archaic document, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which seems to be firmly placed in the first, or early part of the second century (95-130), speaks of a more simple condition of things. Yet the representations of the functions of Church officers are not in contradiction with those already described. The apostles and prophets are only itinerant preachers who are to tarry but a day or two in a place, to receive sustenance, but not money, except for general charities. The genuineness of the apostle's teaching function is to be judged by his conformity to his own doctrines.¹ The Church is instructed to appoint for itself² bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and sincere (*ἀληθεῖς*) and tried. Such are worthy of honour for their works' sake.

The view of
"The Teach-
ing."

§ 5. *The Form of Government.*

The ecclesiastical government which generally prevailed by the middle of the second century was that of the independent congregation, governed by a college of presbyters, whose president was the bishop, and whose servants or ministers were the deacons. Each congregation had, therefore, its separate bishop, its own governing body, its ministering servants, and its private members. At each gathering every element of this congregation was theoretically present,³ and the whole body were the depositary of power and authoritative government. The presence of a bishop in each congregation explains how at first the teaching power of the presbyter was limited, and the celebration of the sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist was practically confined to the bishops, although the presbyter had from the first the right to baptize, and probably, also, the authority to celebrate the eucharist.⁴

The change of opinion respecting the endowments required in an office-bearer is important to mention. As before said, in the apos-

¹ v. Chap. xi, "But not every one who speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord. . . . And every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not that which he teacheth, is a false prophet."

² v. Chap. xv. The expression *χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους*, etc., is variously translated. If this writing is earlier than the middle of the second century, the term *χειροτονέω*, in agreement with its general meaning in the New Testament, in Josephus, and in the Ignatian epistles, should be translated "appoint." But if it is believed to belong to the third century, the word would naturally follow the changed meaning in the "Apostolic Canons" and in the "Apostolic Constitutions," and be translated "ordain by laying on of hands."

³ v. Hatch: *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁴ This certainly is the view maintained a little later by Tertullian in the Montanistic controversy.

tolie Church men held office and performed duties by virtue of certain spiritual gifts, or charisms. The body of believers honoured and obeyed them because of these gifts, which were believed to be bestowed by the Spirit for definite purposes. About the middle of the third century, however, the office is no longer tenable by virtue of these charisms alone, but rather the charism is a natural consequence of the induction into office. ^{The charism a result of the office.} Ordination comes not in consequence of the spiritual gift, but the gift is imparted in the act of ordination. This radical change in the conception of ordination was a consequence of the prevalent idea of a priesthood.¹ The clergy has assumed the prerogative of mediation between God and man, and has become the channel of salvation through the dispensation of the sacraments.²

Another important change noticed near the close of the second or the beginning of the third century is in the method of ^{The choice of} the election of bishops. Previously the bishop had been ^{bishops.} chosen by the people and approved by the presbyters;³ now the neighbouring bishops, in connection with the presbytery, nominated the candidate and the people gave their assent; but even this degenerated into a mere right of protest against those who were regarded as improper candidates.⁴ A like change is observed in the method of ordination. In the first century this was performed by the apostles or their representatives, associated with the presbyters of the congregation over which the bishop was to preside; but in the second century the episcopate, as the depositary of spiritual gifts, was summoned to the consecration of the individual bishops. The earlier participation of the presbyters in this ordination was gradually lost in all the churches except the Alexandrian.

The diocesan episcopate was certainly a matter of development. The question of its origin has been much debated. It ^{The episcopacy a development.} can with confidence be said that no other than a congregational episcopacy is met before the middle of the second century. A society embracing but a single city is the realm of the authority of the early bishop, and he was so thoroughly identified with this single congregation that his removal to another could be allowed only in rare and exceptional cases.

To the question, What was the relation of the bishops and their

¹ Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 394, *et al.*

² Gieseler: *Kirchengeschichte*, 4te Aufl., Bd. i, ss. 228-233. Hagenbach: *Dogmengeschichte*, 5te Aufl., s. 157.

³ Even Cyprian recognises this right. "Plebs ipsa maximam habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi."—Ep. 68. v. Rheinwald: *Die kirchliche Archæologie*, s. 31.

⁴ Ep. 67, cc. 4, 5.

congregations or dioceses to each other? it may be answered: In the second century these possessed and maintained a general autonomy or independence. But this could not be absolute. This has already been noticed in the case of nomination and ordination. The severe pressure of foes from without, and the threats of heretical teachers from within, compelled a closer union of the various congregations for mutual protection against both these dangers. This resulted in a kind of synodical or confederated authority, by which the purity of doctrine and life might be guarded and the heretical and incorrigible be excised. While the essential autonomy of the congregations had not been infringed, the synodical authority was justified on the ground of defence against a common danger. In this college the Bishop of Rome. Bishop of Rome had already, in the second century, assumed special prominence, so that it became a recognised principle that the individual bishops should be in harmony with the Bishop of Rome on all questions of doctrine and discipline. At the close of the century, Victor "was the first who advanced those claims to universal dominion which his successors in later ages have always consistently and often successfully maintained."¹

The changes which the presbyterate underwent during the first century are most interesting and important to notice. Change in presbyterial power. The gradual increase in the prerogatives of the bishops necessarily diminished the authority and dignity of the presbyterial body. Its former significance had been lost. Moreover, the deacons had claimed many privileges which before had belonged to the presbyters. Not until near the beginning of the third century were their prerogatives regained, when the deacons were placed in strict subordination to the presbyters. The distinction which was afterward so prominent is already beginning to assert itself. While presbyters, as well as bishops, administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, they do it by a different authority. The bishop acts upon an original and independent authority; the presbyter upon authority derived from the sanction or permission of the bishop. So with preaching, reconciliation of penitents, confirmation of neophytes, consecration of churches, etc. The right to ordain seems to have been very rarely, if ever, conceded to the presbyters in the second century.²

¹ Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

² Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. ii, chap. iii. The exceptions urged by others in the practice of the Alexandrian Church are understood by Bingham to refer to election, and not to ordination. This view, however, has been gravely questioned, and is by some regarded untenable.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION FROM IRENÆUS TO THE ACCESSION OF
CONSTANTINE.§ 1. *The Theory of Irenæus.*

THE circumstances of the Church toward the close of the second century were peculiar. Fearful persecutions had visited some of the provinces, and some of the most prominent leaders had sealed their faith by a martyr's death. Its internal state was no more assuring. The prediction of Paul that after his departure "shall ^{Peculiar conditions of the Church.} grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts xx, 29), had been fulfilled, and his exhortation to Timothy "to shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness" (2 Tim. ii, 16), had already been shown to be urgently needed. Teachers had arisen who, by wrenching the Scriptures from their natural and appropriate meaning, had constructed systems no less fantastic and paradoxical than they were disturbing to Christian faith and corrupting to Christian morals. The system of allegorical interpretation which, through the school of Philo, was powerful at Alexandria, had become wide- ^{The Gnostic threats.} spread through the influence of the Gnostic teachers. Whether this phenomenal manifestation is best accounted for from the syncretism of Jewish and Christian thought with Greek speculation,¹ or whether, like the orthodox societies themselves, the Gnostics, by consulting the Greek mysteries, sought a practical end,² the danger which they brought to the very life of Christianity was real and fearful. While each party recognised the fact that Christianity had originated with Christ and was promulgated by his apostles, and also that they had left certain authoritative teachings which must be heeded, nevertheless each laid claim to personal freedom in the interpretation of this teaching, and was ^{Divisions.} ready to attach to the words of Christ and of his apostles the meaning which was most accordant with its own opinions. Thus was the Church of Christ no longer an organism, such as had been so vividly portrayed by Paul (1 Cor. xii, 12-27; Eph.

¹ v. Joel: *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte, Excursus II, Die Gnosis*, Breslau, 1880.

² v. Weingarten: in Von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. xlv, 1881.

iv, 25), knit together by faith in one common doctrine and compacted by a common life, but the teaching of Gnosticism plainly resolved Christian doctrine into a confused conglomeration of human opinions, and Church government and ordinances into matters of individual caprice. Hegesippus vividly pictures the condition of things. From these (the various Gnostic sects) Testimony of
Hegesippus. sprang the false Christs and false prophets and false apostles who divided the unity of the Church by the introduction of corrupt doctrines against God and against his Christ.¹

Irenæus, also, is powerful in his portraitures, and unsparing in his denunciation of false teachers. His apprehension Irenæus's testi-
mony. for the safety of the Church is conspicuous throughout his entire treatise.² All the energies of his vigorous nature seem enlisted in this effort to throttle the foes who were threatening the life of the Church, and to settle its doctrine upon firm foundations.

What, then, is the principle which Irenæus recognised and maintained in the controversy with the Gnostic sects? and The principle
of Irenæus. what influence did this exert upon the constitution of the Church? The answer to the first is easily found in the writings of Irenæus himself, and is so often reiterated that we cannot be in doubt respecting it. In the midst of the conflict of opinions arising from the freedom of individual interpretation of the Scriptures, he maintained that the supreme and only standard of Christian teaching was that which was given by the apostles to the churches in their day. This teaching of the different apostles was essentially harmonious, and was authoritative throughout the Christian world during their lifetime. "We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation than from those through Harmony of
apostolic teach-
ing. whom the Gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and, at a later period, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be 'the ground and pillar of our faith' (1 Tim. iii, 15). . . . For, after our Lord rose from the dead, they (the apostles) were invested with power from on high, when the Holy Spirit came down, were filled from above and had perfect knowledge; they departed to the ends of the earth preaching the glad tidings of good things from God to us, and proclaiming the peace of heaven to men, who indeed do all equally and individually possess the Gospel of God.³ It is within the power of all, therefore, in every church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles mani-

¹ Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, 22.

² *Adversus Hæreses*: Last edition by Harvey, Cambridge, 1857, 2 vols.

³ *Adversus Hæreses*, iii, 1, 1.

fested throughout the whole world.”¹ But to whom did the apostles commit this only and authoritative doctrine, and by what means has it been handed down to Irenæus’s time uncontaminated by error and in all its integrity, so that himself and his adversaries alike can rest in it as the word of Christ? To the bishops of the churches which were founded by the apostles; and by them it has been handed down in an unbroken line of succession to his day. He then appeals to Rome, the best known and most influential Church of the time, whose episcopal succession he traces with greatest care. He also mentions the well known church of Smyrna, which had had a succession of most illustrious men whose teachings had been heard by those with whom Irenæus and many of his contemporaries had conversed.²

The bishops
the depositaries of apostolic
teaching.

A regular suc-
cession.

This teaching is, then, the one unchanging rule of faith, *regula fidei*, preserved by an infallible tradition, through an unbroken succession of bishops from the apostles. Irenæus maintains that the episcopacy is the true depositary of the apostolic tradition, and that this tradition is the sure ground of doctrinal unity and authoritative teaching in the Catholic Church.³ Hence we find that attempts were now made to construct lists of bishops in the various churches, especially in Rome, in order to establish this continuity.⁴ To confirm this historic argument was added the statement that to guard the bishops against error they were endowed with a special gift. “Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters in the Church, . . . who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, *charisma veritatis*, according to the good pleasure of the Father.”⁵ “Where, therefore, the gifts, *charismata*, of the Lord have been placed, there it behooves us to learn the truth, from those who possess the succession of the Church which is from the apostles,” etc.⁶ Such, then, is the principle which he defended. With him both Hegesip-

Compilation of
lists.

¹ Id., iii, 3, 1.

² Id., iii, 3, 3, 4; iii, 4, 1; iii, 5, 1, *et al.*

³ Id., iv, 26, 1, 2; v, 20, 2.

⁴ These catalogues are divided into two general classes, characterized in a broad and general way as the Greek and the Latin. The first includes the lists which are found in the second century, largely those of Hegesippus and Irenæus; and in the fourth and following centuries, those of Eusebius and his successors. The second class embraces the lists of Augustine, Optatus of Mileve, of the *Catalogus Liberianus*, *Catalogus Filicianus*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the various early *Martyrologies*. These catalogues are not in agreement respecting the succession of the early Roman bishops, about which there is great uncertainty. Nor are the modern critics of these catalogues, as Duchene, Harnack, Waitz, Lipsius, and others, any more in accord on this very difficult problem.

⁵ Id., iv, 26, 2.

⁶ Id., iv, 26, 5.

pus and Tertullian are in substantial agreement.¹ The manifest effect of such a theory upon the constitution and government of the Church was to magnify the relative importance and authority of the bishops. They to whom were entrusted truths so invaluable, and upon whom were bestowed such extraordinary gifts, must be reckoned among elect ministers, whose persons were of superior sanctity and whose words were of the nature of divine messages. "The supremacy of the bishop and unity of doctrine were conceived as going hand in hand, . . . the bishop's seat was conceived as being what St. Augustine calls it, the 'cathedra unitatis;' and round the episcopal office revolved the whole vast system not only of Christian administration and Christian organization, but also of Christian doctrine."² The earlier opinion, that the Church, as such, had been the heir of the truth and doctrine of the apostles in so far as it retained the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, maintained its hold on many minds, and even Irenæus and Tertullian in their earlier writings are imbued with this thought. But in his later writings Tertullian teaches that the bishop holds his office by virtue of inheritance from the apostles, and both Calixtus and his opponent, Hippolytus, insist upon their succession from the apostles by virtue of which alone they have preserved Christianity in its original purity.³

§ 2. *The Influence of Cyprian.*

In the third century the constitution of the Church was further developed by the labors and writings of Cyprian, who may be regarded as the foremost exponent of the ecclesiastical and episcopal sentiment of his age. The principle of the unity of doctrine and of authoritative teaching is pushed still farther than by Irenæus, Hegesippus, and Tertullian. With Cyprian the unity of the Church is absolutely identified with that of the episcopate. The principle of the episcopacy is not only the apostolic succession, but much more the bestowment upon the bishops of the Holy Ghost; so that the unity of the Church is secured by a double means, namely, a direct and unbroken succession from the apostles and the communication to all bishops alike of a common spirit. Where this spirit is vouchsafed, there the unity of the Church must necessarily be secured, for in its presence diverse opinions and teachings must be impossible. "There

¹ Tertullian: *de præscr. Hær.*, c. 21. Communicamus cum ecclesiis apostolicis, quod nulla doctrina diversa, hoc est testimonium veritatis.

² Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp 98, 99. Baur: *Christenthum*, etc., ss. 284, 285.

³ v. Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1886, Bd. i, ss. 295-97.

is one God, and Christ is one, and there is one Church, and one chair founded upon the rock by the word of the Lord. Another altar cannot be constituted, or a new priesthood made except the one altar and the one priesthood."¹ Each bishop must be of the same mind as every other bishop; in the episcopate no individual exists for himself, but is only a member of a wider organic whole. "And this unity we ought firmly to hold and assert, especially those of us who are bishops who preside in the Church, that we may also prove the episcopate itself to be one and undivided. . . . The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole."² But in the development of the idea of unity Cyprian passes beyond his predecessors in that he regards this unity as proceeding from one determinate point—the chair of St. Peter. While the other apostles were of like honor and authority with Peter himself, nevertheless to Peter Christ first gave power to institute and show forth this unity to the world.³ The chair of St. Peter is the foremost Church whence priestly unity is derived,⁴ and the same unifying power must be recognised as in every one who has occupied the same chair. Outside the one Church the sacraments are unavailing, although administered by the regular formula and in proper mode. "For as, in that baptism of the world, in which its ancient iniquity was purged away, he who was not in the ark of Noah could not be saved by water, so can he neither appear to be saved by baptism who has not been baptized in the Church which is established in the unity of the Lord according to the sacrament of the one ark."⁵

With the idea of apostolic succession is connected the rule of faith as a mark and proof of the Catholic Church. To the doctrine of an authoritative subjective knowledge, Gnosis, enjoined by a chosen few, Cyprian stoutly opposes the objective norm of faith. Tradition is now elevated to a place of absolute authority. The bishops are the guardians of Church unity. Although the term Catholic Church, *ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, had been first used by Ignatius,⁶ and is found in Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, yet it was used in a sense quite different from that found in Cyprian. Not until his time can we properly speak of a Catholic Church; since now for the first time is seen the distinction between the acts of a minister of the congregation and the duties of

¹ Ep. 39, c. 5.

² *De unitate ecclesiae*, c. 5.

³ *De unit. eccles.*, c. 4; Ep. 73, c. 11. Unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit.

⁴ Ep. 54, c. 14. Cathedra Petri est ecclesia principalis unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.

⁵ Ep. 73, c. 11.

⁶ *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

an officer of the Church Catholic. The society or congregation is properly the logical antecedent, the necessary condition of an office therein. But, contrariwise, when the office and the officer are held to be the logical antecedent, and the congregation can only there be found where the office and the officer are already existent, then first can there strictly be said to be an office and an officer of the Church Universal. So that in the third century the bishop is no longer, as before, regarded as the representative of a specific congregation or society, but of the universal Church; this last term being inclusive of all the congregations, as the genus includes under it all its species. According to this view the congregation and its entire officary would have ecclesiastical validity only through the bishop. Nevertheless, since there now exists a complete harmony of the mind and will of Christ with the collected body of bishops, every expression of the will of every bishop in this totality of the episcopate must harmonize with the divine will. Only thus can any bishop assume to exercise direction or authority in the Church of Christ. For the assumption of a prerogative so arrogant, a special charism is imparted in the rite of ordination. To the Montanistic view, that the Holy Spirit reveals added truth to each individual, was opposed the teaching that the Spirit and the Church are inseparably connected. The Church finds the fact of its existence and unfolding in the Spirit, and the Spirit finds the organ and means of his manifestation in the Church. To the vague and arbitrary claim that each man was specially enlightened, and was, therefore, prepared to teach new truth, was opposed the consensus of teaching of the one holy Catholic Church which had been saved from error by the Holy Spirit.¹

By the gift of the Holy Spirit in ordination the mind and will of the bishop are brought into harmony with the mind and will of Christ, and he receives thereby authority not only to teach but to bind and loose;² thus becoming the source of all valid Church discipline and government. The bishops are the successors of the apostles, and, therefore, by virtue of a vicarious ordination, have the power to remit sins.³ Every truly ecclesiastical act is of the nature of a divine law, since it is suggested and dictated by the Spirit vouchsafed to the bishop in the rite of ordination. "No bishop, no Church," is the real teaching of this father.⁴

¹ Baur: *Das Christenthum*, etc., ss. 296, 297.

² v. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 582; Baur: *Op. cit.*, ss. 296-300.

³ Ep. 74 (75), c. 16. With Cyprian schism and heresy are absolutely identical.

⁴ v. Ep. 66, c. 8. Scire debes, episcopam in ecclesia et ecclesium in episcopo, et si qui cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse.

The various bishops exercise but one office in common; notwithstanding the division into dioceses, they represent the unity and totality of the Church.¹

§ 3. *The Sacerdotal Principle.*

The sacerdotal character of the episcopacy, as we have before intimated, had been mildly asserted prior to the third century. Yet probably not even Irenæus can be claimed as teaching more than a moral priesthood, and this not limited to any single order in the Church. Nor can the frequent references of Tertullian² to a sacerdotal office be understood as pertaining to the clergy alone, much less to the bishops. Indeed, this able presbyter is positive in his assertions that a Church may exist without the presence of the clergy, and that in their absence laymen may baptize and celebrate the eucharist by virtue of their being members of Christ's universal Church, all of whose members have become "kings and priests unto the Lord."³ Quite similar views are held by Origen. At most his sacerdotalism goes no further than in supposing that the priestly character and function of the clergy are not an original and necessary endowment of this order, but rather it is derived from the congregation, which, for the time being and for purposes of ecclesiastical order, has delegated to the bishops its own indefeasible right. The office-bearers of the Church represent in themselves the character and religious privileges of the entire body of believers; "the priesthood of the ministry is regarded as springing from the priesthood of the whole body."⁴

Growth of sacerdotalism.

At first the priesthood of the clergy comes from the priesthood of the entire Church.

But by Cyprian a new and most important phase of the sacerdotal question is developed. From his time the bishop is truly the priest, and the separation between clergy and laity is real and significant. All the duties and prerogatives that pertained to

Cyprian's view.

¹ *v. de unitate ecclesiæ*, c. 5. *Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*

² *De Exhort. Cast.*, c. 7; *de Baptismo*, c. 17; *de Præscr. Hæres.*, c. 41, *et al.*

³ "The sacerdotal conception of the ministry is not found in Ignatius, in Clement of Rome, or Clement of Alexandria, in Justin, or in Irenæus, or in any other ecclesiastical writer prior to Tertullian." *v. Fisher: The Beginnings of Christianity*, p. 553.

⁴ In this there was a very close parallelism to the priestly notion (compare Exod. xix, 6; Lev. xx, 26; Deut. xxxi, 19, with 1 Pet. ii, 5 and 9; Rev. i, 6; v, 10) as it was originally conceived in the Jewish Church. *v. Bähr: Symbolik d. mosaischen Cultus*, Bd. ii, ss. 11-22. "Was das Volk im weiten, grossen Kreise, das ist der Priesterstand im kleinern, engern, besonderern Kreise; in ihm concentrirt sich demnach die religiöse Würde des gesammten Volkes; alles was dieses zukommt ist ihm in höherem Grade und darum auch in vollere Masse eigen." s. 13.

the Aaronic priesthood he devolves upon the Christian ministry, and all the threats of punishment and disaster uttered against the Jews for their disobedience to their priests Cyprian likewise makes to apply to all who are disobedient to the ministers of the Christian Church.¹ The effect of this triumph of the sacerdotal principle will appear when we come to treat of the sacraments, their nature and import.

Whether this result was due to the influence of Jewish-Christian or of Gentile churches is still a matter of debate. Lightfoot decides for the latter: "Indeed, the

hold of the Levitical priesthood on the mind of the pious Jew must have been materially weakened at the Christian era by the development of the synagogue organization on the one hand and by the ever-growing influence of the learned and literary classes, the scribes and rabbis, on the other. The points on which the Judaizers of the apostolic age insist are the rite of circumcision, the distinction of meats, the observance of the Sabbaths, and the like. The necessity of a priesthood was not, or at least is not, known to have been a

part of their programme. . . . But, indeed, the overwhelming argument against ascribing the growth of sacerdotal views to Jewish influence lies in the fact that there is a singular absence of distinct sacerdotalism during the first century and a half, where alone on any showing Judaism was powerful enough to impress itself on the belief of the Church at large.

"It is therefore to Gentile feeling that this development must be ascribed. For the heathen, familiar with the auguries, lustrations, sacrifices, and depending on the intervention of some priest for all the manifold religious rites of the state, the club, and the family, the sacerdotal functions must have occupied a far larger space in the affairs of every-day life than for the Jew of the dispersion, who, of necessity, dispensed and had no scruple in dispensing with priestly ministrations from one year's end to the other. With this presumption drawn from probability the evidence of fact accords."²

We have before said (*v. p. 343*) that the destruction of Jerusalem was powerful in modifying the prevailing Jewish sacerdotal notion; yet Lightfoot's reasons are very important. It is probably true that neither branch of the early Church was unfavourable to this thought, after the warm religious feeling of the apostolic Church had somewhat subsided. One sure result of a spiritual declension is to diminish the feeling of individual worth and responsibility, to magnify forms, and delegate to others duties which were before regarded as personal.

Moreover, the reasons already given for a more thorough and

¹ Ep. 54, 64, 68.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

Was it of Jewish or pagan origin?

Lightfoot's opinion.

compact ecclesiastical organization after the middle of the second century would apply with equal force to the question of the origin of sacerdotalism in the Christian Church. A centre of organization would soon carry with it peculiar prerogatives, and unity of doctrine and government would imply an authority to interpret and enforce this unity. This official class would naturally seek for all possible sanctions for the exercise of such extraordinary powers, and to regard these as divinely bestowed was entirely consonant with the historical development of Judaism and of the heathen religions.

In answering the question of the source of this principle, it is however, of first importance to study the opinions of the Christian fathers themselves. It might be expected that in the varied and extensive writings of men by whom the sacerdotal notion was first sanctioned and defended the references to a Gentile origin might be frequent. Thoroughly conversant with heathen customs and religious rites, as well as with profane literature and civil law, and converted to Christianity in mature life, Tertullian and Cyprian were the men best acquainted with the origin of the priestly notion, and with the source of the change which passed upon the ecclesiastical polity from the close of the second to the middle of the third century. Yet in the writings of neither of these eminent fathers is there an intimation that the sacerdotal principle was suggested by Gentile customs. On the contrary, they uniformly derive their notions of the character, and enforce the authority, of the clergy by examples from the Jewish Church and from the prerogatives of the Aaronic priesthood.¹ From these considerations it may be fairly inferred that in the Jewish economy, as well as in the religious customs with which the Gentile converts were entirely familiar, the sacerdotal principle in the Church of the third century found its origin and sanction.

§ 4. *The Apostolic Constitutions.*

Another class of writings illustrating the nature and development of the early Church government are the "Apostolic Constitutions."² The first six books, probably belonging to the latter half of the third century, are plainly Jewish-Christian in their spirit and teaching. A strong likeness to the pseudo-Clementine homilies is everywhere noticeable. The episcopate is very strongly emphasized. The bishop is the vicar of the unseen Lord Christ, and is to

¹ v. for Cyprian, ep. 61, c. 4; ep. 67, c. 3; ep. 72, c. 8, *et al.*

² v. edition of P. A. Lagarde, Leipzig, 1832; also the critical discussions and estimates of Drey: *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitut. u. Kanones d. Aposteln*, Tübingen, 1832; and Bickell: *Geschichte d. Kirchenrechts*, Giessen, 1843.

exercise leadership and watch-care until the Lord shall come again.¹

A divine state. The Church is regarded as a divine state, in which the bishop exercises the highest functions of judge, prophet, and priest. His judicial power in civil matters is supreme.² By virtue of complete knowledge conferred by the Holy Spirit he becomes the infallible prophet and teacher; to him, as high-priest, exclusively belongs the right to arrange the services of divine worship, and to be the spiritual director of the flock.³ With him rests the original authoritative rule of faith as given by the apostles. These writings give minutest directions respecting ordination. This must

Ordination, how effected. be conferred by three bishops at least; only in case of extreme need is the work of two regarded as canonical. The act of ordination does not, however, as in the opinion of Cyprian, confer upon the candidate special spiritual gifts.⁴ The sacerdotal character of the episcopacy is even more pronounced than in the writings of Cyprian. In these writings the constitution of the Church and the character of its government are those of a thoroughly unified, closely compacted, and widely recognised organization, in which are found nearly all the germs of the powerful hierarchy whose influence was so controlling for nearly a thousand years.

Thus in the process of two and a half centuries the constitution of the Church underwent several important changes. The origin and cause of these are at times veiled in deep obscurity. The great paucity of evidence, both documentary and monumental, the doubt attaching to the genuineness and integrity of some of the writings which have survived, and the great difficulties of their interpretation give occasion for the honest maintenance of different theories.

Affected by its environment. But a careful examination of the history justifies the conclusion that these changes were effected more by the peculiar influences incident to the propagation of a new religion than to either a directly divine institution or to a set purpose on the part of the Church leaders. The ecclesiastical organization which we find at the beginning of the fourth century is but a natural outcome of the peculiar forces which pressed upon the Church

Church government a development. from within and from without. A compact unity of both doctrine and discipline for self-defence comported with the idea of an office and officer who should thoroughly embody that unity in himself, and who should be prepared for the high responsibility of maintaining this unity through direct inspiration of knowledge and purity by the Holy Spirit.

¹ Const., ii, 20.

² Id., ii, 11, 45 53.

³ Id., ii, 27, 33; iii, 10.

⁴ Id., viii, 4, 5.

CHAPTER V.

THE OFFICES AND OFFICERS OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

§ 1. *Origin of Episcopacy.*

FROM this examination it will appear less surprising that different opinions have been entertained respecting the origin of the episcopacy. Three general theories Its origin. have been urged with great ability by their respective advocates:

1. Episcopacy is of apostolic origin. The apostles chose and ordained men to be their true and lawful successors as teachers and governors of the Christian Church. These First theory. men were clothed with like authority and endowed with like spiritual gifts as the apostles themselves in order to preserve intact the teachings and spirit of Christ, who instituted the apostolate. The advocates¹ of this theory urge the following considerations: 1.) The position of James, who stood at the head of the Church of Jerusalem. 2.) The office of the assistants and delegates of the apostles, as Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphroditus, Luke, etc., who in a measure represented the apostles in specific cases. 3.) The angels of the seven Asiatic churches, who, it is claimed, were of the rank of bishop. 4.) The testimony of Ignatius presupposes the episcopate as already in existence. 5.) The statement of Clement of Alexandria that John instituted bishops after his return from Patmos; also the accounts of Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome that the same apostle nominated and ordained Polycarp as bishop of Smyrna. 6.) The traditions of the churches of Antioch and Rome, which trace their line of bishops back to apostolic institution and keep the record of an unbroken succession. 7.) The almost universal and uncontested spread of the episcopate in the second century, which it is conceded by all cannot be satisfactorily explained without the presumption of at least the indirect sanction of the apostles.²

2. It originated in the so called household societies or congrega-

¹ This is the view of the Greek Church, and is embraced by most of the Roman Catholics and the High Anglicans. It is also advocated by Bunsen, Rothe, Thiersch, and a few other Protestant scholars.

² Abridged from Schaff: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 135-139. Rothe is the most able modern defender of this theory.

tions. The following considerations are urged by this school: 1.) It is well known that in the more important cities single families gathered in the house of a well known disciple, and thus were formed the so called family societies or churches (*ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκον*). 2.) The foremost person among the disciples thus banded together was called to extend his patronage or protection to the society thus formed. This family patronage is mentioned in the Scriptures,¹ as well as in the letters of Ignatius.² It seems to have been quite generally recognised at Rome, and there are clear intimations of its prevalence at Corinth.³ Afterward, when these family churches, over each of which such patron presided, were united into one congregation, a college of presbyters or patrons would thus be formed, to whose president was given the title of bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*. In this manner the episcopate originated.⁴

3. A third theory has been well formulated as follows: "The episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."⁵ In other words, the episcopate, as a distinct office, was of post-apostolic origin, was not a distinctively divine institution, and therefore not an office necessary to the existence of the Christian Church. It was the result of peculiar circumstances, a development from the needs which the early Church felt for unification of government and doctrine, and for the more careful oversight and administration of its charities. The facts urged by the advocates of this theory are: 1.) The almost universally conceded identity of bishops and presbyters in the writings of the New Testament. 2.) This identity of terms continues to the close of the first century, and even into the second; at least there is no clearly conceived difference, and they seem to be used interchangeably or very loosely. 3.) From the first century down to the beginning of the third it was the custom of the influential Church of Alexandria to recognise twelve presbyters. From this number the body elected and consecrated a president, to whom they gave the title of bishop. They then elected one to take his place in the presbyterial body. It is also probable that to the

¹ Rom. xvi, 14, 15; 1 Cor. xvi, 19.

² *Ad Ephes.*, c. 6, 8, 13, 20; *ad Smyrn.*, c. 1, 2, 7, 8, *et al.*

³ 1 Cor. i, 16; xvi, 15, 19.

⁴ For the influence of these house or family societies upon the development of ecclesiastical architecture, v. bk. i, ch. vi. This is substantially the theory of Baur, Kist, Weingarten, Heinrici, Hase, and others. v. especially Baur: *Über den Ursprung des Episcopats*, ss. 85, 90, 107, *et al.*

⁵ Lightfoot: *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

end of the second century the bishop of Alexandria was the only bishop in all Egypt.¹ 4.) Jerome distinctly affirms that the Church was originally governed by a body of presbyters, and that the bishop was elected at a later period to secure unity of doctrine and government. In other words, it was a prudential measure and not a divine institution.

§ 2. *The Presbyters, Deacons, Deaconesses, etc.*

The effect of the efforts of Irenæus and Tertullian to secure a unified and authoritative doctrine, *regula fidei*, and of Cyprian, Calixtus, and Hegesippus to realize the idea of "a holy Catholic Church," through the supervision of bishops who should exercise their prerogatives by virtue of an unbroken succession from the apostles, necessarily conferred upon the episcopal office a dignity ^{Duties and prerogatives.} and an importance before unknown. The difference between them and the body of presbyters and the deacons became more distinct, and the duties and prerogatives of each were more sharply defined and carefully guarded. The division of the Church into clergy and laity became more positive than before. The clergy are now priests to serve at the altar, to minister for the people. But both clergy and laity are alike subject to the authority of the bishop. Cyprian had also the energy to enforce these provisions.

The rights which all members of the Church had enjoyed in the first and early part of the second century were, under Irenæus and Cyprian, largely ignored, and in the times after Cyprian the constitution of the Church more and more disallowed the claims of the laity to a participation in government. These ^{Limitation of rights of the laity.} privileges of private members were curtailed to almost the same degree as the influence of the bishops increased.² The laity could be present at the assemblies of the church, and could approve any decision which had been reached by the presbyterial council. But this was only a matter of form, and their failure to approve was not of the nature of a veto, since the prevailing theory was that the presbyterial council was under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, and hence that its conclusions were not to be set aside. The presbyters now perform their duties by virtue of being a constituent part of the presbytery. In this association with the bishop they are sometimes called co-presbyters. In one of Cyprian's letters³ they are represented as united with the bishop in priestly

¹ The rapid growth of the diocesan principle is, however, seen in the fact that by the middle of the third century Egypt had more than a score of bishops.

² Otto Ritschl: *Cyprian von Carthago*, etc., Göttingen, 1885, ss. 211, 212.

³ Ep. 61, 3. *Episcopo sacerdotale honore conjuncti*.

honor. This has been cited by some to show his belief in the equality of bishops and presbyters. But this view does not comport with the general teaching and conduct of Cyprian, nor is it in accord with the spirit of the "Apostolic Constitutions." Rather must this and other somewhat similar expressions indicate the priestly character of the presbyters by virtue of their prerogative to bring the offering in the eucharist. This is made more clear from the advice given in case of lapsed or heretical presbyters Functions of presbyters. of who sought readmission into the Church. They were to be received as private members.¹ The presbyters were to officiate at the altar in the absence of the bishop, and they with the deacons were to care for the interests of the Church.²

In case the Church was so widely scattered that its members could not assemble in one place, the presbyters were accustomed to celebrate the eucharist in the distant districts. The priestly power was not held by virtue of their office as presbyters, but because they were the agents and representatives of the bishops. The original functions of the presbyters as rulers were now enlarged, and what had at first been regarded with a degree of jealousy became at the close of the third century ordinary and unquestioned.³ In Cyprian's day the presbyters had an advisory voice in the council. The preliminary examinations and the first bringing of causes before the council were left to their decision. In the third century a special class of presbyters, *presbyteri doctores*, is met, whose duties have given rise to considerable debate. It seems most probable, however, that they were merely teachers of the catechumens and of those who returned from the heretical sects, as at an earlier period they instructed those who passed from heathendom to Christianity.

The office and duties of the deacons underwent like transformations. From ministers for the relief of the poor, and Changes in the functions of deacons. the companions and advisers of the bishop in the administration of public charities, by the growth of the sacerdotal notion they came to be regarded as subordinate to bishops and presbyters, sustaining in the Christian economy the same relation as did the Levites to the priests under the Mosaic.

The rapid growth of the Church in numbers and the multiplication of its charities made direct oversight by the deacons impracticable. They could no longer personally No longer overseers of charities. inspect the individual cases of want and report them to the bishop. Moreover, the founding of asylums, orphanages, guest-

¹ Ep. 72, 2.² Ep. 5, 2.³ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78; O. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 232.

houses, etc., each managed by its appropriate board, materially modified the original functions of the deacons, and reduced them for the most part to the position of subordinate ministers of public worship. Nevertheless, they were conceived as sustaining even closer relations to the bishops than the presbyters themselves. When, therefore, they were constituted a college under a president, known as the archdeacon, this officer became intimately associated with the bishop in the administration of affairs.¹

In the time of Cyprian the deacons manifestly bore the consecrated elements to the confessors who were languishing in prisons, and also aided the bishop in the administration of baptism and of the eucharist. In fine, they seem now to have come to be ministrants to the other orders in the Church.² Thus they are permitted to read the Gospel lesson at the communion service;³ they care for the furniture of the altar in those churches where the inferior officers were forbidden by the canons of the councils to come into the sanctuary; they receive the offerings of the people and present them to the minister at the altar. They are allowed to baptize by the permission and authority of the bishop, but it is evident that this was differently regarded in different churches, some granting and others denying this function to the deacons.⁴

May baptize.

After the Church had accepted the sacerdotal idea of the ministry the right of the deacons to consecrate the eucharist was for the most part denied. Since the eucharist was of the nature of a sacrifice, none but a priest could lawfully offer it; and the priestly character of the deacons was not generally recognised.⁵ By the authority of the bishop they were permitted to preach, and in some instances to read homilies or sermons which had been prepared by distinguished ministers. They were the especial servants of the bishops, often accompanying them as secretaries in their diocesan visits, and on extraordinary occasions became their representatives in the general councils, where, as deputies or proxies, they were permitted to vote on all questions there determined. The disciplinary function of these officers is referred to elsewhere. The age at which candidates were eligible to the office was usually twenty-five. This was afterward fixed by the decisions of councils and by the edicts of emperors. Their number greatly varied in different prov-

Could not celebrate the eucharist.

Special servants of the bishops.

When eligible.

¹ Hatch: *Op. cit.*, pp. 53, 54.

² v. Ritschl: *Op. cit.*, s. 235.

³ *Constit. Apost.*, l. 2, c. 57.

⁴ Tertullian, Jerome, and Cyprian clearly recognise this right; the Apostolic Constitutions and Epiphanius as clearly deny it.

⁵ *Constit. Apost.*, l. 8, c. 28.

inces of the empire, and in different periods of the history of the Church. In some instances there is a very strict adherence to the

The number
seven contin-
ued. original number seven. In the influential Church of Rome this number long continued; in other important churches their number seems to have increased as the necessities of worship and administration required; in St. Sophia and three other churches of Constantinople Justinian allowed one hundred.

The archdeacon was president of the body or college of deacons. The method of his appointment is not always clear. The archdeacon. Probably it was not uniform. He appears to have been

nominated by the bishop and elected by his fellow deacons. While the language of some canons clearly makes it the duty of

How elected. the bishop to appoint his own archdeacon, the manner of such appointment is not indicated. Since this officer was most intimately connected with the bishop, and was, next to him, the most important in the Church, it is not strange that the councils should jealously guard the selection. In all the distinctive functions of his office the bishop relied directly and immediately upon the archdeacon. Hence, in case of the death of a bishop the archdeacon, rather than one

His importance. of the presbyters, was usually appointed his successor.¹ There has been much controversy respecting the character, office, and functions of the deaconesses in the ancient Church.

The deacon-
esses. That an order of women whose duties somewhat corresponded to those of the deacons existed in the early Church is unquestioned. But as to the grounds of eligibility, the question of ordination, the scope of duties, etc., widely different opinions have obtained. It is probable that women of somewhat advanced years, widows who had borne children, were usually chosen; yet it is as certain that young unmarried women were sometimes appointed. Piety, discretion, and experience

Qualifications. were in any case the indispensable prerequisites in candidates. During the first two centuries the Church more carefully heeded the advice of Paul that the deaconess should have been the wife of one husband,² also that the Church should admit to this office only those who had been thoroughly tested by previous trusts, having used hospitality to strangers, washed the saints' feet, relieved the afflicted, diligently followed every good work, etc. (1 Tim.

¹ v. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. ii, chap. xxi.

² The teaching of Paul in this passage is not plain. Whether it is to be taken in its literal meaning, or whether he meant to exclude only those who, after divorce from the first husband, married a second time, is not clear. The latter interpretation best accords with the spirit of the New Testament teaching.

v, 10); but at a later period there was more laxity, and younger and inexperienced women were admitted. The question of their ordination has been much debated. They were inducted ^{Their ordina-} into their office by the imposition of hands; of this ^{tion.} there is abundant proof. This would not necessarily imply the right to fulfill the sacred functions of the ministry. While some of the Montanists allowed women to be bishops and presbyters, their practice was strongly opposed as unscriptural, and Tertullian¹ condemns the allowing of women to baptize as contrary to ^{Did not bap-} the apostolic teaching. Yet it may well be doubted ^{tize.} whether this was the earlier view of the Church, before the sacerdotal character of the ministry had come to be generally recognised.²

The need of such helpers arose from the customs and usages of the ancient world, which forbade the intimate association ^{Their duties.} of the sexes in public assemblies. They were to instruct the female catechumens, to assist in the baptism of women, to anoint with holy oil,³ to minister to the confessors who were languishing in prison, to care for the women who were in sickness or distress, and sometimes were doorkeepers in the churches.⁴

§ 3. *Chorepiscopi, Metropolitans, or Primates, and Patriarchs.*

The centralization of power and the unification of the government under the Roman emperors exerted a very marked influence upon the administration of the Christian Church. The facts that Italy thereby lost its peculiar privileges, and that the freemen throughout the vast empire had equal rights as Roman citizens, were the necessary antecedents to the complete unification of church administration when Christianity was adopted as the state religion. To secure a vigorous government in Italy, Augustus had divided it into eleven regions; and Constantine extended this principle to the entire empire, by forming four pretorian prefectures; namely, of Gaul, of Italy, of Illyricum, and of the East. Each of these was divided into dioceses, and these again into provinces.

In the fourth century the Christian Church accepted these divisions of the empire as useful in its own government; and it is noteworthy that sometimes the ecclesiastical divisions long outlived the political, and became of extreme importance in tracing the civil

¹ *De Baptismo*, c. 17.

² The Montanists were the Puritans of their age. Their protests against hurtful innovations of doctrine and government were vigorous and often just; hence their recognition of the rights of women to minister in sacred things must have been believed to be in accordance with apostolic usage.

³ *Const. Apost.*, l. 3, c. 15.

⁴ *Const. Apost.*, l. 2, c. 57.

history.¹ The patriarchates of the Church corresponded quite closely to the political prefectures, only departing from them territorially to the degree that they might group together peoples of like race and language. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries the patriarchal system became quite clearly defined; giving the patriarchate of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, of Alexandria, and, a little later, of Jerusalem—the last being taken from that of Antioch. The name patriarch was at first confined to the ecclesiastic having jurisdiction over one of these patriarchates; but at a later period this title was more loosely used, sometimes, as in the case of Rome, being extended to embrace all Italy, Gaul, Britain, and most of the Teutonic peoples, while in other cases it was applied to such as had under their supervision a simple see.

Under the patriarchs were metropolitans, each of whom had jurisdiction in a diocese, whose capital city was also the ecclesiastical metropolis. These provinces were in turn divided into episcopal sees or districts, over which bishops had jurisdiction. The extent and importance of these dioceses and districts greatly fluctuated—in southern Europe and in the lands adjacent to the Mediterranean being small in area, while in northern Europe, and in the outlying lands where missionary labours had resulted in founding churches, a district often included an entire tribe or principality.

Thus the ecclesiastical divisions of the empire were suggested by, and corresponded quite closely to, the political. "As in every metropolis or chief city of each province there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every single city, so, likewise, in the same metropolis there was a bishop, whose power extended over the whole province, where he was called the metropolitan, or primate, as being the principal bishop of the province. . . . In like manner, as the state had a *vicarius* in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the Church in process of time came to have exarchs, or patriarchs, in many, if not in all, the capital cities of the empire."² This dependence of the ecclesiastical divisions upon the political is further shown from the fact that as the latter were changed the former experienced like change; and when the question of primacy between two churches in the same province or district arose, it was settled by ascertaining which the state regarded as the metropolis, and conforming the Church thereto. Thus, cities which at one period were no more than single sees afterward became seats of metropolitans and patriarchs, while a former metropolis sank to

¹ v. Freeman: *The Historical Geography of Europe*, second edition, London, 1882, chap. vii.

² v. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Church*, bk. ix, chap. i, p. 342.

the condition of a mere sec.¹ The relations and duties of these several ecclesiastical officers will now more clearly appear.

The existence of Christian societies in the villages and rural districts more or less remote from the city, which was the special diocese of the bishop, rendered it necessary that a special officer should be appointed for their immediate oversight. These were called *chorepiscopi*, τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι,² or bishops of the country. They were the assistants of the bishops in administration. Whether they were simple presbyters or received episcopal ordination has divided the opinion of archæologists. Probably both at times officiated in this capacity; either presbyters directly appointed, or bishops who had been rejected by their dioceses, or had been received again from the number of those who had belonged to a schismatic party.³ They first appear toward the close of the third century in Asia Minor, and are first recognised by the Councils of Ancyra and Neo-Cæsarea in A. D. 314, and by the Council of Nice in A. D. 325. They continued in the Eastern Church until about the ninth century, and in the Latin Church until the tenth or eleventh century. They exercised, at times, most of the functions of the bishops themselves. We find some councils clothing them with authority to ordain all inferior officers in their churches, sometimes even without the permission of the city bishop; but in most instances consultation with the bishop of the city church was expected, and special leave obtained. They had authority to confirm; to give letters of dismissal and commendation to the clergy who were about to remove to other parts; to conduct public divine service in the chief church in the presence of the bishop, or by his permission or request. They are found in the councils, casting their votes on all questions there

¹ Bingham gives the approximate *notitia* of the Church at the close of the fourth century. In the patriarchate of Antioch, corresponding closely with the civil *notitia*, were fifteen provinces, with the same number of metropolitans. In the patriarchate of Alexandria (diocese of Egypt) there were six metropolitans; in the exarchate of Ephesus, ten metropolitans; in the exarchate of Cæsarea, eleven; in the exarchate of Heraclea (afterward Constantinople), six; in the exarchate of Thessalonica, six; in the exarchate of Milan, seven; in the patriarchate of Rome, ten; in the exarchate of Sirmium, six; in the exarchate of Carthage, six; in the diocese of Spain, seven; in the diocese of Gaul, seventeen; in the diocese of Britain, five provinces, with capitals at York, London, and Caerleon. In his final index he gives a list of 185 provinces or metropolitan districts, and 1,560 episcopal sees. Yet it is probable that such lists are far from perfect.

² This seems the more probable derivation.

³ Such instances are mentioned by Socrates: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. 4, c. 7; and were distinctly provided for by conciliary action. *v.* Canon 8 of the Council of Nice.

decided,¹ and exercising every right pertaining to the episcopal members of the synods or councils.

The primate, or metropolitan,² sustained a like relation to the bishops of a province as did the bishop of a city to the chorepiscopi of his country churches. The time of the

Primates.

introduction of this office is not certain. Like most other ecclesiastical provisions it was probably created to meet a felt need in the government and oversight of the churches. While some find its

Time of origin uncertain.

beginning in the prerogatives exercised by Titus and Timothy in the early Church, others as strenuously deny its apostolic origin, and place its beginning as late as the third century. The Council of Nicæa clearly recognises the office as of long standing, and treated it as a venerable institution. Cyprian mentions³ that the bishop of Carthage presided over all the other African bishops, and issued to them mandates. Whether this was indeed the exercise of metropolitan power, or simply has reference to the fact of presidency in the councils, is not very clear. Nevertheless, by the fourth century the metropolitan office is fully recognised, and is regulated in its functions and privileges by the canons of councils.

They were elected and ordained by the bishops of their province.

How appointed.

Their functions were different at different stages of the history of the Church. Their most important duties and prerogatives were to preside at the provincial councils; to provide for and ordain the bishop to a vacant see; to decide questions between the various bishops, or between individual bishops and their

Their duties.

flocks; to assemble synods for the examination of doctrine and the enforcement of discipline; to publish to the churches of their provinces the conciliary decrees, or the edicts of the emperor, by which doctrine and discipline were to be inculcated; to issue letters of commendation to the bishops of their districts, since these were not permitted to journey abroad without such letters; to hear appeals of presbyters or deacons who had been deposed by the bishop of a diocese.⁴

The patriarchs were evidently a class of highest dignity and au-

¹ The subscriptions of the Council of Nicæa clearly prove the presence of chorepiscopi from several provinces, also the subscriptions of the councils of Neocæsarea and Ephesus.

² The distinction between the metropolitan and archbishop is not easy to describe. That they were synonymous has been held by some high authorities, and denied by others. Sometimes they seem to be almost identical, at other periods of the history a plain distinction is made. v. Augusti: *Op. cit.*, bd. i, ss. 201, 202.

³ Ep. 42, *ad Cornelian*; Ep. 40 and 45.

⁴ v. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Church*, bk. ii, c. l. xiv.

thority. During the fourth century the office became quite widely recognised, and was confirmed by the general councils of Constantinople A. D. 381, Ephesus A. D. 431, and Chalcedon A. D. 551. The patriarch sustained to the metropolitans relations similar to those which the latter held to the bishops of sees; hence he was ordained by his metropolitans, and in turn ordained them. He presided at diocesan councils, heard appeals of bishops from the decisions of the metropolitans, communicated to them the imperial edicts or conciliary decrees, censured the metropolitans in case of remissness, etc. Each patriarch was regarded as supreme in his own patriarchate until Rome and Constantinople rose to superior dignity and laid claim to superior authority.

Patriarchs.

Arose gradually.

Duties.

§ 4. *The Sub-orders of the Clergy.*

The shifting conditions of the post-apostolic Church necessitated changes in its constitution and discipline. Whenever the needs were urgent, the Church exerted herself to satisfy them. The principles of Christian prudence and reasonable adjustment, rather than that of divine institution, here governed. As the functions of the chief officers varied according to providential indications, so the wants of the societies led to the institution of inferior offices which were believed to contribute to the convenience or effectiveness of church activities, discipline, or life. The theory that the *ordines minores*, especially the *lectores*, originated by a differentiation of the duties of the diaconate¹ cannot be regarded as resting on firm historical foundations. This prudential principle is seen in the fact that sub-officers are not met with until the third century, when the organization of the churches had become more complete, and then only in local societies whose circumstances are peculiar. It is doubtful whether they appear in the Greek Church before the fourth century. The most important of these inferior officers are:

Providential indications.

1. The sub-deacons,² whose duty it was to assist the deacons, especially in those important churches where the original number seven had been continued. The province of these sub-officers was jealously guarded, so that many of the duties of the deacons were not permitted to them. While ordained,³ they

Sub-deacons.

¹ v. Scherer: *Handbuch des Kirchenrechts*, Grätz, 1886, bd. i, s. 317. Contra, v. Harnack: *Über den Ursprung des Lectorates und der anderen niederen Weihen*, Giessen, 1886.

² It is believed that Athanasius is the first Greek writer who mentions them.

³ They are supposed to be first distinctly referred to by Cyprian, Epist. 8, 20, 23, 29, etc.

were not clothed with authority to aid in administering the sacraments, nor in any case to preach, but their functions were largely manual, sometimes menial.

2. The acolyths, *ἀκόλουθοι*, were at first confined to the Latin Church; no Greek writer earlier than Justinian makes mention of them. The meaning of the term would suggest that they were general servants, but the reception of a candlestick with a taper in it, and an empty pitcher in which to bring wine, on the occasion of their installation, point to the lighting of the churches and the care of the wine for the eucharist as their chief duties.

3. The casting out of devils by prayer and by special gift of the Holy Spirit is mentioned in the apostolic age. Christ says the devils shall be subject to his apostles; yet a wider circle of *exorcists* is implied in the references which are met in the first and second centuries. As a distinct class of officers they first appear in the third century. From the Apostolic Constitutions¹ we should infer that their origin must have been of a later date; yet the more just opinion is that in the third century they were recognised as having a distinct function in the Church. This function was to offer special prayer over the demoniacs, who were kept for the most part in the church, to minister to their physical needs and to effect a restoration.

Other inferior officers who appeared from the third century are the readers, *lectores*, who read the Scriptures from the reading desk, not the altar; the door-keepers, *ostiarii*, who had charge of the entrances, in order to permit no unworthy person to come into the place of worship; the singers, *psalmistæ*,² who cared for the singing of the Church and the training of the choirs for the antiphonal service; the catechists, who were to instruct the catechumens in the first principles of religion, thus fitting them for baptism. This instruction could not, however, be conducted in the public congregation.

¹ l. viii, c. 26.

² It is doubtful whether these appear as a distinct class before the fourth century.

CHAPTER VI.

SYNODS AND COUNCILS, AND THEIR AUTHORITY.

THE council at Jerusalem was the first assembly of the "apostles, elders, and brethren," to decide upon doctrines and polity which were to be accepted by the Christian societies. It is an instructive fact that in this first council are the apostles and elders *with the whole Church*, and that the decisions are sanctioned by the entire body. This is in perfect accord with the general spirit of the apostolic age. The entire body of believers were to be guided by the Holy Spirit into all truth, and they were the depositary of ecclesiastical power. Nevertheless, the meetings for consultation upon matters of general interest were in harmony with what was well understood, not only by the citizens of the Roman Empire, but by all the ancient world. The Achaian, Thessalian, Ætolian, Amphictyonic, and other councils and leagues are only familiar examples of the custom of the ancient cities and peoples to meet for consultation on interests common to all. We find almost precisely the same terms—provinces, dioceses, metropolitans, synods, councils, etc.—used to characterize these assemblies and their members.

The synod of Jerusalem.

After the analogy of civil leagues.

The assertion of the unity of the Holy Catholic Church necessarily carried with it unity of doctrine and government. Reference has already been made to the intimate relations which existed between the different bishops, and the means used to maintain these relations for purposes of preserving the unity of the Church.

Necessary to preserve the unity of the Church.

Hence, after the middle of the second century the assembly of delegates from the societies of a province, for the determination and maintenance of the most important questions, is quite common. They appear in Asia Minor and Gaul. These gatherings, called provincial synods, became quite general in the beginning of the third century, and were generally held at stated times. With respect to these, as to other matters of Church government, there was a gradual decline of the influence and rights of the laity, and a growing power of the clergy. The laity, who were at first important factors of the synodical assemblies, were of little influence after the middle of the

Provincial synods.

Decline of lay influence.

third century; and by the beginning of the fourth, the composition of the councils was restricted to the three orders of the clergy. Among these the influence of the presbyters declined more and more, and the authority of the bishops soon became exclusive and supreme.

A further attempt at preserving the unity of the Church is the extension of the council to include the ecclesiastical authorities of a diocese or a patriarchate. Usually these were convoked by the metropolitan or patriarch, and had reference to interests touching a wider district or territory.¹ In these councils the principle of representation seems to have been recognised to a considerable extent, since the third Council of Carthage, A. D. 398, by its canons provided for the presence of three bishops from every African province excepting Tripoli, which could send but one on account of its small number of bishops.

Of still greater significance were the œcumenical or general councils, which purposed to include in their numbers representatives from the widest possible areas of Christendom. An extraordinary exigency only could lead to the assembly of such body; a widespread agitation as, for example, that resulting from the Arian controversy, or some general interest, was the occasion of its meeting.

The authority to convoke the councils varied with the times and the character of the council itself. When it was of a district, the bishop assembled the elders, deacons, and people; when of a diocese or province, the metropolitan or patriarch; when œcumenical, it was usually by imperial edict, with the advice and approval of the chief bishops.² The bishops' or metropolitans' circular letters for summoning the council went under the name *synodicæ* or *tractoriæ*; those of the emperors, *sacræ*. The bishop presided in the district council, the metropolitan or patriarch in the provincial, while the general councils were under the nominal control of the emperor or his representative; but the presidents proper, *πρόεδροι*, were usually chosen from the most influential and venerable members.³ The council delib-

¹ v. Bickell: *Op. cit.*, 2^o Lief., cap. 14.

² The delegates to an œcumenical council sometimes journeyed at the public expense. v. Eusebius: *De Vita Const.*, iii, 6, for an account of this in case of the Council of Nicæa.

³ Eusebius, Sozomen, and Socrates agree in saying, that in the Council of Nicæa Hosius of Cordova, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Vitus and Vincentius, the vicars of the Bishop of Rome, were the chief presidents.

erated and decided respecting matters of Church government, discipline, doctrine, and worship. At the same time it constituted a court before which the clergy or the laity could bring charges against the bishops or others. In the provincial councils such complaints were usually lodged with the archdeacon of the metropolitan church, who, in turn, brought them to the knowledge of the council.

The early method of balloting was by heads, the method of motions not having been introduced until late in the Middle Ages. The latter was regarded as justifiable only in extraordinary emergencies.

In case of œcumenical councils the decrees were of the nature of laws, which the emperors enforced. Thus Constantine regarded the decisions of the Council of Nice as obligatory on the subjects of the empire, and hence punished non-subscription by exile. Like action was taken by Theodosius the Great respecting the decrees of the Constantinopolitan council, by Theodosius II. respecting the decisions of the Council of Ephesus, and by Marcian regarding those of the Council of Chalcedon, in A. D. 451.

In matters of discipline, it seems that the decisions of the councils were not unalterable. In respect to articles of faith, the principle holding seemed to be that it was not the prerogative of a council to enlarge or extend the boundaries of faith, but to confirm, establish, and make more clear by definition what had been the doctrine of the general Church. The decisions might be abrogated, even with regard to doctrines. Not until near the close of the period of which we treat did conciliary decisions assume an authority almost equal to Scripture. Augustine, Gregory the Great, and other champions of the Church, while not yielding the supreme authority of the Scriptures, nevertheless placed much stress upon the decrees of councils as expressive of the opinion of good men whom God had promised to "lead into all truth." So that in early times the provincial councils imposed their decisions upon those within their jurisdiction as of the highest prudential worth, and the general councils were believed to have formulated doctrine under such favorable circumstances that the decisions were looked upon as of great moral and religious value. Hence we find that the Church generally accepted the decisions of the first six œcumenical councils, and was at times inclined to regard them as of almost equal authority with the Scriptures themselves.

Subjects considered.

Method of voting.

Enforcement of conciliary decisions.

Was their decision binding?

Growing authority of conciliary decisions.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

§ 1. *Reasons and Degrees of Punishment.*

THE Church was regarded as a body of believers on Jesus Christ, bound together by a fellowship most sacred, for the promotion of holiness and the perfection of character (1 Pet. ii, 9, 10). Its relations and duties were voluntarily assumed; its obligations were enforced by moral, not by physical, sanctions.

The object of Church discipline, exercised as it was only upon members of its own communion, was to preserve purity of doctrine and life.¹ The apostolic Church imposed but one condition of membership—faith in Jesus as the risen Lord, and baptism into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, this Church had the clear sanction of an apostle for maintaining sound discipline (1 Cor. v; 2 Cor. ii; Col. ii, 5; Clement. Rom., *Ep. i, ad Cor.*, c. 44); and the apostolic fathers are explicit in the inculcation of ecclesiastical order. From the earliest years of Christianity two parties existed in the Church, whose views of discipline were oppugnant and wellnigh irreconcilable. One looked upon a fixed and definite ecclesiastical order as the necessary condition of the successful extension of Christianity; the other regarded these outward institutions as limitations of the free spirit of the Gospel, and emphasized the fact that the power of the invisible Church is her spiritual life, and not her formal organization. These two parties continued in the Church. They were in conflict through the first six centuries.²

Catechumenical training, which was judged to be a necessary condition of the admission of Gentile converts, must be regarded as a provision of the Church after she had lost the glow of love felt by the first disciples, and had experienced the contaminating influences of association with a depraved heathenism. Such preparatory training was deemed a wisely prudential measure to guard the Church against the influx of the worldly and unsaved.

¹ v. Bickell: *Geschichte des Kirchenrechtes*, 2^{te} Lief., ss. 62–71.

² v. Neander: *Antignosticus*, ss. 340, 341.

But by as much more as the conditions of membership were more stringent, by so much more did the guardians of the Church feel the necessity of a rigorous discipline. The subscription to and observance of the one rule of faith, *regula fidei*, which was The regula fidei. common to all the churches, was the sole test of orthodoxy. This one rule was expressed in the articles of faith, or the creeds, which the early Church had formulated. He who held these in an honest mind and pure heart was a worthy member of the Church; he who denied them, or whose life was not The one standard. regulated by them, was heretical or unworthy. The latter were to be excinded from the body of the Church in order to preserve its purity and peace.

It is not possible to determine the exact time when the right and prerogative of discipline came to be almost exclusively exercised by the bishops, nor can the precise behavior of the Church respecting the punishment of offenders during the first one hundred and fifty years be clearly determined. It is, however, certain that the Church discipline incurred no loss of civil rights. deprivation of privileges in the Church had no reference to the rights of an offender as a subject of the state. Only at a later period, in cases where the holding and use of the property of the Church was in question, or in cases of pertinacious disturbers, was the authority of the civil law invoked.¹

Church discipline proper had respect to several degrees of offence and punishment. The Church was, therefore, compelled to discriminate between the characters of violators of its laws. Sins venial and mortal. This led to the classification of sins as venial and mortal.² The penalty of the former consisted in either admonition and temporary suspension, or the lesser excommunication Admonition and lesser excommunication. (*ἀφορισμός*). The latter consisted in withholding from those under the ban of the Church its special privileges, as partaking of the eucharist, etc. Such were not, however, excluded from the ordinary ministrations and public services.

The greater excommunication was visited upon more heinous offenders, or those, generally, who were guilty of mortal The greater excommunication. sins. It consisted in a complete excinding of members from the body of the Church, and, therefore, from all

¹ Reference is not here had to later civil enactments for the punishment of heresy and sedition. Conciliary action was taken against such presbyters, or bishops, as were disturbers of the peace by setting up new churches in opposition to the regular authorities. Later, the civil power was invoked to suppress such agitators. This does not, however, strictly pertain to Church discipline.

² v. Tertullian: *de pudicitia*, c. 19. *Peccata mortalia* and *Peccata venialia*. Hereticks seven mortal sins: heresy and schism, idolatry, fraud, denial of Christ, blasphemy, homicide, and fornication.

its privileges and associations. When the anathema was uttered, the offender was regarded as one to be shunned by all the faithful, and absolutely deprived of all that was distinctive of the Christian Church, including the rites of Christian burial. This penalty was executed against both sexes, the rich and poor, the subject and the ruler,¹ alike; in this regard the Christian discipline was characteristically rigid. Notice of such greater excommunication Notice given to other churches. was generally given to other churches, and they were expected to concur in the decision, on the theory of the unity of the Church, and, therefore, for the sake of the general good.² All were forbidden to receive such excommunicate persons; and, by frequent conciliary enactment, any bishop thus receiving and harboring the excinded should himself be regarded as cut off from the Church.³

The general Church did not however regard the effect of even the greater excommunication as annulling the benefits Did not annul the benefits of baptism. of baptism; so that when the most heinous offenders sought readmission into the Church they were not required to be rebaptized. This was contrary to the method of the Donatists, who often received excommunicate persons into their fellowship by declaring them purified by a rebaptism, which this sect freely practised.

No one was excommunicated without a hearing and a formal conviction; any hasty or unwarranted action of a bishop Right of appeal. was liable to review before a provincial synod, to which the aggrieved party had the right of appeal. This was judged of such importance that canons to this effect were enacted by various councils.⁴

§ 2. Penitential Discipline.

While the persecutions of the Church were not continuous, and never absolutely universal, and while some emperors, as Gallienus, showed many favors to the Christians, going so far as to declare to the bishops that it was his will that they should be undisturbed in

¹ The well known example of the action of Ambrose toward Theodosius the Great, as related by Theodoret, is very instructive, not only as illustrating the firmness of a Christian bishop, but also the feelings of a great emperor respecting the fearfulness of the ban of the Church.

² v. Probst: *Kirchliche Disciplin in den drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen, 1873, s. 402.

³ v. Canons 2, 4, and 5 of the Council of Antioch; Canon 2, of the second Council of Carthage; also Canon 13 of the *Canon. Apost.*

⁴ v. Canon 5, Council of Nice; Canons 8 and 10 of the second Council of Carthage; Canon 6 of the Council of Antioch, *et al.*

their ministrations, the ban, under which Christianity as a *religio illicita* rested, was not lifted. It was still a penal offence to be a Christian; and all the dangers and hardships which such legal disability implied constantly impended over the Church. It is not, therefore, strange that during the sharp visitations of persecution temptations to deny Christ and to offer to idols were most powerful. This strain was especially severe during the Decian persecutions, when multitudes fell away from the Church through the malignity and subtle devices of this emperor and his successors to Gallienus. The provisions of the early Church for the return of the lapsed gave rise to a complicated system of penitential discipline. The lapsed.

The rigorous discipline of the Novatians had refused readmission to those who were guilty of mortal sins. Only in the hour and article of death could they hope that the ban of the Church might be removed. Also Cyprian, in the earlier portion of his administration, had been inclined to use great severity in dealing with those who had lapsed from the faith (*lapsi*) during the Decian persecutions. But in Rome and elsewhere more lenient provisions were made for their return to the Church through a system of penance which must be heartily accepted and practised by the offender. The reason of this imposition was that the Church might be assured of the sincere penitence and reform of the lapsed who was seeking admission.

A further necessity for this was felt by the Church from the fact that many attempts to interfere with the regular discipline of the Church had been made. Especially those who had gained peculiar sanctity by suffering for the truth's sake abused their influence by granting certificates of peace or reconciliation without confession or the assurance of penitence. This caused great discontent on the part of such as had remained steadfast, and discipline was thus seriously threatened. To save the Church from disorder and to maintain her purity four orders of penitents were recognised as early, probably, as the middle of the third century. These Four orders of penitents. were known among the Latins as *flentes*, or weepers; *audientes*, or hearers; *substrati*, or kneelers; and *consistentes*, or co-standers.¹ The first fell upon their faces, imploring the prayers of the Church in their behalf, and that they might be admitted to the first apartment of the church. Then properly their pen-

¹ v. St. Basil: Can. 22, *et al.* The first year they are to weep before the gate of the church; the second year, to be admitted to hearing; the third year, to bending the knee, or repentance; the third year, to stand with the faithful at prayers, but not partake of the oblation. To the same effect are the teachings of Ambrose and other fathers.

ance began. When they were thus admitted to become hearers, permission was granted them to listen to the Scriptures and the sermon, but they were excluded from the more private and sacred portions of the service.¹ The length of time they were to continue in this order was made the subject of repeated conciliary action.² This depended upon the nature of the offence, and the character of the offender. The third order, *substrati*, or *genu-flectentes*, were so named from the fact that they were permitted to fall on their knees, and remain as participants in the common prayers, and to hear the prayers offered for them by the congregation and the bishop. While the hearers were restricted to the narthex or vestibule of the church building, the third order were admitted to the interior, near the *ambo*, or reading-desk. The fourth order of penitents, the *consistentes*, or co-standers, were allowed "to stand with the faithful at the altar, and join in the common prayers, and see the oblation offered; but yet might neither make their own oblations, nor partake of the eucharist with them."³

At the beginning of the fourth century the Oriental churches appointed a special presbyter to regulate the conduct of penitential discipline (*presbyter pœnitentiarius*). But on account of the continuous restiveness felt by the private members, in their more public life, and through the interference of the state, this special office was abrogated near the close of the fourth century. Likewise, on the cessation of persecutions, the

practice of orderly penitential discipline fell into disuse, and Church life became more free and unconstrained.

Also in the West, under like general conditions and at about the same time, the system was so modified that only for more open and public crimes was public penance imposed, while for other offences a private confession to the clergy was judged sufficient.⁴ From this came gross abuses in practice (auricular confession, indulgences, etc.) and dangerous innovations in Christian doctrine (work righteousness, etc.).

The readmission to the Church, after the period of penance, was often accompanied with much imposing ceremonial. The absolution pronounced by the early Church was not, however, judicial. The prerogative of pardon belonged to God alone.

¹ Note the proclamation of the deacon, "*Ne quis audientium, ne quis infidelium*," etc. *Apost. Constit.*, l. 8, c. 5.

² v. Council of Nice, Can. 11, 12, and canons of various other councils.

³ v. Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xviii, chap. i.

⁴ v. Guericke: *Lehrbuch d. ch. kirch. Archæologie*, Berlin, 1859, s. 109.

As there were stages of penitential discipline, so were there varieties or stages of absolution. Bingham¹ has arranged Five stages of these as follows: "1.) The absolution or great indulgence of baptism. 2.) The absolution of the eucharist. 3.) The absolution of the word and doctrine. 4.) The absolution of imposition of hands and prayer. 5.) The absolution of reconciliation to the Church and her communion by a relaxation of her censures. The two first may be called sacramental absolution; the third, declaratory absolution; the fourth, precatory absolution; the fifth, judicial absolution; and all of them authoritative, so far as they are done by the ministerial authority and commission which Christ has given to his Church, to reconcile men to God by the exercise of such acts and means as conduce to that end in a subordinate and ministerial way, according to his appointment."

The early Church was careful in its treatment of the excommunicate. It never claimed the absolute prerogative of pardon, nor arrogated the power to exclude the offender Care of the early Church. from final salvation, nor to limit the forgiving mercy of God. The acts of the Church were purely ministerial, exercised to guard its purity of doctrine and life. The original system of penance had no respect to merit, but was purely penal, Respecting pardon. disciplinary, and reformatory.² Auricular confession, merit of good works, and indulgences were abuses which appeared during a subsequent period of the history of the Church.

§ 3. *Discipline of the Clergy.*

If the early Church was stringent in its discipline of the laity, its treatment of clerical offences was still more severe.³ A distinction was made between the discipline of the clergy and that of the laity. A clergyman might be excommunicated from his office, with its honours and emoluments, and yet be permitted to enjoy the privileges of the Church conceded to the laity. In case of flagrant crimes the excision was, however, absolute. The penalties suffered by the clergy More stringent than lay discipline. generally had respect to their means of support, their office, or to their persons, in case of corporal punishment; so that the deprivation of their incomes was for lesser offences, the degradation from office to the condition of laymen for more heinous crimes. In the latter case the deposed clergy were rarely Penalties inflicted. reinstated; hence the indelible character of ordination Deposed clergy rarely reinstated. could not have been the governing doctrine.⁴ The infrequent

¹ *Op. cit.* : bk. xix, pp. 1085, seq.

² *Probst.* : *Op. cit.*, s. 403.

³ *Probst.* : *Op. cit.*, s. 401.

⁴ *Probst.* : *Op. cit.*, ss. 407, 408.

infliction of corporal punishment was generally confined to the inferior clergy; but in criminal causes the superior clergy, after degradation from their office, were also liable to the same.¹

The ancient Church, through its conciliary canons, exercised a most vigilant oversight over its clergy, and defined with great clearness the offences which should be shunned, and the punishment to be inflicted upon wilful violators of the law. Usually these provisions were eminently wholesome and just.

Ancient discipline whole-some.

¹ Justin. Novel, 123, cap. 20. Corporal punishment seems to have been a later infliction.

BOOK THIRD

THE

SACRAMENTS AND WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE SACRAMENTS

AND

WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE apostles recognised two sacraments as instituted by Christ; they celebrated these with joy, and imposed them as obligatory upon all who would be disciples of the new faith. The deeper significance of the Christian sacraments is manifest, although existing forms were employed for teaching their profounder truths. What under the former dispensation was a type, found in Christ and the sacraments which he instituted its true antitype; the prophecy of good things to come was herein fulfilled; the circumcision which was outward in the flesh was to yield to the true circumcision of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter (Rom. ii, 28, 29). Christ, the true Passover, was to be sacrificed once for all for men, and henceforth the feast was to be kept not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (1 Cor. v, 7, 8).

The Eastern Church characterized all holy or incomprehensible truths or offices as mysteries, *μυστήρια*, and the Latins, in their translations of the Scriptures, generally used the term sacrament, *sacramentum*, as the appropriate synonym. Hence the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries confound the sacraments proper with all sacred rites connected with the institutions of the Church. At other times they designate each step or stage in the celebration of baptism, or the Lord's Supper, as a sacrament. Hence the anointing with oil in baptism, and the act of confirmation, are often called sacraments. Cyprian insists upon both sacraments, washing of water and the imposition of hands, as necessary to the complete sanctification of the believer;¹ and Optatus speaks in similar

¹ *Ep. ad Steph.*

manner of washing, anointing, and confirmation as three sacraments. Probably, however, by this term they include no more than was implied in the Greek *μυστήριον*, mystery.¹

The Christian writers of the fourth century continue to attach to the term a very vague and indefinite meaning. The works of the great theologians, Ambrose, Hilary, and Leo, fail to define with clearness, to agree in the number of the sacraments, or to give the *rationale* of their operation; in Augustine is first met an attempt to thus define, and to explain. His definition would allow of the recognition of an indefinite number, since he did not limit the term to that which had the express sanction and command of Christ.

Thus the number of sacraments remained undetermined during the fifth and sixth centuries, but baptism and the Lord's Supper were by all parties considered the chief and indispensable. It was the almost universal opinion in both East and West that these were necessary to salvation, inasmuch as they were the appointed means of grace; nevertheless, the Church did not deny salvation to those who by extraordinary devotion, or by a martyr's death witnessed for Christ. In such cases the "baptism of blood" took the place of water baptism. The order of the succession of the sacraments was generally recognised. Baptism preceded the Lord's Supper, and was regarded the necessary preparation for it.

¹ The ante-Nicene fathers apply the term mystery to all which is in any way related to the Godhead, or to the revelation of the same. They include in this the doctrine of revelation, and even the subject of symbolism, which is considered mysterious and sacred. This appears especially in a number of passages of Tertullian and Irenæus. The following from Irenæus may illustrate their views: "But it is more suitable that we, directing our inquiries after this fashion, should exercise ourselves in the investigation of the mystery and administration of the living God, and should increase in the love of him who has done, and still does, so great things for us. . . . We should leave things of that nature to God, who created us, being most properly assured that the Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and his Spirit; but we, inasmuch as we are inferior to, and later in existence than, the Word of God and his Spirit, are on that very account destitute of the knowledge of his mysteries. . . . If, therefore, even with respect to creation, there are some things which belong only to God, . . . what ground is there for complaint, if in regard to those things which we investigate in the Scriptures (which are throughout spiritual), we are able by the grace of God to explain some of them, while we must leave others in the hands of God," etc. *Advers. Hæres.*, ii, 28, 1-3.

CHAPTER I.

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

§ 1. *The Idea.*

THE acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah—the sent of God—was the sole article of belief uniting the first believers in a distinct community. Baptism was a sign and seal of this belief, and was, therefore, into the name of Jesus, thus ratifying the union of the believer with him as the Messiah.¹ Probably no other formula was at first used, since this name was believed ^{The formula.} to imply a complete divinity, and these words to comprehend all things necessary to citizenship in the kingdom which Christ was to establish. But the full formula contained in the commission of Christ was soon used, and afterward was regarded as essential in the administration of the rite.²

The baptism which Christ instituted was different in spirit and import from that of John the Baptist; this is clearly ^{Christ's baptism peculiar.} recognised by John himself (Matt. iii, 11; Mark i, 8; Luke iii, 16; John i, 33); and is also evident from the fact that John's disciples had “not even heard whether there be a Holy Ghost” (Acts xix, 2). The formula “into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost” could have been understood only by those who were assured of the resurrection of Christ, after the full work of atonement had been completed, the presence of the Holy Spirit had been felt, and the fulfillment of Jesus's promise had been witnessed upon the day of Pentecost. So that while the baptism of John was complete in water, *ἐν ὕδατι*, the baptism instituted by Christ was not only in water, but in the Holy Spirit and in fire, *πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ*. Moreover, the baptism instituted by Christ was to be a permanent institution, and was of the nature of an indispensable sacrament.³

¹ v. Neander: *Planting and Training*, etc. Ryland's trans., p. 27.

² v. Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. i. H. claims that this baptismal confession was first recognised as an apostolic article of faith about A. D. 150, and that it originated in Rome, and not in the East.

³ Acts ii, 38, 39: *ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν κ.τ.λ.*

The submission to the rite implied, on the part of the subject, a turning away from his former life, an acceptance of the Messiah, and a renewal and purification of the spirit.

The dying of the old man and the life of the new, the birth to righteousness and holiness through the Holy Spirit, the burial with Christ, and the resurrection to a life of perpetual devotion, are prominent thoughts of the New Testament writers.

The Christian fathers of the second and following centuries incline more to the thought of a magical power of the water in baptism. Justin Martyr¹ calls it the water of

What was implied in the rite?
Opinions respecting its nature.

life, ὕδωρ ζωῆς; Tertullian² conveys the thought that in the water of baptism the new birth takes place; Gregory of Nazianzen³ speaks of it as "the garment of immortality, the laver of regeneration," etc. By some of the fathers the necessity of baptism to salvation is clearly taught; hence the characterization of the

rite as *salus*.⁴ Others⁵ emphasize the enlightening effects of baptism; hence call it φωτισμός, *illuminatio*, *sacramentum illuminationis*, *lux mentis*, etc. These, together with other

terms for baptism and its effects, as χρίσμα, *unctio*, σφραγίς, *sigillum*, *indulgentia*, *absolutio*, *gratia*, *mors peccatorum*, etc., clearly indicate the high worth placed upon baptism by the Christian fathers, as well as their opinion of its magical effects.

The post-Nicene fathers, no less than their predecessors, are positive in their opinions relative to the necessity of baptism to salvation, and to its power to regenerate the subject. Separate treatises upon its nature, efficacy, and necessity were prepared by Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine. It occupies a prominent place in the theology of Augustine, who attempts to harmonize it with his peculiar views of original sin and the enslavement of the human will. With other prominent fathers, he plainly teaches the necessity of baptism to salvation; consequently, that all the unbaptized are lost, including young children.⁶ He also regards baptism as a sacrament of regeneration, through which forgiveness of sin is attained, and as the channel for the communication of efficient and coöperating grace. Yet with most of these great theologians the exercise of faith is regarded as the necessary condition of the efficient operation of the sacrament. In opposition to Cyprian and some of the Eastern fathers, Augustine

¹ *Dialog. c. Tryp.*

² *de Bapt.*, c. 1.

³ *Orat. 40, de Bap.*

⁴ Augustine, Basil, Greg. Nazianzen, and others.

⁵ Just. Mar.: *Apol.*, 2; Clem. Alex.: *Pædag.*, i, 6; Greg. Naz.: *Orat. 40, de Bap.*; Chrys.: *Hom. 13, in Heb.*

⁶ *v. Ep. 186, c. 27; and de Nupt. et Concup.*, i, c. 28.

recognised the validity of heretical baptism.¹ This remained the prevalent view during the period which we are to examine.

§ 2. *Subjects of Baptism.*

The command of Christ in the great commission (Matt. xxvii, 19, 20; Mark xv, 15, 16) had reference to an indispensable ordinance—baptism. This is generally accepted. The discipling of all men implied a missionary activity and missionary modes, used originally in behalf of such as could comprehend the conditions of the Gospel message. Thus the first converts, whose first subjects names and the circumstances of whose baptism are re-adults. corded in the Scriptures, were of adult age. That infants and young children were baptized during the apostolic age is nowhere positively affirmed in the New Testament. The mention of the baptism of entire households furnishes a strong pre-Presumptions. sumptive argument, but is not decisive. So the relation of circumcision to Christian baptism, the universality of the benefits of Christ's kingdom, the recognition of young children as objects of his special favour, the comprehensiveness of the apostolic commission, and various other considerations, are, to many, proofs that the children of Christian believers were regarded by the apostolic Church as fit subjects for baptism. But these, in the absence of clear, unequivocal Scripture statement, cannot produce universal conviction. "Christ left no command about it; it was No command. one of those many things his Church was to learn in her gradual development through the Paraclete whom he had given."²

The apostolic fathers contain no positive information relative to the practice of the Church of their time respecting infant baptism. The most explicit state-Apostolic fa-
thers silent
about infant
baptism. ment is found in Justin Martyr, who says: "There are among the Christians of this day many of both sexes, sixty and Justin's state-
ment. seventy years old, who have been made disciples of Christ from their infancy."³ Here nothing is said of baptism; it is only inferred. Nor does Irenæus positively affirm the practice of infant baptism in his day. In common with the Christian writers⁴ of the second century, he connects the necessity of bap-Irenæus's view. tism with the taint of human nature. He argues the universal guilt of sin and the need of a universal Saviour. Christ is

¹ *de Baptismo contra Donat.*, l. vii.

² Döllinger: *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 163.

³ *Apol.*, i, 15.

⁴ *v. Clem. Rom.: Ep. i, ad Cor.*, n. 17. *Hermas: Pastor*, lib. 3, simil. 9. *Just. Mar.: Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 43.

the Saviour who came to save all¹ who are regenerated by God. But this regeneration ordinarily comes through baptism. He thus implies that baptism was administered to infants.² So also with Tertullian. While no positive assertion is made by the African presbyter that the Church practised infant baptism, the entire force of his argument presupposes such practice.³ For if he labours to show that the rite should be postponed to adult age, it is evident that the custom of the baptism of young children was prevalent. Moreover, in his opposition he does not cite apostolic custom against infant baptism, which is almost inconceivable if the apostolic Church had been averse to it. Thus, while no positive statement relative to infant baptism is met in the Scriptures, or in the writings of any fathers earlier than Irenæus and Tertullian, by the end of the second century mention is made of the baptism of children, and in the third, of infants. But even in the fourth the practice of infant baptism is not general, since eminent fathers, whose parents were Christians, did not receive baptism till adult age. It was then generally based upon the teaching of Christ (Matt. xix, 14). That during the third century the children of Christian parents were frequently baptized is established by much unquestioned testimony. Origen is especially clear in his statement of the prevailing practice, and insists that the Church inherited it from the apostles themselves.⁴ From the middle of the third century the custom of the Church is attested by the unequivocal testi-

¹ *Adver. Hæres.*, l. ii, c. 22.

² *v. Adver. Hæres.*, lib. ii, cc. 22, 39. *v. Powers: Irenæus and Infant Baptism*, in the *Am. Pres. and Theol. Review*, 1857, pp. 239-267. This writer examines the teachings of Irenæus with much thoroughness, and concludes that wherever he uses the expression "regeneration by God," he means baptism. This was also the opinion of the earlier defenders of infant baptism. *v. Wall: Hist. of Infant Baptism*, Oxford, 1872, vol. i, pp. 44, *seq.*

³ *de Bapt.*, c. 18. *v. Höfling: Das Sacrament der Taufe*, Erlangen, 1846, Bd. i, ss. 104, *seq.*

⁴ "The introduction of the practice of paedobaptism into the Church is hidden in Harnack's obscurity. If it owes its origin to the indispensableness of the same statement to salvation, this is an argument that the superstitious view of baptism had become greatly strengthened. At the time of Irenæus (ii, 22, 4) and Tertullian (*de Bapt.*, 18) it was already widely practised, being defended from the command of Christ (Matt. xix, 14). We have no witness for this practice from an earlier date. Tertullian opposed it on the ground that a conscious faith was the necessary condition of receiving the rite, but more especially because of its tremendous import. . . . In the course of the third century the custom was prevalent to baptize the children of Christian families." Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1886, Bd. i, ss. 358, 359.

⁵ *v. in Luc.*, Hom. 14, t. 2; and in *Rom.*, l. 5, c. 6, v. 9.

mony of competent witnesses; it is made the subject of conciliary action,¹ and is defended by most orthodox writers against the contrary teachings of some heretical sects. While the opinions of the Christian teachers of the third and fourth centuries varied with regard to the expediency of baptizing infants in case of no impending danger, they were in accord on the question of its rightfulness and lawfulness when threatened with death. Gregory Nazianzen thought it advisable, if in good health, to defer the baptism of children until they were about three years old; he was, however, positive in maintaining the right and duty of the baptism of infants in case of danger of death.² The inscriptions which contain distinct dogmatic teaching have already been found to be few. Yet a number have been preserved which confirm the recorded testimony, already referred to, as to the relation of children to baptism and church membership. Children of tender age are spoken of as having been baptized, and as faithful members of Christ's Church.³ The practice of infant baptism was usually limited to the case of children born of Christian parents; nevertheless, the early Church was generally liberal in the treatment of children when one parent was a Christian, or when they had been born while the parents were under ban of excommunication, or when the religious status of the parents was not known. In all these cases the children were held to be fit subjects of baptism.⁴ From the fourth century the propriety of the baptism of infants was unquestioned, and the practice was not unusual; nevertheless, adult baptism was the more common practice for the first six centuries.⁵

Infant baptism common in the third century.

Postponed to the third year.

Liberal practice of the Church.

Baptism of adults more common in the fourth century.

§ 8. *Catechumenical Training of Adults for Baptism and Admission to the Church.*

During the warmth of zeal in the apostolic Church, professed believers in Jesus and his resurrection were almost immediately

¹ v. Cyprian, *Ep.* 59 and 64, where the bishop, Fidus, had inquired whether infants could be baptized before they were eight days old. The Council of Carthage, A. D. 252, decided that infants could be baptized even earlier than the eighth day.

² v. *Orat.* 40, *de Baptismo*.

³ The following is an example: ΠΙCΤΟC ΕΚ ΠΙCΤΩΝ ΖΩCΙΜΟC ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΕ ΖΗCΑC· ΕΤΕCΙΝ Β· ΜΗ· Α· ΗΜΕ· ΚΕ. "Faithful, of the faithful, I, Zosimus, lie here, having lived two years one month and twenty five days."

⁴ v. Bingham: *Op. cit.*, bk. x, secs. 15-19, and authorities there given.

⁵ "Baptism of infants is allowed no less by present custom than by the ancient canons" (of the Coptic Church). v. Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 162.

admitted to baptism. This is evident from the history of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii, 30-40), Cornelius (Acts x, 47, 48), Lydia (Acts xvi, 14, 15), and the Philippian jailer (Acts xvi, 32, 33). It seems to have been the method

Baptism immediate on profession of faith.

of John Baptist in his ministry (Matt. iii, 5, 6; John iii, 23, *et al.*); nevertheless, even his baptism was conditioned on repentance and reformation of life (Matt. iii, 7-10; Luke iii, 7-10). So also in the later history of the Church, during the attempts to Christianize the pagan peoples, whole tribes were sometimes baptized almost immediately, at their own request or that of their chiefs.¹ But from the second century the general practice of the Church was essentially modified, especially in the case of converts from heathenism. In order to preserve the purity of the Church and save it from scandal,

Special training necessary in the case of Gentile converts.

it was believed necessary to use greater caution in receiving members, and by a course of careful preliminary training to become assured of their sincerity, and of their acceptance of the Christian doctrine; thus men were appointed to the special duty of preparing candidates for baptism. The nature and duration of the instruction varied with circumstances, from a few days to two or three years. It is believed that this had chief reference to persons of Gentile origin.

The gradual admission of the candidate to the Church services, his instruction in the exoteric doctrines of Christianity, and his advancement through successive stages of discipline, were regarded as preparatory to his initiation into the mysteries of the society.² Baptism was this initiatory rite; and to reveal its process and effects to those who were still in catechumenical training was regarded a deep impiety.

§ 4. *The Ministrants.*

It is certain that the words of Christ's last commission were more especially addressed to the eleven apostles. But that the rite of baptism was performed by others than the apostles.

The right to baptize not confined to the apostles.

twelve and Paul is plain from the example of Philip, one of the first deacons (Acts viii, 12, 38). Nevertheless, during the second century, when the episcopal authority had come to be

widely recognised, baptism was regarded as an especial function of the bishop.

A function of the bishop. The presbyters and deacons performed the rite, but with express permission of the bishop.

¹ n. Socrates: *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. vii, c. xxx, where the baptism of the Burgundians is described as taking place on the eighth day, after a fast and instruction of seven days. This was early in the fifth century.

² It is easy to trace parallelisms between the practice of the Christian Church and that of the contemporary social, political, and religious clubs.

The duty pertained to the episcopal office, and could be discharged by the bishop and by those only to whom his right was delegated. This was the theory prevalent in the orthodox churches, both East and West, during the first six centuries. However, in cases of extreme necessity, not only presbyters and deacons, but also laymen and even heretics,¹ performed the rite, and such baptism was regarded valid by most ecclesiastical authorities. It was so recognised on account of the prevalent view that baptism was necessary to admission to the Church and to salvation. The service of an irregular administrator was justified only on the ground of extreme exigency, as in the case of impending death or the compelled absence of the bishop.²

In cases of extreme necessity others could administer the rite.

§ 5. *The Mode of Baptism.*

In the various instances of baptism mentioned in the New Testament, the mode of its administration is in no case described. It is manifest, however, that Christ, in so far as possible, made use of ordinances and methods with which the men of his time were already familiar. The genuine spirit of the old religion was not to be superseded by that of the new, since it was essentially the same under both, but it was to be revived, quickened, and perfected. When, therefore, in the great commission to his apostles Christ used the words "disciple," or "make disciples," *μαθητεύσατε*, these conveyed no new notion; but one with which they were entirely familiar. The great rabbis of the rival sects were ever zealous to make disciples, *μαθηταί*, and the thought of gaining adherents to the doctrines of their own Master and Lord was consonant with the feelings of the apostles, and in harmony with prevalent methods. So also with baptism. The command to baptize, *βαπτίζεν, βαπτίσαντες*, was well understood. No explanation was added; no description of some strange ceremony followed; the notion was clear; the method of obeying the command, manifest. What was at hand and well known was used; the mode of the administration was that which was then extant among the Jewish people, of which Christ, the Master, and

Christ made use of known modes.

Analogy.

¹ The validity of baptism, when performed by heretics or schismatics, was stoutly opposed by Cyprian in his conflict with Novatian. In case of heretics and schismatics as ministrants he denied that there was any real baptism, since no one outside the Holy Catholic Church had the character requisite to make the baptism effective to the washing away of sins, even though their professed faith and all the formulas used were in exact harmony with those of the Church. This arose from his extreme theory of the unity of the Church. v. *Ep. ad Magnum*.

² For authorities v. bk. ii, chap. iv, where the growth of the episcopate is traced.

the apostles, the disciples, were a part. That the rite was to have a deeper significance to those who accepted it is manifest. The rite had a deeper import. This was only in accordance with a law holding in the entire cycle of art and philosophy, as well as religion. It was to be no mere washing by water, but a purification by the Holy Ghost and by fire. The decision of the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv, 29), whereby the obligation of circumcision was no longer imposed upon the Gentile converts, substituted a pleasant for a painful initiatory rite, and gave to baptism a foremost place, rather than a secondary, as under the Jewish economy; but there is not the slightest evidence that, during the apostolic period, the mere mode of administration underwent any change. The customary mode was used by the apostles in the baptism of the first converts. Immersion the usual mode among the Jews. They were familiar with the baptism of John's disciples and of the Jewish proselytes. This was ordinarily by dipping or immersion. This is indicated not only by the general signification of the words used in describing the rite, but the earliest testimony of the documents which have been preserved gives preference to this mode.¹ While, however, the mode of the Jewish proselyte baptism is generally accepted, the date of its institution is still in question. A large class of scholars look upon it as of immemorial antiquity, while others find little evidence that Jewish proselyte baptism was practised before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, after the possibility of special offerings in the temple had ceased. The chronology is difficult, but the opinion² that proselyte baptism among the Jews, as an independent rite of initiation, could not have been introduced earlier than the end of the first century is entitled to much respect. But that it was before practised as a token of purification, if not as an initiatory rite, is fully established.³

It is manifest that the administration by the apostles involved little delay. The cases of baptism recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, both in the earlier and later sections, indicate that the rite was administered to the converts near the time and place of their acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. No evidence, however, is furnished from the record that Peter him-

¹ v. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, chap. vii.

² n. Leyrer: article "Proselyten," in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*, 2te Ausg. Plumptre: *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, article "Proselytes," claims that the rabbis were stimulated to making baptism a foremost rite of initiation by the great success of Christianity among the Gentiles, whose only initiatory rite was baptism; but Leyrer is of the opinion that a formal borrowing of Christian usages is extremely improbable.

³ Among others v. Edersheim: *Life and Times of the Messiah*. Schürer: *History of the Jewish People*, vol. ii, pp. 319-324.

self baptized the three thousand believers on the day of Pentecost. This may have been done by different apostles, at different places, by different modes, during the entire day,¹ or on subsequent days.² The terms of Scripture describing the rite, most of the figures used by the writers of the New Testament to indicate its significance (Rom. vi, 4; Col. ii, 12, *et al.*), ^{Immersion the more usual mode.} the explanations in the Apostolic Constitutions,³ the comments of the foremost Christian fathers for the first six centuries, and the express instructions of ecclesiastical councils indicate that immersion was the more usual mode of baptism.⁴

Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconcile the peculiar circumstances of the baptism of certain persons with ready and available means for their immediate immersion, as in the case of Paul (Acts ix, 18), the Philippian jailer (Acts xvi, 33), and others. These facts make it highly probable that a degree of liberty was allowed in the mode of administration, so that in case of exigency ^{A measure of liberty permitted.} aspersion was practiced. This antecedent probability has now been changed to well-nigh absolute certainty by the testimony of "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." This invaluable document, which belongs to the first quarter of the second century,⁵ supplies a long-missing link in the chain of evidence between the close of the apostolic age and Justin Martyr, "The Teaching respecting the rites, polity, and life of the Church. It ^{of the Twelve.}" also furnishes valuable aid in understanding some obscure points in the writings of Clement, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Ignatius. This writing is believed to have originated in either Syria or Egypt, and to have been prepared as a sort of Church manual, as well as a catechism, for Jewish catechumens.⁶ In connection with valuable teaching respecting Christian life, it speaks of the appropriate

¹ Zöckler: *Apostelgeschichte*, Nördlingen, 1886, s. 164

² Döllinger: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 160. "It is not said that the 3,000 converts of Pentecost were all baptized the same day, but only that on that day were added 3 000 souls (Acts ii, 41)."

³ *Cons. Apost.*, lib. 3, c. 17.

⁴ v. Tertullian: *de Bapt.*, c. 2. Chrysostom: *Hom.* 40, on 1 Cor.; *Hom.* 25, on John iii, 5. Cyril: *Catech.*, 17, 8. Ambrosius: *de Sacram.*, l. 2, c. 6. Coun. Toledo: 4, can. 6, and many other testimonies.

⁵ Sabatier: *La Didaché*, Paris, 1885, places the composition after A. D. 50. Bryennios, Harnack, and others place it between A. D. 120 and A. D. 165. Lechler, Funk, Zahn, and others are inclined to regard it as a production of the first century. The English and American critics also generally place it in the first century.

⁶ Lechler holds that this is true only of the second part. Funk: *Doctrina Duodecem Apostolorum*, Tübingæ, 1887, "denies the Egyptian and maintains the Syrian or Palestinian origin."—*Schaff*.

preparation for baptism, and its mode of administration, as follows:

"Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first uttered
 its baptismal all these things, baptize into the name of the Father,
 teaching. and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water
 (ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι).¹ But if thou hast not running water, baptize into
 other water (εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ), and if thou canst not in cold, in warm.
 And if thou hast neither, pour out water upon the head thrice, into
 the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And before the baptism
 let the baptizer fast and the baptized, and whatever others are able;
 but the baptized thou shalt command to fast for one or two days
 before."²

This document, only a generation removed from the death of the
 apostles, if not written during the lifetime of some, plainly teaches
 a degree of liberty in the mode of the administration of baptism.
 The character of the writing, as a book for catechumens of Jewish

Conclusion. origin, would certainly exclude the supposition that this
 alternative mode of baptism was of the nature of an in-
 novation; besides, it is easy to believe that at the time of its writing
 there were still living in Syria or Egypt persons who were entirely
 familiar with the apostolic practice. The testimony of the
 Monumental monuments is in entire harmony with the "Teaching."
 testimony.

The chronology of the earliest frescos has been elsewhere examined.³
 Among the very earliest frescos is that found on the wall in the
 Fresco from crypt of Santa Lucina, in the catacomb of San Calisto,
 Santa Lucina. Rome (Fig. 126).⁴ The lower central fresco has almost
 without exception been regarded as a representation of the close of
 the baptism of Christ as described in Matt. iii, 16. A nude male
 Baptism of figure is stepping from the water, which reaches a little
 Christ. above the knees. A man clad in a tunic is standing on
 the shore and extending his hand in helpfulness toward the one

¹ Bryennios remarks that ὕδωρ ζῶν is not exclusively running water, but that which is brought fresh from rivers and springs, where in earliest times the Christians were wont to baptize.

² Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὕτω βαπτίσατε ταῦτα πάντα προεπιόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τινας ἄλλοι δύνανται· νελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.—*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, chap. vii.

³ v. pp. 29, 30, 97, 98.

⁴ It is impossible to represent in photograph the color effects in the fresco. They are pronounced in the original, showing by the green the water boundary line

who has received baptism. Above is the dove, bearing in its beak what seems to be an olive branch, symbolizing the Holy Ghost, who attests the act. There is no suggestion of an immersion, but



Fig. 126.—Fresco from Santa Lucina, Rome. Baptism of Christ.

rather of aspersion by the ministrant, who stands upon the shore.¹ Other interpretations of this scene, as that it is the rescue of Peter from the waves,² or the saving of the hunted, persecuted saints from the waters of affliction,³ seem to harmonize only a portion of the elements of the fresco. The interpretation as the baptism has generally been accepted by the best archæologists.

Fig. 127 is the representation of a fresco from another cubiculum of the crypt of Santa Lucina.⁴ It is the same age as Fig. 126, and the subject is evidently the same. The attitude of the figures in the two frescos is very similar. The symbolic dove has here the same significance as in the other. The figure leaving the water is partially draped, while in Fig. 126 it is nude. The ministrant is represented with the added pallium, instead of the simple tunic, as in Fig. 126. The subject of the

Other interpretations not tenable.

The interpretation.

¹ v. de Rossi: *Rom. Sotter.* t. i, lib. 3. c. 3. Schnlze: *Die Katakomben*, ss. 313, 314. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, Tom. i, p. 97. Kraus: *Real-Encyclopædie*, Freiburg, 1886, art. "Taufe."

² Martigny: *Dict.*, art. "Pierre."

³ Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., i, Teorica, 203.

⁴ The construction, history, chronology, and frescos of this crypt have been studied with great thoroughness by the brothers de Rossi, and admirably described in their monumental work, *Rom. Sotter.*

fresco can hardly be questioned.' The scene can only by an unwarrantable stretch of the imagination be regarded as the last stage of an immersion. The simpler and more obvious act is that of an



Fig. 127.—A baptism of Christ. From the crypt of Santa Lucina, Rome.

aspersion, since there is no suggestion whatever that the ministrant has before been standing in the water.

Fig. 128 is the representation of a fresco from the cemetery of San Pretestato, Rome. This is believed by the highest authorities to belong to the second century. The three figures have been interpreted differently. Those who see in it a baptism of Christ regard the sprays around the head of the right hand figure as representing the water used in sprinkling; John and the other figure as representative of the people, standing on the bank of the river. The presence of the dove seems also to suggest a baptismal scene.¹ Garrucci also regards the green band around the head of the Saviour as analogous to that in Fig. 126. De Rossi and others look upon the picture as representing the crowning of Christ with thorns.² Against this view Garrucci strongly urges the fact of the general absence

Supposed baptism from San Pretestato.

Suggests baptism by sprinkling.

¹ v. Roller: *Op. cit.*, Tom. i, pp. 95, *seq.*, pl. xvii.

² v. Perret: t. i, pl. lxxx. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, i, p. 368; ii, 46; *Op. cit.*, t. i, pp. 101, *seq.*, pl. xviii.

³ v. *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1872. Also Strzygowski: *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, München, 1885, Taf. i, un. 4, 5.

of representations of Christ's sufferings and passion in early Christian art, as well as the presence in the fresco of the water and the



Fig. 128.—Supposed baptism. Fresco from San Pretestato, Rome.

dove. The subject of this early fresco is regarded as questionable; its evidential value is not, therefore, of the first order.

Competent authorities have referred the fresco (Fig. 129) to the latter part of the second, or early part of the third century. It is part of the decorations in one of the "cham-

Baptism from
San Calisto.



Fig. 129.—A baptism. From San Calisto, Rome.

bers of the sacraments," in the catacomb of San Calisto. A boy, standing in water reaching a little more than half way to the knees,

is receiving baptism from a man who is standing upon the shore. The water is broken into spray, indicating a pouring or sprinkling.¹

Fig. 130 is from a fresco found in another of the chambers of the same catacomb, and is plainly contemporary with Fig. 129.

The position of the figures is quite similar. In Fig. 130 the boy stands in water hardly more than ankle deep, while the ministrant, clad in the toga and bearing in his hand a roll, the



Fig. 130.—A baptism. From San Calisto, Rome.

usual sign of authoritative teaching, stands upon the shore, and places his hand upon the head of the candidate in the act of baptism.

Respecting the age of Figs. 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130 there is scarcely any diversity of opinion among competent authorities. All are certainly of pre-Constantine origin.

Figs. 126, 127, 129, and 130 reaching back, in all probability, to the second century. As to the interpretation of Nos. 126, 127, 129, and 130, very general agreement is found among the best archæologists. They are baptismal scenes.

In the post-Constantine period more frequent representations of

¹ It is to be regretted that the plate does not reproduce these sprays, which are very manifest in the fresco. v. de Rossi: *Rom. Sotter.*, T. ii, p. 333. Roller: *Les Catacombes de Rome*, T. i, p. 131.

the baptismal rite are preserved, and they are wrought out in much greater detail. The erection of distinct baptisteries gave occasion for their ornamentation with frescos and mosaics, some of which were elaborate and beautiful. Also the rite is found depicted on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (v. Plate II) in symbolic form (v. Plate II^a), where the baptismal waters are represented as flowing from the uplifted foot of one lamb upon the head of another, while rays stream down from the beak of the symbolic dove.¹

Post-Constantine portraits more full.

On sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

A fragment of a glass cup, found on the Esquiline, Rome, in 1876, also contains the representation of a baptism.² It probably belongs to the beginning of the fifth century. Fig. 131 is two thirds the size of the original. The scene is an interesting one. A young girl, Alba (possibly Albana), is the

Baptism by aspersion on glass cup.



Fig. 131.—Fragment of a glass cup, Rome. A baptism.

central figure. She is clad in the white robe usually worn on the day of baptism. The priest, Mirax, whose head is encircled by the simple nimbus, extends the hand in the manner of address, while the hand of a person not represented on the fragment, probably the sponsor, is laid upon the head of the candidate. The chief significance of the scene for our purpose is in the water flowing from an inverted urn, and the descent of the dove, bearing in its beak the olive branch. The representation of baptism by aspersion is evident.

Explanation.

¹ v. Plate II^a, in the spandrel between "Daniel in the den of lions" and "Christ's triumphal entry."

² v. de Rossi: *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1876, Fasc. i, T. i. Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., T. cccclxiv.

Several mosaics and frescos of a somewhat later date represent the baptism of Christ in an almost purely realistic manner, and generally the manifest mode is aspersion. One of the best preserved and most interesting is found in San Giovanni in fonte, Ravenna (Fig. 132).¹ The mosaics were originally executed A. D. 449-452. While they have probably suffered restoration in certain parts, there is no evidence that the original design has been departed from. The baptismal scene



Fig. 132.—Baptism of Christ. Mosaic from San Giovanni in fonte, Ravenna.

is found in the crown of the dome. Christ stands in the Jordan, whose waters reach to about the middle of the body, while John, standing on the land, and holding in his left hand a jewelled cross, is pouring water upon the head of Christ from a shell held in the Baptist's right hand. The symbolic dove, descending directly upon the head of Jesus, completes the baptismal representation. The Jordan, IORD, symbolized by a river-god bearing a reed, introduces into the scene a heathen element.

¹ v. Quast: *Die alt-christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842, ss. 4, 5, and Taf. i. Richter: *Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Wien, 1878. Garrucci: *Op. cit.*, Tom. iv, tav. ccxxvi and ccxxvii, pp. 34-36.

A very similar mosaic representation, from about the middle of the sixth century, is preserved in Santa Maria in Cos- Another mosaic-
 medin, Ravenna (Fig. 133). The appearance of Christ is
 is more youthful, the river-god symbolizing the Jordan is more



Fig. 133.—Baptism of Christ. Mosaic from Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna.

striking, and the rough garment of camel's hair worn by the Baptist is clearly shown.



Fig. 134.—A baptism. From a fresco in Santa Pudenziana, Rome.

Fig. 134 is from a picture found in Santa Pudenziana, Rome. Here the complete act of baptism is depicted. The font, too small

for immersion, contains two nude figures, upon the head of one of whom the ministrant lays the hand. Behind him is the sponsor, while on the other side of the font are attendants bearing appropriate garments for covering the candidates at the close of the ceremony. The suggestion here is certainly that of sprinkling or pouring.

The fresco, Fig. 135, is from the cemetery of San Ponziano, Rome; it is from the eighth or ninth century.¹ Here the baptismal scene is repeated as to mode, and very similar in spirit to the mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries, already described. Christ here stands in water reaching about to the waist. The Baptist, clad in his rough garment of camel's hair, places the



Fig. 135.—A baptism of Christ. From a fresco in San Ponziano, Rome.

right hand on the head of Jesus in the performance of the rite, while the ratifying of the act by the Holy Spirit is here, as usual, symbolized by the descending dove. On the opposite bank, in the background, an angel, descending from the clouds, bears a basin and the clothing for the Saviour, while in the foreground the hart seeks the refreshing waters.

Other representations of baptism, extending from the fourth to the tenth century, found upon a great variety of objects and in various relations, substantially agree with those already given.² It is most noteworthy that from the second to the

¹ We have given two representations of baptisms, which lie outside the period to which our examinations have been more specially confined, in order to show the persistence of the art representations of this rite as aspersion or sprinkling.

² For a complete representation and description of these v. Strzygowski: *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, München, 1885.

ninth century there is found scarcely one pictorial representation of baptism by immersion; but the suggestion is almost uniformly either of sprinkling or pouring. When we consider the fact that monumental evidence is invaluable because of its unconscious character (v. p. 21), and also when it is remembered that the testimony of the archaic document, "The Teaching of the Twelve," is a complete commentary on the art monuments, and, contrariwise, that the monuments are a continuous illustration of the doctrines of the "Teaching," we are compelled to believe that while immersion was the usual mode of administering baptism from the first to the twelfth century, there was very early a large measure of Christian liberty allowed in the Church, by which the mode of baptism could be readily adjusted to the peculiar circumstances. To this conclusion we are led by the combined testimony of the "Teaching," of the decisions of the Church fathers and the councils, and of the uniform art representations.¹

Liberty of
mode.

That baptism by sprinkling or aspersion was practised in case of the sick and the infirm is generally conceded. This seems to be a further indication of a degree of freedom in the mode.

This *clinical* baptism was not regarded with favor by a large portion of the Church; in some instances its validity was seriously questioned. Yet the high-church Cyprian, by whom the preservation of the unity of the Church and of apostolic traditions was regarded of utmost importance, clearly decided in a test case for the validity of clinic baptism: "I think the divine benefits can in no respect be mutilated and weakened; nor can any thing less occur in that case, where, with full and entire faith both of the giver and receiver, is accepted what is drawn from the divine gifts. For in the sacraments of salvation the contagion of sins is not in such wise washed away, as the filth of the skin and of the body is washed away in the carnal and ordinary," etc. . . . "In the sacraments of salvation, when necessity compels, and God bestows his mercy, the divine methods confer the whole benefit on believers; nor ought it to trouble any one that sick people seem to be sprinkled or affused, when they obtain the Lord's grace," etc. . . . "Whence it appears that the sprinkling also of water prevails equally with the washing of salvation," etc.²

Clinic baptism.

Cyprian's opinion.

¹ The argument from monumental evidence was presented by the author of this hand-book in a series of lectures on "Monumental Theology," given before the School of Theology of Boston University in the winter of 1870-71. For a very able and interesting statement of the bearing of the argument upon the question of Christian union and missionary effort, v. Prof. Egbert C. Smyth, in *Andover Review* April and May, 1884.

² Ep. 75 (79) *ad Magnum*, c. 12. v. also cc. 13-17.

From the question of Magnus, as well as from the answer of Cyprian, it is plain that clinic baptism was not generally regarded with favor by the Church of the first three centuries. Nevertheless, the opposition to it did not appear to come so much from a disbelief in the efficacy of the mode itself as from the doubt entertained with respect to the soundness of the faith of the recipient, since the delay of baptism till the time of infirmity or of threatened death seemed to imply a contempt for the ordinance and a neglect of the duties which its acceptance imposed. For Cyprian clearly affirms that the mode is of little importance, provided the faith of the recipient and of the ministrant is genuine.¹ This, and not the simple mode, is the reason why the person receiving clinical baptism was generally ineligible to the clerical office. The suspicion of dishonesty and the disqualification could be removed only by an unwonted proof of zeal and devotion.²

This liberty respecting the mode of administration becomes more manifest as missionary enterprise planted churches in regions remote from the countries immediately adjacent to the Mediterranean, where the rigors of the climate made trine immersion at times perilous or impracticable. Hence baptism by aspersion is made alternative with trine immersion in the earliest extant Irish baptismal office.³ While the Greek Church adhered to trine immersion with great tenacity, and to-day practises this mode in all its chief churches, the Coptic and Armenian Churches have recognised the validity of trine aspersion from the earliest period of their history.⁴ The Syriac churches of the seventh century also admitted the propriety of infant baptism and the validity of aspersion.⁵

§ 6. *Times and Places of Baptism.*

In the apostolic Church the time and place of baptism were matters of indifference. In accordance with the general methods of missionary propagandism, the circumstances and the proprieties of the various occasions determined. As elsewhere stated, the time seems to have been almost immediately on the profession of faith in Jesus as the Messiah. This liberty con-

¹ Ep. ad Magnum, cc. 11, 12, 13.

² This is seen in the decisions of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, Can. 12.

³ Warren: *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 65.

⁴ v. Butler: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 264, 265.

⁵ v. Kayser: *Die Canones Jacob von Edessa*, Leipzig, 1887, Question and Answer 31. v. *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1888, pp. 150, 151.

tinued into the second century,¹ and was, indeed, never wholly lost.²

The opinion entertained by many early Christian fathers relative to the magical power of the water in baptism, as well as the doctrine that baptism purged away the sins of the past, but did not avail for future offences, caused many to delay their baptism as long as possible. In case of great offenders this was sometimes done upon the advice of the Church. But this delay was often the occasion of administering severe rebukes to those who were influenced by selfish considerations to continue in sin, or neglected the ordinance through carelessness or indifference.

There was no fixed and unalterable time for performing the rite. In cases of peril neither place, time, mode, nor ministrant was absolutely prescribed; the general belief that baptism was essential to salvation allowed nothing to prevent its administration. Nevertheless, the Church was accustomed to appoint stated times when baptism would be administered to those who had been prepared by careful preliminary instruction. The times considered most appropriate and sacred were Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. From the second century these were observed as fit seasons by the Eastern and Western as well as the Coptic churches.³ At a later period, when the martyrs became objects of peculiar veneration, and the anniversaries of their martyrdom were observed with special care, these were favourite times for the administration of baptism.

Nevertheless, these seasons were not absolutely obligatory, since Tertullian says, "Every day is the Lord's day; every hour and every time is appropriate for baptism, if men are fit and prepared for it. All places, too, are equally available."⁴

In accordance with this principle of freedom baptism was sometimes administered in private houses, and doubtless, in times of persecution, the chapels in the catacombs of Rome were likewise used for this purpose. The monumental evidence of this practice is entirely conclusive. The private

¹ v. *The Teaching of the Twelve*, chap. vii.

² Baptism in a private house was first inhibited by conciliary action in the sixth century. v. Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, Bd. ii, s. 698.

³ Numerous passages in the writings of Tertullian, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Chrysostom, etc., as well as the "Constitutions" and conciliary canons, attest this practice. Tertullian: *de Coron. Milit.*, c. 3, says that the whole fifty days between Easter and Pentecost were kept as a continuous festival, during which baptisms were more frequent. v. Butler: *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884. "From the remotest antiquity to the present day the season most commended for baptism is the feast of Epiphany." Vol. ii, pp. 262, 263.

⁴ *de Bapt.*, c. 4.

oratory, discovered in the vicinity of the baths of Diocletian,¹ whose walls were decorated with the symbols of baptism, was probably used to baptize the members of the household. Likewise there are several instances of chapels and fonts in the catacombs.

After the recognition of Christianity by the state, baptism, like other Church sacraments, was celebrated with greater pomp and ceremony. Separate buildings (baptisteries) were erected, in which conveniences were provided for the observance

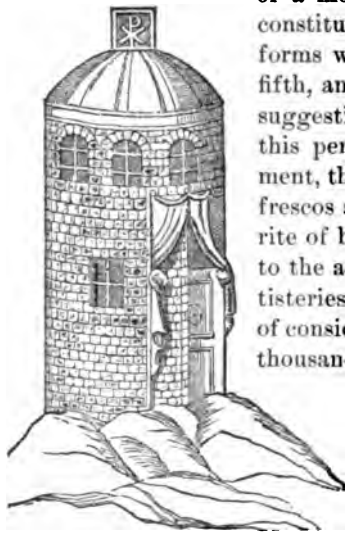


Fig. 136.—A baptistery. From a sarcophagus, Rome.

of a more carefully prescribed ritual. They constitute an interesting class of architectural forms which have survived from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and furnish valuable suggestions relative to the state of art during this period (v. pp. 222–224). Their arrangement, the position and relation of the font, the frescos and mosaics, give hints respecting the rite of baptism, and the importance attaching to the accompanying ceremonies. These baptisteries, *οἶκοι τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου*, were sometimes of considerable dimensions, to accommodate the thousands seeking baptism on the great feast days in the cathedral churches of the large towns, and were occasionally used as the places of assembly of the councils. They belong to the regular central style of architecture, having their outline circular or polygonal.

Fig. 136 is from the representation

of a baptistery sculptured on a sarcophagus at Rome.² It is circu-

lar in outline, covered with a flat dome, surmounted by the favourite Constantinian monogram, $\chi\rho$.

Fig. 137 is the groundplan of a baptistery at Deir-Seta in Central Syria, described by de Vogüé.³ It is hexagonal, the central dome resting upon six columns which surround the font itself. This was the usual form of the baptisteries in the Orient.

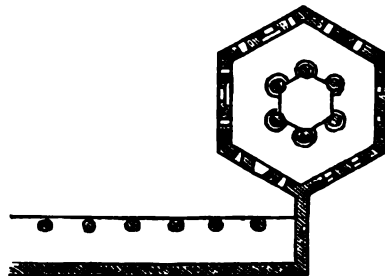


Fig. 137.—Groundplan of a baptistery at Deir-Seta, Central Syria.

¹ v. *Bullettino di Arch. crist.*, 1876.

² de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, pl. cxvii.

³ Garrucci: *Storia*, etc., t. cccxxiii.

Fig. 138 is a vertical section of the noted baptistery of St. John in Lateran, Rome. Only the central portion, which is covered by the dome, is here given, in order to show the position of the font and to illustrate the rich and suggestive mosaic decoration which is frequently found in this

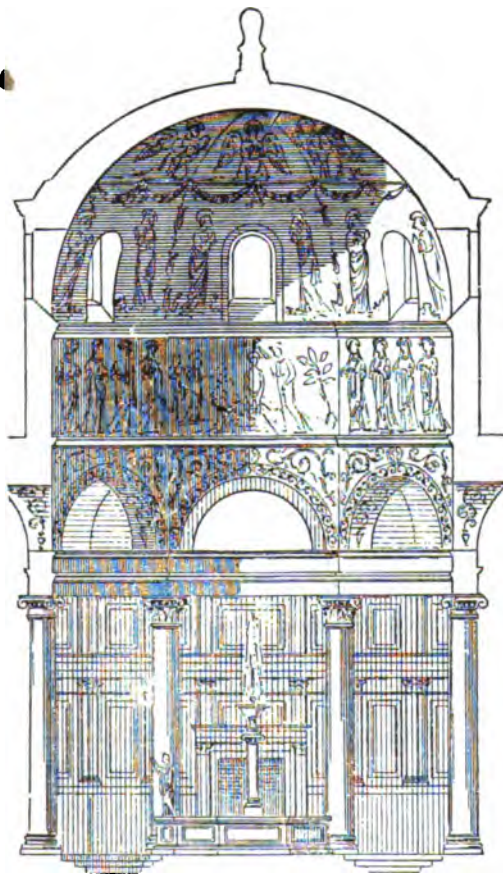


Fig. 138.—Vertical section of the central portion of the baptistery of San Giovanni in Lateran, Rome.

class of buildings. The central mosaic of the first zone represents a baptismal scene, in which the same mode of administration is suggested as in the monuments which have already been described (*v. pp. 404-406*).

Fig. 139 is a vertical section of the baptistery of Albegna,¹ Italy.

¹ *v. Dehio u. Bezold: Op. cit., taf. 3, Figs. 5, 6.*

It is probably of the seventh or eighth century. It gives the arrangement of the steps leading to the font, and of the chapels which are contained in the space covered by the lean-to roof. This and Fig. 138 are octagonal in ground-



Fig. 139.—Vertical section of the baptistery in Albegna, Italy.

plan. Both will illustrate the manner in which adjacent parts were added to the original baptistery, until an imposing structure, convenient for purposes of assembly and worship, was the result.

§ 7. *Immediate Preliminaries to Baptism.*

Prior to the administration of the rite the candidates were required to renounce the devil and all his works, to profess faith in a prescribed creed, and to promise to live in obedience to Christ and his precepts. The form and content of the creed varied from the simple profession of faith in Jesus as the risen Messiah, to the more lengthy and imposing creeds formulated from time to time by the Church.¹ The promise of obedience to the Church was often made three times. In the turning toward the west, as the place of darkness, when solemn renunciation of Satan was made, in the turning to the east, as the source of light, when promise of obedience was enjoined, and in the triple renunciation, promise, and confession of faith, there

Profession of
faith required.

Renunciation
of the devil and
his works.

¹ *v. Const. Apostol.*, l. vii, c. 41.

is noticed a system of significant symbolism, which was early introduced into ecclesiastical art (*v.* book i, chap. iii).

As early as the latter part of the second century sponsorship was recognised as an important, if not a necessary, accompani-
ment of baptism. Its origin is not known. It probably Sponsors. arose out of the circumstances of peculiar peril to which the Church was exposed, whereby the children would be left in orphanage, or adults be liable to lapse into paganism. In either case the sponsors were regarded as sureties: in case of children for their care and religious training, in case of adults for their sound conversion and genuine Christian character at the time of their presentation for baptism.¹ The caution used by the early Church in the Philosophy of sponsorship. choice of sponsors clearly reveals the nature of this relation; it was that of a guarantor of the moral life of those about to be baptized. Hence, when parents were permitted to be sponsors for their children it was not because of this natural relationship, but rather that they might afford guarantees for their moral and spiritual character. In nearly all the earlier expositions of the philosophy of sponsorship there is a positive denial that regeneration of the child is effected by the faith of either the sponsor or the ministrant.² Nevertheless, it was held by Au- The faith of the sponsor not availing. gustine that the faith of the sponsors may inure to the advantage of the child, by stimulating to greater fidelity in education and watchcare;³ "the promises of the sponsors were understood to be made not in their own name, but in the name of the baptized, and that the latter became subsequently responsible."

§ 8. *Accompanying Ceremonies.*

Early baptism was probably by trine immersion, pouring, or sprinkling of the nude figure. The *Teaching of the Twelve* contains the oldest distinct precept as to trine Trine baptism of the nude figure. baptism: "But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of the Father, and the Son, and Holy Spirit."⁴ By the close of the second century this was the common practice. "We dip not once, but three times, at the Tertullian's testimony. naming of every person of the Trinity."⁵ With this statement of Tertullian the teachings of Basil and Jerome are in exact accord. So also Ambrose is minute in his descrip- Ambrose's account. tion of the rite. "Thou wast asked, Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou repliedst, I believe, and

¹ *Const. Apost.*, l. viii, c. 32.

² Augustine: *Ep. ad Bonif.*, 98.

³ *v. de Baptismo; c. Donatist*, iv, 31; *de Lib. Arbitr.*, iii, 23.

⁴ *v.* chap. vii.

⁵ Tertullian: *cont. Prax.*, c. 26.

wast dipped, that is, buried. A second demand was made, Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his cross? Thou answeredst again, I believe, and wast dipped. Thereupon thou wast buried with Christ. For he that is buried with Christ rises again with Christ. A third time thou wast asked, Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost? And thy answer was, I believe. Then thou wast dipped a third time, that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the various offences of thy former life."¹

Different reasons for this practice are found in the writings of the Christian fathers. Gregory of Nyssa and others, both in the Greek and Latin Church, say that it represents Christ's three days' burial, and his resurrection on the third day. Others explain it as symbolic of our faith in the Trinity, into whose name we are baptized. Augustine² unites these reasons, in that by trine immersion the Trinity is symbolized, as well as the Lord's burial, and resurrection on the third day.

Most of the Christian fathers from Tertullian taught that this method of baptism was instituted by the apostles. The "Apostolic Canons" regard it as of imperative obligation, and order the deposition of any bishop or presbyter who shall administer the rite in any other way.³ The Arians in Spain continued this practice. To

protest against this heretical sect the orthodox party was led to abandon trine immersion; and the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633) decreed⁴ that a single immersion should be regarded as valid baptism. It was led to this decision by the advice of Gregory the Great, who held that both ways were "just and unblamable in themselves; nevertheless, to avoid a seeming approval of the Arian heresy, it may be advisable to drop trine, and practise single immersion."⁵

As further accompaniments of baptism must be noted unction, which was performed by oil consecrated by the bishop, the imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross. The anointing of the body of the baptized person after leaving the water, called

the unction of chrism, was of early institution. It is mentioned by Tertullian as usual in his day. At a later period the practice of anointing the body before baptism was introduced,⁶ and forms of consecration of the oil were prescribed. Various interpretations of the significance of these two unctions are met in the writings of the fathers. In the Constitutions is found the injunction.

¹ *De Sacram.*, lib. 2, c. 7, as quoted by Bingham: *Antiquities*, etc., bk. xi, chap. xi.

² *De Consecrat.*, Dist. 4, c. 78.

³ v. Canons 49, 50.

⁴ Can. 5.

⁵ Lib. i, Ep. 41.

⁶ v. Ambrose: *De Sacramentis*, l. i, c. 2. *Constit. Apost.*, l. 7, c. 42.

tion: "Thou shalt first of all anoint him with the holy oil, and then baptize him with water, and afterward sign him with the ointment; that the anointing with the oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water may be the symbol of death, and the signing with ointment may be the seal of the compact made with God,"¹ etc.

The imposition of hands was to symbolize the reception of the Holy Ghost. It was used in confirmation, which generally was an accompaniment of baptism, and completed the admission of the candidate to the Church and to a participation in the holy eucharist. The sign of the cross was used by the early Christians in the most common affairs of life. It was the symbol of conquering power, by which Satan and all the angels of darkness were driven out and finally subdued; its rich and varied symbolism in connection with the rite of baptism is the theme of many noble passages in early Christian literature.²

¹ *Const. Apost.*, lib. 7, c. 22, quoted by Bingham: *Op. cit.*, bk. xi, chap. ix, sec. 3.

² *v.* pp. 83-89.

CHAPTER II.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

§ 1. *Idea and Mode of Celebration.*

THE original eucharistic meal was symbolic. The broken bread and the consecrated cup were also prophetic of the work which Christ was to accomplish for his disciples and for the world. The real sacrifice, of which this sacrament was to be a remembrance, was yet to be accomplished; hence the supper was so far prophetic. The bread was to symbolize the broken body, and the cup the blood, which was the pledge of the covenant between God and man. Every disciple who, in after time, should worthily celebrate this supper, in obedience to the words used by Christ in its institution, was to break this bread and drink this wine in order to recall the memory of the Founder, the Great Sacrifice for the world, until he should come again.

It is probable that the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the first disciples occurred daily in private houses,¹ in connection with the agape, or lovefeast. It was of a somewhat festive character, as may be inferred from the excesses which Paul reproves in the Corinthian church,² and was associated with an ordinary meal, at whose close the bread and wine were distributed to those present, as a memorial of Christ's similar distribution to the disciples. The association of a meal with religious rites had been most familiar with the Jews during all their history, and was widely recognised by the heathen world, both in conducting their common festivities around an altar with sacrifices, and in the funeral feasts held annually in the *cellæ* in memory of the deceased members of the family or club.³ Nearly all the early frescos confirm this view of the social character of the Supper. A table, around which are couches on which sit or recline the participants, is the ordinary method of representing the celebration of the Lord's Supper (see

¹ Acts ii, 46. The reference of καθ' ἡμέραν is uncertain; it may include "the breaking of bread" as well as the daily visits to the temple.

² 1 Cor. xi, 20.

³ v. Renan: *Les Apôtres*, pp. 351-354.

Figs. 13, 14). From the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts ii, 42, 46), as well as from Paul's letter to the Corinthian church (1 Cor. xi, 20, 21), it is safely inferred that the disciples contributed each a share of the food necessary A communal meal.

for the meal; the community of love and fellowship being herein shown, as at first in the gifts to a common fund for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem. To this unifying power of the eucharist Paul evidently refers (1 Cor. x, 16, 17). From the account given of the practices of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. xi, 17-34), it is plain that private members appropriated to themselves the bread and wine which were designed for the common benefit, and did not wait for the distribution of the elements at the hands of a church officer. From the whole history, as given by Paul, we look in vain for any evidence that a priestly consecration and distribution of the bread and wine were regarded as necessary to the validity of the sacrament. Neither in Christ's original institution of the supper, nor in this fullest account by Paul, when, if at all, such authority would have been asserted, nor elsewhere in the New Testament, is found any evidence

that the Lord's Supper was to be consecrated only by a chosen or appointed class. Its administration not confined to a class. "Consequently the limitation of its administration to the officers of the church cannot claim undoubted apostolic authority."¹ This was in accordance with other features of the Church while in its plastic period. That the distinctive functions of the officers of the apostolic period had not yet been fully differentiated is thus manifest in connection with the administration of both the great sacraments instituted by Christ.

Moreover, this lack of an official character was in perfect harmony with the idea of a universal priesthood, which was prevalent in the early years of the In harmony with the idea of the universal priesthood.

history of the Church. Each householder was the highpriest of his own family, competent to do all things necessary to their spiritual upbuilding, including the celebration of the sacred meal in memory of his Lord. But, in accordance with the unifying principle already referred to, it is probable that this sacrament was usually observed in a congregation of believers. It seems that during the early apostolic period the method of keeping the Supper How celebrated. recalled the last meeting of Christ with his disciples.

It was accompanied by prayer (Matt. xxvi, 27; Mark xiv, 22, 23; Luke xxii, 17) and singing of hymns (Matt. xxvi, 30), and was connected with a social meal, the agape, to indicate that its purpose was the expression of brotherly love. The offering of thanks and

¹ v. Beet: *Commentary on 1 Cor., in loco.*

praise (*εὐχαρίστια, εὐλογία*, 1 Cor. xi, 24; 1 Cor. x, 16) was probably followed with the holy kiss (*φίλημα ἁγιον*, Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20).

Under Trajan the strict edicts against secret societies compelled the separation of the agape from the Lord's Supper. The agape discontinued. The former, being adjudged by the emperor to pertain to the secret clubs, *ἐταιρείαι*, which had awakened the suspicion of the government by being held in the evening, was discontinued, and the Lord's Supper was connected with the public worship. The necessity for observing this sacrament in connection with the open and more public services, and the institution of the catechumenate and other forms of training and discipline,

The two parts of worship. gradually led to the division of worship into the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*. From the circumstance that unbaptized persons, and such as were under church discipline, as well as all others not in full communion with the Church, were excluded from the assembly before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the idea of a mystery (*μυστήριον*) soon attached to this rite, and gave rise to the so called *disciplina arcani*. This was, however, of later institution; probably not earlier than the time of Tertullian. In the earliest notices of

the Lord's Supper a simple and almost literal imitation of the meal as instituted by Christ is prevalent. In the

"Teaching of the Twelve" the instructions for celebrating the eucharist are as simple and archaic as those respecting baptism. There is a marked absence of involved ritual and mystery; it is truly a eucharistic meal. "Now concerning the eucharist, thus give thanks; first concerning the cup: We

The "Teaching of the Twelve." thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Just as this broken bread was scattered over the hills and having been gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat or drink of your eucharist, except those baptized into the Lord's name; for in regard to this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs."¹

After the feast (*μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*), thanksgiving shall be offered for "the knowledge and faith and immortality" made known

¹ Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων, chap. ix.

through Jesus, and "for spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant." Also supplication for the Church, that it may be saved from evil and made perfect in love.¹

In Justin Martyr's account of the Lord's Supper is noticed an almost like simplicity as in the "Teaching." There is hardly a trace of a secret discipline, since this father, in his first Apology, is frank in his account of both the Christian sacraments.² Nevertheless, a change from the apostolic custom is noticed in the fact that special celebrants or officers are now recognised. "There is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water."³ The deacons distribute the consecrated elements, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion; none but the believers or the baptized are admitted to the meal—"to feast on the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."⁴

In Tertullian's account there is scarcely more formality. His object in giving the statement is to refute the vile calumnies made against the Christians, that in their private dwellings they were guilty of practices more shameless than attached to the heathen mysteries. The central thought of the feast is love. "The Greeks call it *ἀγάπη*, that is, love." "As it is an act of religious service it permits no vileness or immorality." "As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed. We go from it . . . to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet."⁵

The order of the service of the Lord's Supper in ante-Nicene times was nearly as follows: First, after the prayers, the kiss of peace was given between man and man, and woman and woman—this having apostolic sanction.⁶ Second, the two parts of the service proper, namely, the *oblation*, which was the presentation of the offerings for the feast, and for the poor and the clergy; and the *communion*, or the partaking of the consecrated elements. Both parts of the service were accompanied with prayer and praise. It is not easy to determine whether the service was in regular ritualistic form, or was extemporaneous. Probably with a perfect freedom the uttered prayers became fixed through repetition, and a regular liturgy was here, as elsewhere, the result of influences exerted through many decades of history. At first the

¹ *Ibid.*: chap. x.

² *Apol.* i, cc. 61, 65.

³ *Apol.* i, c. 65.

⁴ *Apol.* i, c. 66.

⁵ *Apol.*, c. 39.

⁶ Rom. xvi, 16; 2 Cor. xiii, 12; 1 Thess. v, 26. The kiss of peace was continued into the post-Nicene period, and was sanctioned by conciliary action. *v. Conc. Laodic.*, can. 19.

bread was the common bread of the various countries, though in later centuries the Latin church insisted on unleavened bread. The wine was mingled with water, and the communicants, standing, received both elements in the hands from the officiating deacons. Portions of the sanctified bread were sometimes borne to their homes by the members, where the family communion was repeated in one kind. This practice was especially frequent in the North African church in Cyprian's day, where the practice of infant communion with wine alone was in vogue. The

custom of the apostolic Church, for all communicants to make oblations of bread and wine and other things to supply the elements of the holy eucharist, and gifts to the poor, was continued through all the early history of Christianity, and, in a modified form, until the twelfth century. The

writings of the fathers, from Justin Martyr to Augustine, recognise this oblation as made by the entire company of believers. They upbraid those who from neglect or penuriousness fail to bring their appropriate contributions to the general fund, and carefully distinguish as to the character of the gifts which will be accepted.

Offerings made by extortioners, usurers, corrupt persons, or obtained by fraudulent means, were rejected; and Ambrose used the threat that the offerings of Valentinian would not be accepted by the Church, to induce his refusal of the prayer of Symmachus to restore the heathen altars.¹

In accordance with a law of development in church government and discipline, the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the elements became more and more formal and involved, as they were further removed from the plastic condition of the apostolic age. From the simple prayer of thanksgiving and consecration, used by Christ and by the Church of the first and second centuries, extended and carefully prescribed liturgical forms appear, the work of great churchmen, or the result of conciliary discussion and decision. Such forms of the consecration of the eucharist are met in the Apostolic Constitutions of the fourth century,² and in all the great liturgies of both the Eastern and Western churches. It is believed that no regularly prescribed liturgies were used in the ante-Nicene period. The earlier recognition of a *disciplina arcani* partially accounts for this; for when Christianity became the religion of the state, and the celebration of the eucharist was made a public act, a great number of written liturgies were prepared, both in the orthodox and heretical churches. While greatly differing in minor particulars, these great liturgies are based

Infant communion.
The oblation by the whole Church.
What offerings excluded.
Liturgical forms gradually developed.

¹ v. Ep. 30, *ad Valent.*

² Const. Apost., lib. viii, c. 13.

upon the earlier and simpler order of consecration and communion. Nevertheless they were often of great length, and were accompanied with many impressive ceremonies, especially frequent musical recitations by the choirs and responses by the people. As a rule, the Oriental churches accepted the most extensive and involved liturgies in the celebration of the eucharist, while the Western centered on a single feature of the divine manifestation—Christ's redeeming work.¹

As with respect to the constitution of the Church and the functions of church officers, so also with respect to the eucharist, the apostolic Church had no clearly defined doctrine as to the mode of its operation. The first Christians received the bread and wine with thanksgiving and gladness of heart, without inquiring into the manner of Christ's presence in the elements. There is no evidence whatever that it was regarded as a sin-offering or sacrifice.² The only sacrifice recognised is that of the person of the believer with all his powers (Rom. xii, 1; Phil. ii, 15-17, *et al.*). The most that can be stated is that those who had worthily participated in the Supper were thus brought into conscious union with their Lord, as in other religions the worshipper was conceived to be brought near the divinity through the medium of an offering by the priest.

The "Teaching of the Apostles" speaks of a sacrifice: "But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice, *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν*, may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice, *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν*, may not be profaned."³ Yet it is manifest that the term sacrifice is here used in a very different sense from that of a levitical or priestly oblation, since the offering here made is by the entire community of disciples, thus preserving the thought of the universal priesthood of believers. In arguing against the Docetists, Ignatius calls the eucharist "the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which

Character of the liturgies.

No early theory of the mode of its operation.

No recognition of a sin-offering.

In what sense "sacrifice" was understood.

¹ This is in harmony with the theory of worship in these churches. The Greek includes the entire circle of the divine manifestation, from the creation to the final triumph of the glorified Church. The Latin, on the contrary, proposes a narrower sphere in its theory of worship, to which its liturgy strictly corresponds. It is the manifestation of the history of redemption, as this culminates in the passion and atoning death of Jesus Christ. Its liturgy must be correspondingly abbreviated.

² Häfling: *Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen*, Erlangen, 1851, pp. 45. seq.

³ *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, chap. xiv.

suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of his goodness, raised up again;"¹ and again he speaks of the Church "breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote to prevent us from dying, but that we should live forever in Jesus Christ."² Such language appears to express a belief in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, yet is not absolutely determining. A very similar view would be inferred from the lan-

guage of Justin Martyr³ and Irenæus.⁴ The latter, however, elsewhere implies that the bread and wine are the archetypes of the body and blood of Christ. This is also the view which is met in the Apostolic Constitutions⁵ and in many of the Greek fathers of the first four centuries.

The African church seemed to fluctuate between the symbolical interpretation of the words of the institution of the Supper and the idea of the real presence in the elements. The strong development of the priestly character of the clergy by Cyprian led him to view the eucharist as a sacrifice.

The Alexandrian church were generally inclined to regard the bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and the feast as spiritual in its nature and office.

The idea of a sacrifice is expressed in the language of nearly all the ante-Nicene fathers, but it is more a commemoration of the one sacrifice for sin made by the offering of Christ, "once for all," upon the cross, with the added thought of thanksgiving for the plan of redemption. As late as the twelfth century this thought was perpetuated by the custom of the presentation of the eucharistic elements by the entire congregation, the universal priesthood of believers being thus exhibited.

The notion of a thank offering is prominent in most of the writers of the first and second centuries; but in the third century the later doctrine of a sin offering is found, especially in the writings of Cyprian, whose theory of the priesthood of the ministry logically demanded an offering for the sins of the people. His language is remarkable, and expresses the extreme view of the age relative to a genuine offering of sacrifice made by the priest. "For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is himself the chief priest of God the Father, and has first offered himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of

¹ *Ad Smyrn.*, c. 7.

² *Ad Ephes.*, c. 20.

³ *Apol.*, c. 66.

⁴ *Advers. Hær.*, iv, c. 18, *seq.*

⁵ *Const. Apost.*, v, c. 14; vi, c. 30; vii, c. 36.

The bread and wine are archetypes.

The view of the African Church.

The Alexandrian view.

The commemoration of a sacrifice.

Cyprian's sacerdotal view.

Christ who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ himself to have offered."¹

The three views of the Lord's Supper, the mystical, the symbolic, and the extreme materialistic, traces of each of which are found in the first three centuries, were perpetuated in the post-Nicene church. Among some of the prominent Greek writers there is a tendency to rhetorical declamation in describing the benefits of the eucharist, and to the recognition of some mysterious change which the elements undergo in the act of consecration, by virtue of which the believer truly partakes of the body and blood of Christ. It is difficult to find those exact definitions which enable us to classify these writers as advocates of a mere spiritual participation in Christ's nature, or of the doctrine of the real presence in the bread and wine, or of a veritable change of substance in the elements. The same writer fluctuates in his expressions, at one time seemingly representing the elements as changed into the veritable body and blood of Christ,² and at another as symbols of his body and blood. Other fathers, as Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom in the East, and Hilary and Ambrose among the Latins, are quite pronounced in regard to a complete change of the elements in the act of consecration, and, therefore, incline to the later view of the Latin Church. Nevertheless, in these same writers are found expressions which, if studied in their isolation, would lead us to rank them among the advocates of the mere symbolic relation of the elements to the body and blood of Christ, and of a purely spiritual communion with him. With all of them it is a deep mystery. In the symbolic school may be reckoned Basil, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustine; although these, too, at times use expressions which favour another theory.

What is true of the teachings of the great church fathers is likewise true of the language of the ancient liturgies. Some represent a veritable change in the elements as occurring in the act of consecration, while others recognise only the spiritual presence of Christ in the supper. The Greek liturgies are generally more clear in the representation of the real

¹ Ep. 62 (63), *ad Cæcil.*, c. 14.

² v. especially Cyril of Jerusalem as cited by Neander: *Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, Berlin, 1857, Bd. i, ss. 425, 426. "Regard not, therefore, the bread and the wine as elements simply, for, according to the declaration of the Lord, they are the body and blood of Christ."

Opinions various.

Classifications difficult.

The symbolic school.

The liturgies not uniform in teaching.

presence of Christ with the elements. Generally throughout the eucharistic portions of the liturgies there is the recognition of an awful, yet glorious, mystery.¹

From the ancient canons it is evident that full members of the Church, or those who had passed through their catechumenical discipline and had been baptized, and who were free from ecclesiastical censure, were under obligation to partake of the eucharist. Some of the canons are very explicit, going so far as to declare that such as refuse to partake of the eucharist ought to be excluded from the Church;² and with this opinion harmonized the teachings of the Apostolic Constitutions, and of some of the most eminent Christian fathers.³ Nor did a plea of unworthiness excuse from this solemn duty. The reservation of some of the elements for the use of such as were not prepared or willing to commune, called *eulogia*, *εὐλογία*, was unknown to the Church of the first four centuries, and probably was not recognised before the eighth or ninth century. Nor was the mediæval and modern practice of private mass, where the priest alone receives the elements, known to the early Church.

Since the Church from the beginning of the third century accounted infants as proper subjects of baptism, and regarded this as the proper initiatory rite into the Church—ratifying the membership by the holy unction and confirmation—she consistently admitted infants to the Lord's Supper. Of this there is abundant proof as early as the third century. Cyprian is very clear in his recognition of the propriety of infant communion,⁴ and he mentions it in such terms as to give the impression of

¹ This subject is discussed at great length, with abundant references to original authorities, by Kahn: *Die Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl*, Leipzig, 1851. Rückert: *Das Abendmahl, sein Wesen, und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1856. Freeman: *Principles of Divine Service*, London, 1855–1862. Harrison: *An Answer to Dr. Pusey's Challenge respecting the Doctrine of the Real Presence*, London, 1871. Ebrard: *Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte*, Frankfurt, 1845. "No other hypothesis is backed up by such a subtle philosophy; no other can so shelter itself from both reason and ridicule in the sanctuary which has been provided for it. . . . His (the believer in transubstantiation) Christ in the sacrament is removed from the region of sense to the region of the unthinkable and non-existent. The Roman Catholic's sacramental Christ is the God of Spinoza." v. Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, pp. 242, 243.

² *Conc. Antioch.*, can. 2, quoted by Bingham, vol. ii, p. 791. Augusti: *Handbuch d. Christ. Archæologie*, Bd. ii, ss. 637, 638.

³ For declarations of such as were entitled to commune and their duty v. Const. Apostol., lib. viii; for the obligation, among others, v. Chrysostom: Hom. iii, *ad Ephes.*

⁴ *de Lapsis*, c. 25.

its commonness. In the Apostolic Constitutions,¹ where the order in which persons are to receive the communion is treated, children are mentioned; and Augustine in many passages of his writings recognises its practice and propriety. It was also customary for the early Church to send the elements to absent members, to bishops and officers of other churches, to the sick and infirm, and to captives languishing in prison. Elements sent to sick and prisoners.

The Lord's Supper was early celebrated in private houses; but in later and more settled periods it was usually celebrated where celebrated. in the church. The people received into their hands of both kinds, sometimes kneeling, sometimes standing, but rarely, if ever, sitting.² The Constitutions prescribe an order in which persons shall commune: "First, let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, Order of communion. and ascetics; among the women the deaconesses, virgins, and widows, after that the children, then all the people in order."³ In Justin Martyr's description⁴ of the rite, the president consecrates, and the deacons distribute both elements to the communicants; but in the more formal order of government it is seen that the deacon is forbidden to officiate if a presbyter be present.

The practice of communing in one kind, except in case of urgent necessity, was unknown to the ancient Church; of this the proof is too abundant to need specification. It was sometimes the case that the bread was mingled with the wine, and thus both elements were given at the same time. Bread mingled with wine. Hence the use of eucharistic spoons in the Greek church, and also in the Coptic church of to-day.

The frequency of celebrating the supper varied in different ages of the Church. The apostolic Church at first had daily Frequency of celebration. assemblies for observing the sacred meal, but afterward, apparently, met "on the first day of the week" for its celebration.⁵ The testimony of Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and others is to the same custom in their day. But besides the Lord's day the eucharist was celebrated on all great feasts and festivals, and in some churches there was Celebrated on feast days. a return to its daily observance. But after the sixth century the

¹ l. viii, c. 13.

² This was a much later practice, originating in peculiar circumstances.

³ l. viii, c. 13, as quoted by Bingham, bk. xv, chap. iv.

⁴ *Apol.* i, c. 65.

⁵ v. Pliny: *Epistolæ*, lib. x, ep. 97, in his celebrated letter to Trajan on the lives and customs of the Christians of the Province of Bithynia. Also Justin Martyr: *Apol.* i, 67.

celebration became less frequent, until in some churches communion was insisted on but once a year.

There is no evidence in the writings or monuments of the first six centuries of the elevation of the host or of its adoration. The entire accompaniments of the eucharist were calculated to impress the mind of the communicant with the solemnity of the act, as well as with the high privilege of the sacrament. The discourses of the great preachers, as the Gregories, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, etc., abound in most eloquent passages, inculcating the necessity of a preparation of spirit in order to communicate worthily, and showing the immense benefits which Christ intended to confer upon the Church by the institution of the Supper.

§ 2. *The Altar and its Furniture.*

As the central act of public worship was the eucharistic supper, so the central point in the house of assembly was the table of the Lord, or the altar. Paul calls it *τράπεζα κυρίου*. It received different designations at different periods and in different countries. As the idea of a sacrificial offering became more and more prominent, the terms *ara*, *altare*, *θυσιαστήριον*, etc., were applied to the place of consecrating the elements in the eucharist. The forms of the altar varied from the simple table (*τράπεζα*, *mensa*) to the more elaborate altars in wood, stone, and precious metals. Even in Tertullian's day the *ara* is frequently mentioned, and seems to have been of wood. Generally the term is qualified by some word indicating to whom the altar is chiefly dedicated, or whose relics lie beneath it. There are sufficient reasons for believing that for the first two and a half centuries the table, or altar, was often portable, and that in times of great public agitation, or persecution of the Church, it was carried from place to place as safety or prudence might dictate.

After commodious basilicas were erected and were under the protection of government, the regular place of the altar was at the middle of the chord of the apse (*v. Fig. 82*). It is believed that in the fourth century the altar began to assume the form of a tomb, from the practice of placing beneath it the relics of martyrs or saints. The change of the altar from wood to stone can be better accounted for in this way than by deriving the suggestion from the *arcosolia* of the catacombs, which some affirm were used for altars during times of persecution, and from excessive ven-

eration of the martyred dead. Several of these tomblike altars, from the fifth century, still survive in Rome, Ravenna, and elsewhere; the one discovered in the Basilica San Alessandro, seven miles from Rome, on the *Via Nomentana*, and that of SS. Nazza-ro e Celso in Ravenna are good examples. From these well-preserved altars of the fifth century, as well as from mosaic representations found in several churches of the East and West, a good idea of their form, material, and accessories may be gained. Fig. 140 represents a table or altar from about the fifth century, restored partially from divers fragments. It is sketched as a large table of marble, supported by pillars upon which is sculptured a branch of the vine with its fruit. One frieze contains sculptured doves, which turn towards the monogram

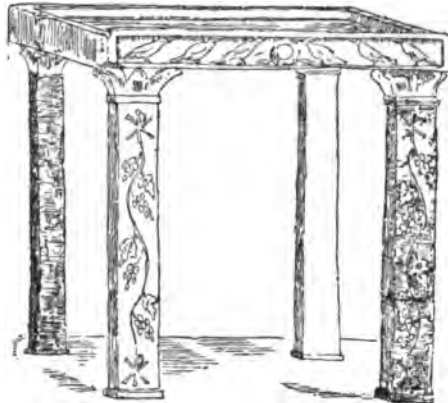


Fig. 140.—An altar (*mensa*) of the fifth century.

of Christ; the other (not shown) has a like number of lambs turning towards the mystic Lamb in the centre. It is nearly six feet long and about three and a half wide. It gives a good idea of the altar in the form of the mensa.¹ The altar was often placed upon a platform raised two or three steps high, beneath which was a space, called *confessio*, where was the grave of the saint, afterward the depository of the sarcophagus containing the sacred remains. From literary notices, as well as from mosaics yet preserved, it is plain that from the fourth or fifth century the altar was covered by a canopy, *ciborium*, supported by columns, between which stretched rods bearing the veils, or curtains, which hid the sacred elements from the vulgar gaze. The ciboria were often of great costliness, wrought out in elaborate patterns, and formed a most striking part of the furniture of the sanctuary (*βήμα, sanctuarium*). The custom of multiplying altars along the sides of the church is of later origin.

Elevated above the general level.

The ciborium.

The chalice (calix) was at first but one of the ordinary drinking vessels used at the social feasts. By degrees, as the public worship became more regular and orderly, as the congregations

¹ v. Roller: *Catacombes de Rome*, tom. ii, p. 90, pl. lxiii.

had their stated places of assembly, and the societies cared for the furniture of the churches, the chalice for the wine and the paten.

the paten for the consecrated bread were doubtless of regular pattern, and often of appropriate decoration. To what extent the forms met upon sarcophagi, on slabs of marble, or in mosaics, are representations of the chalice and paten it is difficult to say. From their age and their connection with inscriptions, a few may, without violence to any laws of sound interpretation, be regarded as forms of sacramental vessels. Such evidence must, however, be received with caution, since some of these forms are plainly for purposes of ornament. The number of chalices and patens still surviving from the first six centuries

Earliest examples.

is very small. Probably the earliest are those found at Gourdon, in France, now preserved in the Royal Library of Paris. They are of gold, ornamented with scales of garnet, and beautifully chased. From the fact that they were found in connection with gold coins of the time of Justin I., they are believed to be as early as the sixth century. From the descriptions of Paul Silentarius we can safely infer that the vessels which

Rich altar furniture.

decorated the altars in St. Sophia must have been of wonderful richness and beauty. Numerous notices of other Christian writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries clearly indicate that the altar furniture was carefully studied and was often of most costly material.

Likewise the accounts of the pillage of churches in the times of persecution, or during popular uprisings, clearly prove that the churches were in possession of many valuable rolls of the sacred Scriptures, as well as manuscript liturgies and hymns.

Eusebius's testimony.

Eusebius assures us that he has seen with his own eyes the sacred Scriptures committed to the flames upon the market-places, and the houses of worship thrown down from their foundations;¹ and Optatus speaks of the Donatists burning the altars of their rivals, and destroying the beautiful altar vessels of gold, or melting them down and selling them as profane.² After the recognition of

Imperial gifts.

Christianity as the religion of the empire, the imperial gifts, not only of churches, but of richest furniture, were frequent, and added immensely to the impressiveness of the public

¹ *Hist. Eccles.*, l. viii, c. 2. v. Lactantius's account (*de Mort. Persee*, c. 12) of the burning of the splendid church at Nicomedia with the volumes of the sacred Scriptures.

² The edict of Diocletian contemplated the destruction of the sacred vessels and books as well as the churches. The guardians of the churches frequently refused to produce the books or reveal their place of concealment.

worship.¹ The growing splendour of church decoration and furniture is sometimes rebuked by the bishops as robbery of widows and orphans,² and is contrasted with the simplicity of the first and second centuries, when the warm glow of brotherly love was prevalent, and when the body of the Lord could be borne in a basket of wicker work, and his blood in a vessel of glass.³

¹ Justinian's intolerant zeal, in building ninety-six churches for the yielding Greeks of Asia Minor, and supplying them with linen vestments, Bibles, liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, may be quoted as an example.

² Chrysostom: *Hom. 50 in Matt.*

³ Hieron.: Ep. 125.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

§ 1. *The Apostolic Age.*

THE worship of the apostolic Church was simple, and without liturgical character. True, Christ left a form of prayer which, by its spirit and comprehensiveness, was to remain a model for the Church in all the future. So also in the New Testament, from time to time, recur formulas which were probably the germs of the stately liturgies so widely accepted during the following centuries. Doubtless in this, as in other respects, the influence of the Jewish temple and synagogue service was powerful and lasting. Prior to the destruction of Jerusalem it is evident that the distinction between Christian and Jew was not sharply made, and many of the Jewish converts continued to attend upon a worship which had become venerable from age, and impressive by its stately ceremonial. Moreover, the doxology and the psalmody of the Old Testament Scriptures were accepted and incorporated into the worship of the new religion, and they were found to be consonant with that spirit of universalism which characterized the teachings of Christ and of his first apostles.¹ In accordance with the precepts and example of its Master, the early Church was accustomed to offer prayer for all men, even for enemies, and in this respect it was distinguished sharply from the practice of Judaism on the one hand, and the spirit of heathenism on the other. The bigoted exclusiveness of some Jewish sects, and the narrower limitations occasioned by nationality, birth, etc., recognised by the heathen world, could not harmonize with the truth which had been communicated to Peter through a special divine manifestation (Acts x, 34, 35).

Associated with the prayers, often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and elsewhere, is found the recommendation to "speak in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" (Eph. v, 19); "teaching and admonish-

¹ Augusti: *Handbuch der ch. Archæologie*, Bd. ii, s. 7.

ing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs (*ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς*), singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii, 17). Another part of the worship consisted in the reading and expounding of the Scriptures (Acts i, 15, *seq.*; ii, 14; iv, 33, *et al.*). Doubtless in this there was a close imitation of the form of the Jewish worship, for it is inconceivable that men who had all their lives been accustomed to the free and stimulating services of the synagogue should suddenly sunder themselves from these associations, and devise an entirely new order of worship.

Forms of worship in apostolic Church.

The first Jewish converts, accustomed as they had been to hear the law read and expounded by some priest or reader, and to listen to the impressive utterances of the Prophets and of the Psalms in their frequent gatherings, cherished more fully the grand and solemn lessons of their sacred writings as they now saw their fulfillment and culmination in the Messiah whose kingdom they were labouring to establish. Doubtless the prevalent custom among the Jews, to invite any well-informed man to explain the Scripture lesson, was entirely consonant with the feelings of the early disciples, when the right to teach was not of official sanction, but of spiritual endowments, or of a special charism, *χάρισμα διδασκαλικόν*. The custom of Paul on his missionary tours also illustrates the easy and natural connection of the early converts with their former religion, as it was celebrated in the synagogues of the dispersion. His method was to attach himself to the Jewish synagogue, and, in a spirit of generous universalism, use the existing forms to convey the higher lesson of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Jewish converts loved the synagogue service.

Paul's method of evangelization.

The question of the composition of the churches founded by Paul still remains an open one, especially whether the Jewish or the heathen element at first preponderated. Doubtless in nearly every case there was a mixture of converts from both. Inasmuch as the theism of the Jews was the substantial foundation on which the Christian system must be reared, their forms had, presumably, large influence in all the churches established by Paul and his co-workers during their wide missionary journeyings, and the simple synagogue worship probably had very considerable effect upon most of these churches for a century after the death of the apostles.¹ If these are to be regarded as, in a

Composition of the churches founded by Paul.

¹ With respect to the composition of the Church at Rome, Baur and Schwegler, as well as Thiersch and others not of the Tübingen school, have sought to prove the preponderance of Jewish influence. But many others, as Neander, Schaff, Lange, have controverted this claim.

measure, colonies of the mother church at Antioch,¹ then must the preponderating influence of the heathen element be presumed. Moreover, the opposition which Paul often encountered from the Jews, compelling him to leave the synagogue, and establish an independent society (Acts xiii, 45, *seq.*; xviii, 5-7; xix, 8, *seq.*), would suggest a larger number of Gentile converts in the churches of Antioch of Pisidia, of Corinth, and of Ephesus, just as the history would lead us to suppose that in the church at Berea the majority of converts were sincere Jews, who had diligently searched their Scriptures to discover the fulfillment of the promise of the Messiah. While the records of the first century after the destruction of Jerusalem respecting the forms of Christian worship are exceedingly meager, it cannot be doubted that the character of the services of the churches would be somewhat affected as the majority of the members were of Jewish or Gentile origin; in the former case perpetuating the forms of the synagogue, and in the latter modified by the peculiar thought of the heathen converts.

A more distinctive service might be supposed to be developed in the latter societies, since the liberty of the Gospel would experience little hinderance from former customs, and be untrammelled by a venerable ritual. Yet we are checked from making too hasty inferences, since the letters of Paul to the churches which are most distinctively of Gentile converts abound in references to the Old Testament Scriptures, and some of the elements of the worship to which reference is therein made clearly point to a Jewish origin. Nevertheless, there is evidence that in some of the churches the letters of the apostles were read in the assemblies, and constituted a part of their service for edification and instruction (1 Thess. v, 27; Col. iv, 16). By degrees these letters, with other New Testament documents, came to be regarded as of equal and even superior importance to the Old Testament, and their authoritative character was recognised earlier by the churches of Gentile than by those of Jewish character.²

When all the circumstances are considered, we cannot speak of a contradiction between the spirit and worship of Jewish and Gentile societies, but rather of a variety in unity. The unity consisted partly in their communion with God in Christ, on the basis of the doctrine of the apostles, which was by both considered the reason and end of divine wor-

¹ v. Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 110.

² v. Lechler: *Op. cit.*, s. 120.

ship; partly in the fraternal association of believers with one another, which was stimulated and promoted by their religious services. Furthermore, both parties had their smaller and more exclusive society gatherings, as well as their more public assemblies to which the non-Christian public had access. The difference between the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian churches in its real essence consisted in the fact that with those societies which were formed out of the converted in heathen countries, their worship by virtue of their entire isolation from the Jewish temple and synagogue service, was more freely and independently developed by the pure spirit of the Gospel, while in Palestine the connection with the Old Testament ritual was more persistent and protracted. In fine, the worship of the Gentile-Christian churches shares in the liberty, independence, and novelty of Christianity, but in such manner that this independence of the New neither excludes a leaning toward the forms of the Old Testament worship, nor does its freedom ignore a law of orderly arrangement which is developed from within.¹

Greater independence among the heathen converts.

§ 2. *Worship in the Time of the Apostolic Fathers.*

It is quite remarkable that the apostolic fathers give us very few hints relative to the nature and order of public worship. Scarcely a paragraph is met in Clement, Polycarp, Hermas, or Barnabas. The archaic document, "The Teaching of the Twelve," if it can be firmly placed near the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century, becomes valuable as giving statements relative to the manner of celebrating the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper (*v.* book iii, chaps. 1, 2), as well as the character of the assemblies upon the Lord's day. We are impressed by the simplicity of the service, and by its almost absolute lack of ritualistic forms. The command to meet together is coupled with a description of the spirit which should be cherished by the participants, being largely a repetition of the injunction of Christ² (Matt. v, 23, 24). Frequent assembly is earnestly enjoined—"But ye shall come together often, and seek the things which befit your souls; for the whole time of your faith thus far will not profit you, if you do not become perfect in the last time."³

The "Teaching."

The references to public worship in the Ignatian writings are

¹ Lechler: *Op. cit.*, ss. 120, 121.

² *Διδαχὴ τῶν Αποστόλων*, chap. xiv, "But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks," etc.

³ *Id.*, chap. xvi.

very few, and furnish little aid in constructing the form of public service in the first quarter of the second century. The duty of frequent meetings is inculcated: "Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth his praise. For when ye assemble frequently in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and the destruction at which he aims is prevented by the unity of your faith."¹ He agrees with the "Teaching" respecting the propriety and custom of observing the first day of the week, rather than the Jewish Sabbath; "no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's day, on which also our life has sprung up again by him and by his death,"² etc.

The few heathen notices of the worship of the Christians in the first half of the second century are important in themselves, and instructive respecting the simplicity of services which continued in the Church after the death of the apostles. The testimony is also important as coming from enemies. In his well known letter to Trajan, about A. D. 102, Pliny describes the simplicity of the worship, and bears witness to the high moral character of the Christian fellowship. "They are accustomed to assemble before dawn on a certain day, and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as God,"³ etc. The celebration of the sacred meal, and the pledge to abstain from all wickedness while absent from each other, are likewise attested. Lucian, the universal scoffer, saw in Christianity only one of the numberless follies of his time. His mocking spirit, while contemning all religions, sobers into candor by acknowledging the benevolence of the Christians, and he testifies to the power of their belief in immortality to keep them steadfast, and cause them to abound in all helpfulness and kindness.⁴ He likewise speaks of their worship of Christ, of the reading of their sacred writings, and the celebration of the sacred meal.

§ 8. *Public Worship in the Second and Third Centuries.*

It is not till the middle of the second century that we meet with a somewhat formal and complete description of Christian public worship. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology to the emperor, senate, etc., says: "On the day called Sunday (*ἡ τοῦ Ἑλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα*) all who live in cities or in the country

¹ *Ad Ephes.*, c. xiii; v. also *ad Magnes.*, c. vii; *ad Polyc.*, c. iv.

² *Ad Magnes.*, c. 9.

³ *Epistola*, l. x, ep. 96.

⁴ *de Peregrino*, 11-13. v. Friedlander: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, 589-590. Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 325, 326.

gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and as we before said, when our prayers are ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, *Amen*; and there is distribution to each, and a participation in that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and the widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ on the same day rose from the dead."¹

In this brief passage a very lively sketch of the form and spirit of Christian worship in the middle of the second century is given.

1.) The day on which the assembly gathers and the reason of selecting this day. It is Sunday, and not the Jewish Sabbath; it is because on that day God finished his creation, and Jesus Christ rose from the dead. 2.) The gathering is from city and adjacent country into one place; the place is not characterized; but it is a society under president and helpers. 3.) The order of the service is like that in apostolic times, with the exception of singing, which is not here mentioned. The lector reads selections from the Gospels,² and from the prophetic Scriptures; next the president expounds and exhorts to an imitation of the examples furnished in the sacred lessons. Then follows prayer, led by the president, during which all stand; next the consecration of the elements for the Lord's Supper, their distribution by the deacons,³ a participation in both kinds by all who are present, and the care for those who are absent, by the deacons. After the communion is the collection for the poor and needy, which is deposited with the president for disbursement to

¹ *Apol.* i. c. 67.

² *Apol.* i. c. 66, "For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels," etc.

³ *v.* c. 65.

all who may be in want, or in bonds, as well as to the stranger sojourning among the brethren. From this account by Justin it might be fairly inferred that there existed a regular and recognised order of worship, and to proper officers, president, lector, and deacons, specific duties were now assigned. Here is noticed a regular and orderly procedure in the service, but it is still characterized by earnestness and simplicity, no intimation of an involved liturgy appearing, except possibly in the response of the people.¹

Other writers of the second century add very little to our knowledge of public worship. Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian in their quite extensive writings dwell but slightly upon this subject. In his reply to Celsus, Origen uses a few expressions which indicate a fixed order of service in the churches of Alexandria, but it is not easy to construct from these the complete form of worship. Tertullian's account of the services in the North African church agrees quite closely with the statement of Justin Martyr. He adds a few particulars, as, "We also give admonitions, institute examinations, and administer the divine censure." From the last expression we are to infer that the discipline of the Church was also considered in the public assemblies. He also informs us that in prayer they turned toward the east;² that they lifted their hands to God the Father;³ and that in the *missa fidelium* the Lord's Prayer was used, and the kiss of peace was given.⁴

When the sacerdotal principle was greatly strengthened, during the first half of the third century, the public services assumed a more fixed and ceremonial character. The sharp distinction between laity and clergy brought corresponding changes in the conduct of worship. From this time the ministering priest appears more prominently in both the *missa catechumenorum* and in the *missa fidelium*. The bishop or presbyter is the offerer in the eucharist, "who offers the sacrifices to God." The sacrifice is now celebrated daily; the lessons are read from a *pulpitum*. It is evident that there is a kind of responsive service, for the *Sursum Corda* and the *Habemus ad Dominum* are expressly mentioned in Cyprian's treatise on the Lord's Prayer.⁵ Also he speaks of the attitude in prayer as standing: "Moreover, when we stand praying, beloved brethren,

¹ Notwithstanding Justin's Apology is addressed to the emperor, who might be supposed to be more interested in affairs pertaining to his capital, it is believed that he describes the order of worship which was extant in the patriarchate of Antioch, within which he resided.

² *Apol.*, c. 16.

³ *Idolat.*, c. vii.

⁴ *de Oratione*, c. 14.

⁵ *de Oratione dominica*, c. 31.

we ought to be watchful and earnest with our whole heart, intent on our prayers."¹

The character of public worship in the African churches during the fourth century can be pretty well ascertained from the writings of Augustine. The following is the order as therein revealed. The Scripture reading was from the prophets, epistles, and gospels—a psalm being sung between the epistle and gospel lesson. We infer that the address or sermon made to the people was early in the public service. In the *missa fidelium* the worship began with the *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts") and the *Habemus ad Dominum* ("We lift them up unto the Lord"). The first priest then responded, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God," and the people said, "It is meet and right so to do." The prayer of consecration of the elements (sanctification) is made only by the priest; since, from the language of Augustine, this is regarded as of the nature of a sacrifice. After the consecration, the Lord's Prayer was repeated by the clergy only. Then the *Pax vobiscum* ("Peace be with you"), and the kiss of peace. Next followed the communion and the dismissal by the benediction, which Augustine mentions in his private letters. In these letters is found also the statement that in the public service prayers were offered for the conversion of unbelievers, for the catechumens, that they might be earnest in the preparation for baptism, for all believers, for bishops and priests, for all rulers, the suffering and persecuted, for absent members of the congregation, and for enemies.²

The notices contained in the writings of the first three and a half centuries represent the Lord's Supper as the central act of public worship, around which revolves every minor part, and which gave significance to the whole. The celebrating of this sacrament is the supreme object of all public assemblies of the saints.

¹ *de Oratione dominica*, c. 31.

² v. Mone: *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1850.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLIEST LITURGIES.

§ 1. *Origin.*

THE almost unbroken peace which the Church had enjoyed between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Decius had added greatly to the number of her adherents, but had brought serious moral enervation even upon some of her high officials. Freedom from opposition, and a strong reaction against the rigors of the Montanistic discipline, prepared the way for the lapse of a majority of North African Christians during the terrible persecution under Decius and his successors.¹ The most marked symptom and proof of a decaying piety were the relegation of personal duties to a class of church officials, and a growing formalism in public worship. It was during this interval of peace that the sacerdotal notion had greatly strengthened, and the influence of the laity had correspondingly declined.

The forty years between the death of Valerian and the Diocletian persecution were most important for the discipline, doctrine, and worship of the Church. The readmission of the lapsed, after the Decian persecution, had originated the sacrament of penance, which became so powerful a factor in the doctrine of the Latin Church.² The more lenient treatment of those who had denied Christ under Valerian tended to the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, and the general freedom from legal disabilities gave opportunity for the erection of spacious churches, where worship was conducted with ever-increasing pomp. Just then, when piety was feeble and heresy was rank, the Church felt the necessity of guarding its orthodoxy by the clearer formulation of doctrine, and fixing the order of its worship by the construction of stately liturgies.

It was probably under these circumstances that the great liturgies³ were rapidly developed. From the liturgical germs found in

¹ Aubé: *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde Moitié du III^e Siècle*, 4 vols., Paris, 1876-1885, vol. iv, pp. 70, *seq.*

² v. Aubé: *Op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 30, *seq.* Lecky: *History of European Morals*, London, 1884, vol. i, pp. 457, *seq.*

³ The term liturgy, *λετουργία*, has come to mean the order and method of public worship; more especially the manner of celebrating the eucharist. The term *mass*

the New Testament, and in the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers, were steadily perfected the imposing forms whose long-continued use gave character to the public worship of the East and West. They have undergone numerous important changes, according to the varying fortunes and doctrinal developments of the Church, or as they have been amended by conciliary decisions. None are probably older than the fourth century; since till the Church was relieved of its legal disabilities, and placed under state protection, the celebration of the eucharist, especially, belonged to the *Disciplina arcani*. The period for the full development of the great liturgies begins, therefore, with the complete triumph of Christianity over heathenism. This is evident from their frequent use of terms which originated in the General Councils, where fundamental doctrines were first formulated. Nevertheless, they have certain striking resemblances which suggest a common underlying tradition, and marked differences that could result only from diverse environments.

Have under-
gone great
modifications.

§ 2. Classification and Description.

The classification of the early liturgies according to their origin, points of likeness, and influence has been attempted by several learned liturgists;¹ but the results are by no means harmonious.

Neale arranges them under five classes, namely: 1. That of St. James, or of Jerusalem. 2. That of St. Mark, or of Alexandria. 3. That of Thaddæus, or of Edessa. 4. That of St. Peter, or of Rome. 5. That of St. John, or of Ephesus. While tradition ascribes the origin of each of these to the person whose name it bears, it is evident that they were the result of long-repeated services at the great centers of ecclesiastical power, were modified with the shifting fortunes of the Church, and were in use in different districts as the influence of the patriarchal capitals was augmented or declined. Moreover, the growth of a multitude

Neale's classification.

is applied to the public eucharistic service by the Latin Church. The liturgical books were generally called by the heathen *libelli*, by the Church *sacramentaria*, *libri mysteriorum*, etc.

¹ The following are among the most learned writers upon the liturgies of the Church: L. A. Muratori (R. C.): *Liturgia Romana vetus*, 2 vols., Venet., 1748. Palmer (Anglican): *Origines Liturgice*, 2 vols., London, 1845. Daniel (Lutheran): *Codex liturgicus ecclesie universae in epitomen redactus*, 4 vols., Lipsiæ, 1847-1851. Mone (R. C.): *Latéinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1850. Neale (Anglican): *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, or according to the uses of the churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople*, London, 1859.

of lesser liturgies from these argues a great variety of opinion, and a large degree of liberty in the different districts and churches.

The Eastern liturgies are divided into two parts: 1. That preceding, and, 2. That following the *Sursum Corda*. They generally go under the names of the *proanaphora* and the *anaphora*. It has been discovered that usually one liturgy in every class or family of liturgies supplies the *proanaphora* to all the others. Of some sixty Oriental liturgies there are not a dozen exceptions to a common *proanaphora*. This would seem to point to a common source of one branch of the public service; while the great variety found in the *anaphora* would only be in harmony with the spirit of the East, which allowed greater variety in the language and order of public worship.

1. The oldest liturgy is probably that of St. Clement,¹ which dates from about the first half of the fourth century. While it has fallen entirely into disuse, it is of interest in revealing the character of the early rituals, and in assisting to determine the changes which were introduced into the worship in the post-Nicene period. In it the *missa catechumenorum* is strictly separated from the *missa fidelium*; the forms are simple; as from very early times the sainted dead are commemorated, there is no reference to individual names; Mary is not once mentioned: all of which circumstances point to an early origin. In these respects, as well as with reference to the reading of the Scriptures and the homily, the formula of consecration, the petition for the excommunicate, and the prayer for enemies and persecutors, this liturgy agrees in sentiment and spirit with what is given by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and would, therefore, justify the opinion that the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" might be a product of the third century. Drey has, however, pointed out two circumstances which forbid so early an origin: First, the mention of the *ascetics*, for whom prayer is offered, and to whom a place of honor next to the clergy is assigned in the *missa fidelium*; secondly, the mention of *subdeacons* in the liturgy. Both these classes received official recognition after the third century; hence the origin, or at least the present form, of the eighth book of the Constitutions, containing the Clementine liturgy, must be later than the third century.²

¹ This liturgy is found in the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions." v. Cotelierius's edition of the Apostolic Fathers. For a critical examination and estimate, v. especially Drey and Bickell, elsewhere cited.

² v. Drey: *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Kanones der Apostel.* s. 139, seq. v. *Const. Apos.*, l. viii, c. 11.

2. Another very ancient liturgy, belonging to the very large class called by Neale the Hierosolymitan (or of Jerusalem), is ^{Liturgy of S. James.} that of S. James. "From this Greek liturgy there are three sets of offshoots. The first of these is the Cesarean branch. St. Basil's liturgy is a recast of that of S. James, as St. Chrysostom's is an abbreviation of and new addition to that of St. Basil. From St. Basil's sprang the Armeno-Gregorian rite, as at present ^{its three branches.} used; while St. Chrysostom's exercised an influence on the later forms of the Nestorians. Circumstances have rendered the Constantinopolitan rites, as I have already said, sole possessors of the orthodox East. The liturgy of St. Basil is said on all Sundays in Lent except Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday, Easter eve, the vigil of Christmas and the Epiphany, and the Feast of St. Basil (January 1). That of Chrysostom is appropriated to every other day in the year. . . . The second offshoot of S. James is of far less importance. It embraces but two offices, the Sicilian liturgy, . . . the other named from St. Cyril, which was never widely used, and of which it is impossible to say where it was employed. The Sicilian liturgy differs principally from that of S. James in amplification. . . . The third offshoot of the Hierosolymitan office is the Syriac liturgy of S. James, and its dependents. It differs verbally from the Greek office of the same name, from which it is derived. The prayers, generally speaking, are rather shorter, though the Invocation to the Holy Ghost is much amplified."¹ This Syriac liturgy is believed to be the source of no less than thirty-nine distinct liturgies, all of which were in use among the Monophysites.

3. The liturgy of S. Mark was influential in Alexandria, and in the churches which were regarded as dependent upon, or subject to, the Alexandrian patriarch. In its present form it is ^{Liturgy of St. Mark.} usually ascribed to Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, about the first quarter of the fifth century. Offshoots from this were used in the Coptic and Ethiopian churches.²

Many other liturgical forms originated in the East which had a wider or narrower influence, whose shades of difference are numerous and interesting to notice. As before said, it is probable that the more unbridled spirit of the Eastern churches helped to modify and adjust the liturgies to the varying conditions; while the centralizing forces of the West secured for the churches greater uniformity in public worship.

The Western liturgies may be studied under four classes: 1. The

¹ Abridged from Neale.

² v. Daniel: *Codex Liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ*, Lipsia, 1853, lib. iv, p. 135.

Gallican, which has been traced by Mone and others¹ to Ephesus as the place of its origin, but which was amended from time to time by Hilary and others. 2. The other member of this family is the old Spanish, Gothic, or Mozarabic, which was probably an imported liturgy, but was largely modified by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. 3. The Roman liturgy, which can hardly be older than the fifth century. It seems very probable that the vigorous bishops of Rome, during the fifth and sixth centuries, gradually brought this liturgy into form; especially Gregory the Great, who was active in effecting reforms in ecclesiastical hymns and music, prepared a *sacramentarium* which was largely accepted by the Latin Church. 4. The Ambrosian, named after the bishop of Milan, like all other liturgies, was a work of gradual and long-continued development. It is more nearly related to the Roman, although in some features departing widely from it.² It is still in use in the diocese of Milan.

All the great liturgies have aimed to unify the thought and feeling of the congregation in acts of solemn worship. They have varied according to the views of their compilers respecting the supreme thought which should dominate the public service. Hence the Greek and the Latin liturgies may be regarded as an attempt to express in the great assembly, or by the community of believers, for purposes of instruction or edification, what each esteems the central doctrine of Christianity. The modifications which these have undergone are indices of the shifting of the center of a doctrinal system, or of a modified view of the best means of expressing the dominant truth to the assembled Church.

The thought of the liturgy of the Greek Church is the divine manifestation in effecting the work of human redemption; extending from the act of creation, through all the intervening dispensations, to the life of Christ from his birth to his glorification. Every prayer, lesson, antiphonal, or chant; every posture, action, change of vestments, shifting of colors, etc., are so many symbols to illustrate the unfolding history of redemption.

¹ Mone: *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt. 1850. Neale: *Essays on Liturgiology*.

² Daniel: *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 48-113, has arranged the four great Western liturgies in parallel columns, so that their harmonies and variations can be conveniently studied. This learned liturgist has in this work given us a mass of curious and valuable information, and his researches have greatly aided in tracing these liturgies to their origins. The subject is beset with peculiar difficulties, and the scholars are by no means in harmony respecting the chronology and relative influence of these forms of public worship.

In the Latin Church the entire liturgy centers in one thought of supreme interest, namely, the atoning sacrifice of Christ, veritably repeated at every mass. With variety in secondary parts, during the changing festivals of the year, the point around which the whole system revolves, and toward which every member points, is the sacrificial offering of Christ in the mass by the officiating priest, and the appropriation of its benefits by the worshipping Church. Hence the wider range of thought to be expressed by the Greek liturgies gave occasion for a more involved and imposing symbolism; while the Latin liturgies, by a concentration of attention on one act in the scheme of redemption, would give less opportunity for spectacular display, yet would produce a deeper and more lasting impression.¹

¹ In the liturgies of the Protestant Churches the thoughts of the priesthood of all believers, salvation through personal faith, individual privilege and responsibility, and instruction of the people in doctrine and duty are very prominent. Hence the eucharist is not celebrated on every occasion of public worship, but the sermon assumes a place of greater relative prominence than in other liturgies.

CHAPTER V.

THE LORD'S DAY, OR SUNDAY.

§ 1. *Historic Statement.*

THE daily assembly of the disciples for worship and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper largely ceased with the apostolic age. Soon the eucharist was consecrated weekly and on the occasion of great festivals, till at length a methodical and stated observance of weekly and yearly feasts was instituted. Daily assemblies were, however, recommended by some teachers during the first six centuries, and explicit injunctions for such gatherings are found in the Apostolic Constitutions.¹

As before observed, the Jewish Christians at first continued to frequent the temple and synagogue services, but at a very early date "the first day of the week" took the place of the Jewish Sabbath as the chief time of public worship (Acts xx, 7; 1 Cor. xvi, 2) in many of the churches of Jewish Christians. It was the day of the resurrection of Christ, of most of his appearances to the disciples after the resurrection, and on this day the Holy Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost.² For these reasons, and especially after the destruction of the sacred city had rendered the sacrificial service of the temple impossible, Sunday became the recognised day of assembly for fellowship and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is called in "The Teaching of the Twelve"³ the "Lord's day of the Lord" (*Κυριακήν δε Κυρίου*). The Jewish Christians at first observed both the seventh and the first day of the week; but the Gentile Christians kept the "Lord's day" from the beginning. It is difficult to doubt that it had apostolic sanction. The relation of the seventh to the first, as understood by the Jewish Christians, may not be easy to determine; yet there seem to be indications that the seventh was regarded as a day of preparation for the first.

Eucharist celebrated on the first day of the week.
The Jewish Christians attended the Jewish worship.
Reason for observing the first day.
Relation of the seventh to the first.

¹ v. l. viii, cc. 35-41.

² Barry: art. "Lord's Day," in *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 1043; and Hessey: "Lord's Day," in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 1677; Schaff: *Hist. of the Ch. Church*, vol. ii, p. 205.

³ Chap. xiv, l. The seventh day is not mentioned in this archaic document.

"The idea of Christian worship would attach mainly to the one; the obligation of rest would continue attached to the other; although a certain interchange of characteristics would grow up, as worship necessitated rest, and rest naturally suggested worship."¹

In his letter to the Magnesians,² Ignatius evidently addressed a Church of mixed character, since he speaks of some Ignatius's testimony. "who were brought up in the ancient order of things," who "have come to the possession of a new hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's day,"³ etc.

There is neither in this writer nor in the Barnabas epistle an intimation that Sunday was regarded as in any way a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath, nor yet a continuation of it; rather it was a new institution. It is, however, impossible to determine the time of its beginning; no impressive enactment, like that in the case of the Decalogue, The Lord's day not a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath. was needed. No enactment necessary. The recollection of the joyous events on the first day of the week led the early Christians to meet together and to celebrate them with gladness. Not until the fourth century do we find a statement intimating that the Jewish Sabbath, with its sanctions and duties, was transferred to the first, or the "Lord's day." Eusebius says: "On this day, which is the first of the Light and of the true Sun, we assemble after an interval of six days, and celebrate holy and spiritual Sabbath. . . . All things which it was duty to do on the Sabbath, these we have transferred to the Lord's day."⁴ The observance of the Jewish Sabbath in the churches of Jewish Christians continued for the first five centuries. In the East both days were celebrated with rejoicing; in the West the Jewish Sabbath was observed as a fast.

The reign of Constantine marks a change in the relations of the people to the Lord's day. The rescript of this emperor, Constantine's rescript. commanding the observance of Sunday, seems to have had little regard for its sanctity as a Christian institution; but the day of the Sun is to be generally regarded with veneration. "But the believer in the new paganism, of which the solar worship was characteristic, might acquiesce without scruple in the sanctity of the first day of the week."⁵

His successors not only sanctioned the legislation of Constantine,

¹ Barry: *in loco cit.*

² *Ep.*, c. 15.

³ v. Lightfoot: Ignatius, ii, p. 129. His remarks on this passage are important. "Not merely in the observance of it, but in the appropriation of all those ideas and associations which are involved in its observance," etc.

⁴ *Com.*, Psalm xcii.

⁵ Milman: *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 296.

but enlarged it, by multiplying the number of sacred days, and legally prohibiting the transaction of branches of public and private business, as well as the more debasing public amusements. "Thus

Further provisions of the emperors. Theodosius I. increased the number of judicial holidays to one hundred and twenty-four. The Valentinians, I.

and II., prohibited the exaction of taxes and the collection of moneys on Sunday, and enforced the previously enacted prohibition of lawsuits. Theodosius the Great, in A. D. 386, and still more stringently the younger Theodosius, in A. D. 425, forbade theatrical performances; and Leo and Anthemius, in A. D. 460, prohibited other secular amusements on the Lord's day."¹ While, by an early law, Honorius had respected the public amusements, and provision had been made for their maintenance from the public treasury, by a later rescript the sanctity of the Lord's day was guarded, and a humane provision made for the judges Humane provisions. to visit the prisons on Sunday, and inquire into the treatment of prisoners, and alleviate, as far as possible, the hardships of their condition.

Various other imperial enactments make plain the duties of civil and ecclesiastical officers respecting the observance of Sunday, until it takes its place as an institution to be guarded and regulated by the government.

§ 2. Sanctity and Ground of Observance.

It is indisputable that the resurrection of Christ was the one all-sufficient fact which accounts for the rise and growth of the Christian Church. "Jesus and the resurrection" was the burden of apostolic preaching. Hence the recollection of the day of the resurrection was so indelibly impressed upon the hearts of the first disciples that on its return they came together to pray, and to recall the memory of the Lord, by the breaking of bread and the celebration of the eucharist. It was the dictate of the glowing love for Christ, whose followers they delighted to be reckoned.

We fail to find the slightest trace of a law or apostolic edict instituting the observance of the "day of the Lord;" nor is there in the Scriptures an intimation of a substitution of this for the Jewish Sabbath. The primal idea of the Jewish Sabbath was cessation of labor, rest; the transference of this idea to the first day of the week does not appear in the teachings of Christ nor of his apostles. Nor in the Council of Jerusalem, when the most important decisions are reached relative to the ground of union of Jewish and Gentile Christ-

¹ Schaff: *Hist. of the Christian Church*, vol. iii, p. 381. *Cod. Theod.*, xv, 5, 2, a. 386: "Nullus Solis die populo spectaculum præbat."

ians, is one word found respecting the observance of the Sabbath. Contrariwise, Paul distinctly warns against the imposition of burdens upon the Church respecting days, but declares for a conscientious freedom in these observances. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv, 5, 6). Still more strongly does he upbraid the Galatian Church for putting itself again in bondage to the weak and beggarly elements, *ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, as days, months, times, and years; while in his letter to the Colossians (Col. ii, 16, 17) he speaks of the entire abolition of the Jewish Sabbath.

From all the passages of the New Testament touching this question, it is plain that there is no intimation of the transference of the Sabbath to the first day of the week, nor of imposing upon Christians the obligation to observe it after the manner of the Jewish Sabbath. Rest was the chief thought connected with the one; joyous activity and glad worship with the other. Both days continued to be observed by the Jewish Christians, but the associations of the two were entirely dissimilar. Like all Christian institutions which have been examined, the first day of the week, or Sunday, came to be hallowed "from a natural fitness of things," and not by formal apostolic or ecclesiastical enactment.¹

The distinction between the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day is repeatedly set forth by the apostolic fathers, and the difference in the mode of observance. In the Barnabas letter it is argued that the six days mentioned in Gen. ii, 2, signify a thousand years each. After this time Christ, by the overthrow of Antichrist, will reign the seventh thousand years, which is the day of rest mentioned in Genesis. The rest and the sanctification of the real Sabbath will be the perfect sanctification of believers, and the working of righteousness. "Wherefore," he concludes, "we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day, also, in which Jesus rose again from the dead."²

Justin Martyr is very clear in his statements relative to the obligation and observance of the Jewish Sabbath and of the Lord's day. In his dialogue with the Jew Tryphon, ^{Justin's opinion.} who taunts the Christians with having no festivals nor Sabbaths, Justin clearly claims that Sunday is to them a new Sabbath, and that the entire Mosaic law has been abrogated.³ The ^{The Mosaic law} new law binding upon Christians regards every day as ^{abrogated.} a Sabbath, instead of passing one day in rest or absolute idleness. He further claims that the Sabbath was given to Israel under peculiar

¹ v. Barry: art. "Lord's Day," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1043.

² c. xv.

³ *Om. Tryph.*, cc. 10, 11.

circumstances, and hence could not be of perpetual, but must be of only temporary obligation.¹ This temporary character of the commandment is further argued from the fact that the Sabbath had not been instituted at the beginning, but was first given to the Jews in the wilderness. As prior to Abraham circumcision had been unnecessary, and before Moses the Sabbath had not been enjoined, so since the coming of the Son of man the obligation to hallow the Sabbath no longer exists.

Tertullian claims that Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Melchizedek knew nothing of a Sabbath day,² and that the law of Moses is not in perpetuity, but only of temporary obligation. The cessation from labor did not have its ground in the law of Moses, but came from the consideration that the joyous festival of the Lord's day should not be marred by any thing which would disturb or turn the thought away from God, and give place to the devil.³ That on Sunday the Christians stood while praying, and did not fast, find their explanation in the fact that the day of the resurrection of the Lord was looked upon as a day of rejoicing and triumph,⁴ and that such practice had apostolic sanction.

With respect to the strictness with which the first day of the week was observed during the first three centuries, the following facts are important to notice. Between the death of the apostles and the edict of Milan, the Lord's day was sanctified by a Church unrecognised by the state, and exposed to opposition and sometimes to bitter persecution. The motive for its observance was, therefore, purely moral and religious. The social position of the early Church, drawing its members, for the most part, from the poorer artisans, traders, and slaves, forbade the strict and general keeping of the Lord's day, much more of both the Sabbath and Sunday. Thus the universal hallowing of the day of the resurrection was impossible.

True, Tertullian advised Christians to postpone all business until Sunday was over,⁵ and the Apostolic Constitutions enjoin that the Sabbath and the Lord's day shall be observed as festivals,⁶ "because the former is the memorial of the creation, the latter of the resurrection;" that the slaves work five days; that on the Sabbath day and the Lord's day they are to have leisure to go to church for instruction in religious truth.⁷ But it is quite

¹ *Id.*, cc. 18, 19.

² *Con. Judæos*, c. 4.

³ *De Oratore*, c. 23.

⁴ *De Corona Mil.*, c. 3. Irenæus: *Frag.*, c. 7. ⁵ *de Orat.*, c. 23. ⁶ l. vii, c. 23.

⁷ l. viii, c. 33. The last book may have been composed after the publication of the edict of toleration. The mention of both the Sabbath and the Lord's day is evidence of the Jewish-Christian thought which characterizes most of this collection.

incredible that the large body of Christians could absolutely cease from toil during two days of the week, besides attending other festivals which had been instituted; or that masters would permit slaves and dependents to desist from labor for so large a proportion of the time, especially since the Christian Church had little favor with the heathen world. The Christians in the the third century being very largely in the minority, especially outside the great marts of trade, it is not to be supposed that all could secure even a single day of the seven for positive and continuous cessation from toil. It is well known that Christian gatherings took place at night, and it is probable that many converts of the servile or artisan classes laboured hard on the seventh and first days in order to be present at the evening assemblies and the sacred meal.¹ While the Jewish Christians still adhered with great tenacity to the observance of the seventh day, in the estimate of the Gentile converts this, at first, could have had no such sanctity or authoritative sanction. Converts from heathenism, who had had little previous acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures, were probably, for a time, not in a position to appreciate the form and obligation of the fourth commandment as in its spirit applying to the Lord's day.²

Impossibility
of literal ob-
servance.

The Gentile
churches un-
acquainted
with the obli-
gation to keep
the Lord's day.

Thus the recognition of two days was found in the churches composed chiefly of Jewish Christians, while in the Gentile-Christian churches the first day of the week would be more exclusively celebrated. When Tertullian says, "On the Lord's day every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating in the law, and rejoicing in the works of God," there is noticed that adherence to a practical rule which was characteristic of the Western mind, but no inclination to sabbatize the Lord's day by deriving the obligation for its observance from the fourth commandment.³ Notwithstanding the beginnings of the

The fourth
commandment
not the basis of
Lord's day ob-
servance.

¹ Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church*, p. 281.

² v. Rigg: *The Sabbath and the Sabbath Law before and after Christ*, London, 1869, p. 45.

³ "It is very suggestive that in the Scriptures the repose of God after creation is made the prototype and basis for the celebration of the Sabbath (Gen. ii, 3; Exod. xx, 8, seq.). It is therefore implied that it is our innermost Godlikeness that calls for the rest of the Sabbath—the truly rational, religiously moral essence of man, and not the mere natural need of repose and enjoyment. . . . God blessed the Sabbath day; there rests upon its observance a special, an extraordinary benediction, an impartation of heavenly goods, even as the blessing upon labour is primarily only an impartation of temporal goods. The Sabbath has not merely a negative significance, is not a mere interruption of labour, but it has a very rich positive significance—it is

sacerdotal principle are found in Tertullian's writings, and its complete triumph was realized under Cyprian, there is by neither of these fathers any distinct recognition of the fourth commandment as the ground and reason of hallowing the day of the Lord's resurrection.

The Alexandrian school, as represented by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, more strongly presents the spiritual view of the Lord's day. In his argument with Celsus, Origen claims that true Christians make all days Lord's days; yet in other writings he exalts the first day over the seventh, as symbolic of a continuous Sabbath of rest.

In the midst of the corrupting influences of heathenism, and on account of the widespread indifference of the Church of the third century, after the ardor of her first love had cooled, the Christian teachers felt the necessity of bringing some stress of authority upon the Christian conscience to hold it to the faithful observance of the first day, as the Jews had known the power of a positive enactment in keeping them steadfast in the hallowing of their Sabbath. The constant temptation of the Christians to attend upon the heathen spectacles and festivities could, in the case of such whose type of piety was low, no longer, as at first, be broken by considerations of the high privileges of Christian worship, and of the commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, but the restraints coming from a quasi-legal enactment were found to be more and more necessary. Thus while the Christian fathers of the second and third centuries are in entire accord in teaching that the first day of the week, the Lord's day, is that which Christians should

celebrate, there is, nevertheless, noticed during the unfortunate times of Tertullian and Cyprian a growing tendency to enforce the observance of Sunday by considerations somewhat similar to those recognised under the Mosaic dispensation and by the Jewish Christians; yet the obligation comes not from the fourth commandment, but from the apostolic institution of the Lord's day. Nor is there any evidence

that the Christian emperors, from Constantine to Justinian, in their edicts for the observance and regulation of Sunday, were influenced by the Jewish law. During

The giving free scope to the higher, time-transcending nature of the rational, Godlike spirit, the reattaching of the spirit that had been immersed by labour into the temporal to the imperishable and to the divine. . . . The celebration of the Sabbath belongs to morality, *per se*, and does not depend on the fact of the state of redemption from sinfulness; but where sin is yet a dominant power, there its observance is less free, legally more strict than where the freedom of the children of God prevails." Wutke: *Christian Ethics*, trans. by Lacroix, New York, 1873, vol. ii, pp. 213, 214.

the first six centuries there are few if any instances of their direct appeal to the fourth commandment. Neither can many passages in the Christian writers, nor any conciliary decision, be quoted in which the authority for keeping the first day of the week is derived from the Mosaic law.

Nevertheless, from the time of the attempts of the emperors to adjust the civil conditions to the recognition of Sunday as the chief religious holiday, the sense of obligation to keep sacred the first day of the week, coming from legal enactment, more and more supplanted the consideration of the high and joyful privilege which had animated the Christian Church during the first years of its activity. From the last part of the sixth century the strict legalistic view becomes more and more prominent, and the rulers in State and Church incline to strengthen the civil and conciliary enactments respecting the Lord's day by divine authority as contained in the fourth commandment.¹

Yet the legal
view supplanted
the moral.

¹ The sabbath literature is of immense volume. Since the Reformation the discussions upon the nature and obligation of the Sabbath have been many and exhaustive. The following are thorough and scholarly: Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xx, chap. ii. Binterim: *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v, l, c. 1. Heylin: *History of the Sabbath*. Hessey: *Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation*, Bampton Lectures, London, 1860. Gillilan: *The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History*, New York, 1862. Probst: *Kirchliche Disciplin der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Bd. iii, 1. Cox: *The Literature on the Sabbath Question*, Edinburgh, 1865. Barry: "The Lord's Day," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Ch. Antiquities*, vol. ii, pp. 1042-1053. Zöckler: "Sonntagsfeier," in Herzog u. Plitt's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. xiv, ss. 428-436.

CHAPTER VI.

EASTER AND OTHER FESTIVALS.

§ 1. *Idea and Time of Observance.*

BESIDES the weekly observance of Sabbath and the Lord's day, the Passover, with which the passion and resurrection of Christ were so intimately associated, continued to exert a very considerable influence upon Christians of Jewish origin. This great festival, however, soon obtained an exclusively Christian significance, and became a proper Christian Passover, especially in churches composed of converts from heathenism, to whom Jewish institutions were largely matters of indifference. All Christians alike agreed in the propriety of the yearly celebration of the great events which were regarded as the most important in the history of redemption. Respecting the significance of these facts there was no difference of opinion; to keep alive the remembrance of the passion, death, and resurrection of the Lord was regarded by all alike as a high privilege and an imperative duty. The commemoration of the resurrection soon became the most important event of Holy Week, and is now known as Easter.

At an early date, probably in the first half of the second century, a difference of opinion arose as to the proper time of commemorating the resurrection of Christ, consequently respecting the time of observing the related events of the institution of the eucharist and of the crucifixion. Probably this controversy may be ultimately traced to the diversity of opinion in the churches of Jewish and Gentile origin respecting the obligations of the Mosaic institutions.¹ One party, the Christians of Asia Minor and a few others, adhered strictly to the tradition respecting the time of celebrating the passover by Christ and his apostles just before the crucifixion. Hence they uniformly observed the Christian passover on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, which was the first month of the sacred year of the Jews. This was observed as a fast. In the evening of the same day, Roman time, but at the beginning of the fifteenth

The influence
of the Jewish
passover.

Controversy
about the time
of observing
Easter.

The Judaizing
party.

¹ v. Renan : *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 194, 195.

Nisan, Jewish time, they partook of the communion, to commemorate the last paschal supper of Christ. The beginning of the festival might fall upon any day of the week; only it had a fixed date, the fourteenth Nisan,¹ and this day regulated the entire Easter festival.

A second party, of which the Roman Church was the leader, celebrated the crucifixion of Christ on Friday, the day of ^{The Western} the week on which it actually occurred. ^{The Sunday party.} The following was observed as Easter, or the day of the resurrection. They extended the fast from Friday till Easter day, and did not celebrate the eucharist before the festival of the resurrection. By this arrangement the anniversary of the death of Christ always fell upon Friday, and that of the resurrection on Sunday; yet the feast was not fixed, as in the other case, but movable. Hence the Christian Sunday, or the day of resurrection, and not the Jewish paschal day, regulated the Easter festival.

§ 2. *Attempts to Reconcile Differences.*

The controversy respecting Easter had no reference to its doctrinal import; herein all Christians were essentially agreed. ^{The import of the question.} It was rather, as before said, a question of adherence to, or independence of Judaism, and of harmonizing the practice of the Christian world in the commemoration of the most important events in the Saviour's earthly mission. The fierceness of the controversy threatened the peace and unity of the Church. Near the middle of the second century Polycarp, the venerable Bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome in the interests of peace, and had an inter- ^{Attempts at} view with its bishop, Anicetus.² ^{reconciliation.} The attempt to unify the churches was unsuccessful, although a spirit of mutual charity was promoted. About twenty years later the question was again debated in Laodicea between the Quarto-decimanians and their opponents. No rupture occurred because of the mutual forbearance of the parties. But the controversy continued. Toward the close of the second century the Roman bishop, Victor, ^{The demand of Victor.} attempted to interfere with the churches of Asia Minor, by commanding them to desist from their mode of celebrating Easter. To this demand the synod of Asia Minor, which met at Ephesus, made a most spirited reply through Polycrates, bishop of that city, appealing in defense of their rule to the traditions

¹ Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, v, c. 23. "It was incumbent on them, at all times, to make an end of the fast on this day, on whatever day of the week it should happen to fall." Also Hippolytus: *Philosophumena*, viii, c. 18.

² *a.* Eusebius: *Hist. Eccles.*, v, c. 24.

which had come down to them from the apostles John and Philip, as well as from the venerable Polycarp. To sustain their practice, the church of Rome and its adherents among the Eastern churches quoted the traditions received from the apostles Peter and Paul. The schism, which seemed imminent on the threat of Victor to excommunicate the Quarto-decimans, was happily prevented by the good offices of the other bishops, especially of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. While of the party of Victor, he claimed that no difference of opinion, where an essential dogma of Christianity was not involved, could justify the jeoparding of the peace of the Church and the extreme penalty of excommunication.

The Council of Arles, A. D. 314, and the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, decided in favor of the Roman rule, and those who refused to accede to this decision were regarded as heretics. The rule promulgated by the latter council was that Easter should be celebrated on the first Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox, and must always come after the Jewish passover. If, however, the full moon occurs on a Sunday, Easter falls on the Sunday after. Thus the time of this festival may vary from March 21 to April 25. This was probably the substance of the Nicene decisions.¹

This conciliary decision did not, however, settle the differences in the Eastern and Western churches, owing to the different astronomical cycles employed for the calculation of Easter. The cycles aimed to discover a period which should contain an exact number of lunar months and of tropical years. Many cycles were proposed, as one of eight years, of nineteen years (the Metonic), of seventy-six years (the Calippic), one of one hundred and twelve years, engraved on the side of the chair in the statue of Hippolytus (v. Fig. 50), one of eighty-four years, which was a modification of the Calippic, etc. The diversity of cycles resulted in a corresponding difference in reckoning the Easter Sunday.² Since the

¹ The decisions of the Nicene Council are not quite clearly stated in any single authority; they must be gathered from several sources, and have not been entirely unquestioned.

² The recent works occasioned by the bearing of the Easter controversy upon the criticism of the gospels, especially John, are quite numerous and important. Among the ablest may be mentioned Hilgenfeld: *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte*, etc., Halle, 1860. Steitz: *In the Studien u. Kritiken*, 1856, 1857, 1859. Schürer: *Die Paschastreiten des 2ten Jahrhunderts*, 1870. For mathematical computations see especially Ideler: *Handbuch der Math. und tech. Chronologie*, Breslau, 1825. De Rossi: *Inscriptiones Christ. urbis Romæ*, Introduction, gives valuable discussions.

Alexandrian Church fixed the vernal equinox on the 21st of March, while with the Romans it fell on March 18, it is evident that there must have been a diversity in the observance of Easter Sunday. This diversity has not yet disappeared, since the Eastern Church has never adopted the improved Gregorian calendar.¹

§ 8. *The Ceremonies of Easter.*

To understand these it is necessary to remember that Easter was the central point of the paschal season, which very early extended over a period of fifteen days. The first week was designated *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, or the passover of the cross; the second week, *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, or the passover of the resurrection. While not of apostolic institution, this observance of Easter was early introduced into the Church. Tertullian seems to recognise its celebration,² and the Apostolic Constitutions represent it as quite general. The *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* was usually kept as a strict fast, from midnight of the previous Sunday (Palm Sunday) till cock-crowing on Easter morn. On Good Friday, the day of crucifixion, the fast was continued beyond midnight of the following day; the kiss of peace was prohibited, the ornaments of the altar were removed; the lights were extinguished; no chanting was allowed in the processions; there was no consecration of the eucharist; the collects were mostly intercessory.

As the Easter morn drew near, the signs of sorrow and mourning were laid aside, the lamps and tapers were lighted, and a scene of darkness and mourning was succeeded by one of splendour and gladness. Prayer, supplication, the singing of psalms and hymns, the reading of appropriate Scripture lessons, and homilies from the clergy occupied the hours of the evening and night. The Easter Sunday, from Easter eve to the evening of Easter day, was one continuous celebration of the resurrection. The Scripture readings included the entire resurrection history; the joy

¹ Kulenbrunner: *Real-Encyclopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, article "Ostern," Bd. i, s. 565, seq., divides the Easter controversies into three periods: 1st. The theologico-dogmatic, reaching to the Council of Nice, A. D. 325. 2d. The astronomical-chronologic, from A. D. 325 to the time of Dionysius Exiguus, A. D. 525. 3d. From A. D. 525 to the time of the Venerable Bede, about the middle of the eighth century, during which the rule accepted by the Catholic Church was in conflict with the various peculiarities of the provinces. For the theologian the first is of especial interest, on account of the connection of these controversies with the criticism of the evangelists. The second and third are more important to the historian, because they are indispensable to the solution of chronological questions.

² *ad Uxor.*, ii, c. 4.

of the people was unrestrained; all labour was suspended. After the recognition of Christianity by the empire, prisoners were often released, debtors forgiven, and slaves manumitted. The entire week was thus considered a season of uninterrupted rejoicing.

By degrees the fast preparatory to Easter Sunday was lengthened, until, probably about the time of Constantine, it reached forty days (Quadragesima, Lent). The rejoicings were also continued through the whole period of fifty days (Quinquagesima) from Easter to the day of Pentecost (Whitsunday).¹

§ 4. *The Festival of Pentecost.*

The term Pentecost was used by the ancient Church in two senses: one had reference to the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Christ, when the Holy Spirit was poured out upon the infant Church; the other included the whole period between Easter and Whitsuntide, which was considered as belonging to the rejoicings of Easter. Used in the latter sense it was called Quinquagesima. During the fifty days the eucharist was celebrated daily, fasting was forbidden, and the congregation stood while praying. Also from the fifth century the Lord's ascension was observed on the fortieth day, his various manifestations to his disciples after the resurrection were recalled, and, as a crowning glory, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was commemorated on Whitsunday, the final day of the Easter period. This being the last great festival of the year, the Sundays following until Advent were reckoned therefrom.

§ 5. *The Feasts of Epiphany, Christmas, etc.*

After the union of Church and State feasts and festivals were greatly multiplied, and occupied a large place in the religious services. This was in obedience to a law of the spiritual life, that when piety is waning forms and ceremonies are substituted, and become more highly valued.

The feast of the Epiphany was usually observed on the 6th of January, to commemorate Christ's manifestation in the flesh. At first this included his advent and baptism, but later, when Christmas became a regularly observed festival, it was confined to his baptism. The date of the birth of

¹ Probably so called from the custom of newly baptized persons appearing in white clothing from Easter day to Whitsunday.

Christ it is impossible to determine. Neither in the Scripture record nor in the patristic literature are found sufficient data for solving this problem. The birth of Christ had been placed on the 25th of December by the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries; but the reasons for this decision cannot be satisfactorily determined.

Date of Christ's birth unknown.

There is equal uncertainty respecting the origin of the Christmas festival. Numerous theories have been advocated, but none are universally accepted. Many circumstances point to its origin in the attempted christianization of various heathen festivals which were celebrated on or near the 25th of December.

Supposed origin of the festival.

If this supposition is well founded, its origin must have been subsequent to the recognition of Christianity by the State; since the well known hostility of the ante-Nicene fathers to the heathen festivals would have absolutely forbidden a syncretism of rites so abhorrent. But the general decline of spiritual life during the fourth and fifth centuries, and the reception of multitudes into the Church who were moved by no higher motives than popularity or worldly interest, prepared the Christian Church to connect with her own festivals those derived from the heathen cultus

Low type of spirituality.

which might appear to have symbolic reference to the life and work of Christ. Such were the Saturnalia, Sigillaria, Juvenalia, and Brumalia, which were celebrated in the month of December to commemorate the golden age of freedom and equality, also in honour of the unconquered sun, which renewed its strength at the winter solstice.

The laboured investigations given to this subject have quite firmly established the following conclusions:

1. Until near the close of the fourth century the Nativity was celebrated in the Oriental churches in connection with the Epiphany, or on January 6—this custom continuing in many parts of the East for a century or more later.

Conclusions reached.

2. From a much earlier date the Nativity was celebrated in the Western churches on December 25, and it occupies an important place in the most ancient liturgies. It is, however, impossible to fix the date when the change from January 6 to December 25 was made.

3. Since the beginning of the fifth century, December 25 was quite generally recognised as the day for the celebration of the Nativity, and was counted among the most important festivals of the Christian year.

4. There was a growing tendency to recognise days of preparation for its celebration, as Christmas vigils, and, later, four advent Sun-

days in the West, and six advent Sundays in the East, as means for awakening a desire for the coming Redeemer. Likewise, the season between Christmas and Epiphany was afterward filled up with feast days, each designed to recall the memory of some person or event connected with the Nativity, as St. Stephen's day, December 26; St. John's day (the evangelist), December 27; and the Innocents, December 28.

When Mariolatry came to be practised by the Church of the fifth century and following centuries, there gathered round this cultus a great number of festivals in honour of the Virgin, commemorating many real or apocryphal events in her life. This worship assumed such prominence in the Middle Ages as almost to supersede that paid to Christ himself. Also the multiplication of saints, and especially the canonization of those who had suffered martyrdom during the trying periods of the history of the Church, greatly multiplied the number of feasts and festivals, until almost the entire year was devoted to some event in the lives of these who received the homage of a Church from which the earnest spirit of piety had largely departed.

BOOK FOURTH.



THE

ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY.

"God setteth the solitary in families" (Psa. lxxviii, 6). The family is the initial state, or contains it in germ. It is often made the Scripture type of the Church. The Church begins with the first true worship in the household. The family a type of the Church. The love, the confidence, the tender care of each for the other, which should characterize the family, are often used to illustrate the community of interest felt by the individual members of the Church, and the intimacy of the relations of Christ to his Church (Rev. xix, 6-10; xxi, 9).

The stability and purity of the Church and State have been proportionate to the popular and legal estimate of the sanctity and stability of the marriage relationship. The presence of Christ at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, where he performed his first miracle to contribute to the rejoicings of the occasion. Christ's sanction. (John ii, 7, *seq.*), happily illustrates the feeling and teaching of Christianity with respect to marriage. Christ is explicit in his inculcation of the divine origin and sacredness of this institution. It is more than filial duty; it is unifying; the twain become one through the purity and intensity of a mutual love; common interests are necessitated by common affection (Matt. xix, 5, 6; Eph. v, 31). The teaching of the founder of the new religion, that only one single ground of divorce is lawful, One ground of divorce. alike distinguished his followers from both Jews and heathen of his day. He revolutionized society by giving to the family a sure foundation, and by the elevation of woman to be the true companion and equal of man.

The example of Peter (Matt. viii, 14; Mark i, 30; Luke iv, 38), and the express teaching of New Testament writers (1 Tim. v, 14;

Heb. xiii, 4; 1 Tim. iv, 3), are in harmony with the conduct of Christ respecting the sanctity of the marriage relation. Moreover, Paul's teaching harmonious with that of Christ. the counsel of Paul to the Corinthian Church, evidently in reply to their request, is entirely consistent with the general doctrine of the New Testament. He guards marriage so carefully that even to those who are joined to unbelievers the advice is given not to disturb their relationships except by mutual consent and for mutual good.¹

This remained the teaching of the Church for two hundred and fifty years. The Pauline doctrine of expediency as to marriage, and of the sacred duty of parties who have entered into the marriage union to remain faithful to each other, is clearly recognised by the apostolic fathers and their immediate followers. In the epistle to Diognetus the author speaks of the manners of the Christians, and institutes comparisons and contrasts between these and the heathen customs. "For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar kind of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. . . . They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry as do all; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh."²

Likewise in the epistle to Polycarp, Ignatius retains the Pauline spirit in recognising the doctrine of expediency with respect to marriage, but is very rigid with regard to the sacredness of this relationship when once entered into, and with respect to the duty of mutual helpfulness. "Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner, also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the Church. . . . Let all things be done to the honour of God."³

¹ There is no real contradiction in the teachings of 1 Cor. vii. No rigid law can be imposed. "I have no commandment of the Lord" (ver. 25); the circumstances of each must govern each; "the present distress" is the key to the whole teaching; if one has power of self-control, then, in the present circumstances of peril, celibacy may be best; but if not, owing to the fearful temptations of Corinthian society, marriage is advisable. But when marriage has been entered into, duty is plain; no separation, even for a season, is permitted except by mutual consent. The rights of husband and wife are reciprocal.

² *Ad Diognet.*, c. v.

³ *Ad Polyc.*, c. v.

In his apology to the emperor and senate, Justin Martyr is no less explicit in his interpretation and enforcement of Christ's teachings. He especially dwells upon the law of adultery and divorce, as given by Christ, to show the opinion and practice of the Christians. This is so opposed to the law of the heathen government that the apologist claims that he knew of men and women of sixty or seventy years of age who have continued pure during all their lives; "and I boast that I could produce such from every race of men."¹ He also adds, what is consonant with the Pauline teaching, "But whether we marry, it is only that we may bring up children; or whether we decline marriage, we live continently."

Justin Martyr.

The early Romans far excelled the Greeks in their respect for and honour of woman. Yet among the former she was absolutely destitute of rights apart from her husband, while with the latter she was usually the veriest slave.

Position of woman among the Romans.

Even in the earliest and purest period of Roman history, when monogamy was enjoined on the husband, and the infidelity of the wife was visited with heavy penalties, the marital authority disregarded the law of nature, and changed moral subjection into legal slavery.² The family being absolutely guided by the single will of the head of the household (*paterfamilias*), the wife and child, equally with the bullock and the slave, were destitute of legal rights. To rear or not to rear the child which the wife

Without legal rights.

had borne him rested with the free will of the householder. In the family woman necessarily held a position of domestic subjection.³

In the later years of the republic, after the emancipation of woman from the rigor of the earlier laws had

Evils under the later republic.

been partially effected, the weakness of heathen morality was shown in the fearful relaxation of the ties of domestic life, and in the bitter complaints of the sterner moralists against the evils of celibacy, the shameless extravagance of women, the prostitution of marriage to a matter of mercantile speculation, and the consequent ease and frequency of divorce. Celibacy, childlessness, and infanticide had become so common among the upper classes during the closing period of the republic that the Latin stock had been largely diminished, and final extinction was threatened. So alarming was the situation that the first emperor, in order to save the nation, regarded it as necessary to set legal bounds to luxury, to curtail the practice of adultery and divorce by measures of the utmost sever-

Legal restraints.

¹ *Apol.*, c. xv.

² v. Mommsen: *History of Rome*, New York, 1870, vol. i, pp. 49, 89.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

ity, and to offer extraordinary rewards to fathers¹ who should rear large families. But the disease was too deepseated for radical cure; it could only be held in check by the vigorous treatment of a master mind like Julius Cæsar. It broke out anew with increased

The conflict. virulence under his successors. It was this Roman social world, emasculated of its earlier and robuster virtues, inoculated with the vices of Oriental luxury, and weakened by long indulgence, which was opposed to the simple teachings of Jesus and his apostles respecting the sacredness of the marital relationship, the equality of man and wife, the high sanctity of maternity, and the solemn duty of child nurture.

The Christian fathers are earnest in their defence of the purity of Christian morals, in contrast with this abounding corruption of heathenism. Tertullian boldly challenges an examination Tertullian's teaching. of the life and practices of the Christians, and plainly upbraids the heathen for their wicked practice of infanticide.² He as ardently defends the sanctity of marriage against the opinions of some schools of the Gnostics, especially Marcion.³ His is strictly the Pauline view. He neither prescribes abstinence from marriage, nor does he insist upon it. He says that the Creator bestowed his blessing upon the institution as on an honourable estate, as he did upon the whole of his creatures for good and wholesome uses.⁴ The limitations of desire, and the duty of fidelity to vows, are not imposed upon woman alone, but upon both man and wife alike.

A like contrast is seen in the care and rights of childhood under the heathen and Christian systems. The difference of teaching and Heathen and Christian view of abortion. practice is here world-wide. Scarcely a statute condemnatory of abortion is found in all the range of Grecian or Roman jurisprudence. If regretted and condemned at all,

no check was given to an almost universal practice which was sapping the energies of the heathen world. While recognised as wrong by many of the heathen moralists, it scarcely received a severe cen-

Opinions respecting infanticide. sure in all their writings. So also with infanticide. The practice was almost universal among the Greeks. It

finds a place in the ideal systems of the best philosophers and thinkers; it is permitted by the statutes of Lycurgus and Solon. The position of the Greek mother encouraged it. The Roman view was better, although its practice was scarcely improved. Tertullian retorts the charges of immorality upon the heathen with withering sarcasm.⁵ Probably the opposite policies of Greece and

¹ v. Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. i, s. 54.

² *Ad Nationes*, l. i, c. 15; *Apol.*, c. ix.

³ *Contra Mar.*, c. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ad Nat.*, i, 13; *Apol.*, c. ix.

Rome—the one discouraging and the other encouraging population—had much to do with the practice of exposure and infanticide.¹ So deep was the conviction of the Roman ^{ineffectual leg-} legislators that these evils were threatening the life ^{isolation.} of the state, that the absolute right of the father over his offspring had early been so far limited as to forbid him to expose or destroy any well formed child until it had completed its third year.² Yet Tertullian plainly intimates that these laws were easily evaded, and had little power to correct these widely prevalent practices.³

From its view of the sanctity of human life, Christianity placed a guard at its fountain-head. In contrast with the widespread indifference of the heathen moralists respecting abortion, the Church branded it as a crime of peculiar enormity, scarcely inferior to murder itself. Abortion, infanticide, and the exposure of children were usually placed in the same class of crimes; they were ^{Abortion and} constructive murder. By conciliary decree the guilty ^{infanticide.} mother was excluded from the sacraments, at first till the day of death, but this was afterward relaxed to ten and seven years of penance. As we examine the treatment of children in the household, the same contrast between heathen and Christian methods is manifest. The blessing pronounced by Christ upon young children, as subjects of his kingdom (Matt. xviii, 2-5; Mark x, 15; Luke ix, 47), continued to be recognised in the early Church. ^{Biblical teaching relative to training of children.} The apostolic injunction, "Fathers, provoke not your children unto anger lest they be discouraged" (Col. iii, 21), "but bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. vi, 4), implied a sacred obligation to properly train the child, and on the part of the child certain rights as against the parents. This was in direct contrast with the provisions of the early Roman law, which recognised the absolute power ^{Contrary to the} of the father to dispose of his child; even to sell it into ^{Roman law.} slavery or to deprive it of life. The mitigation of the severity of the earlier law by the more humane feelings of later times, and by the wisdom of the great Roman jurists,⁴ had moderated, not removed, this contrast. The Christian father enjoined obedience, but his power over his offspring was limited by the consideration that both alike belonged to God. The few pictures of the Christian household drawn by the ante-Nicene writers of the Church are beau-

¹ v. Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 27. v. also Minutius Felix, Athanagoras, and Lactantius.

³ *Ad Nat.*, i, 15.

⁴ Milman: *Latin Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 496, 497.

tiful, and clearly show the vast superiority of the Christian over the heathen family. Tertullian exclaims, "What a union is that of two believers who have one hope, one rule of life, and one service! . . . In alternate song echo psalms and hymns; they vie with each other who best shall praise their God. When Christ sees such things, he rejoices. To these he sends his own peace. Where two are, there also is he. Where he is, there the evil one is not."¹ And Clement of Alexandria affirms, "The children glory in their mother, the husband in his wife, and she in them, and all in God."

Since the opinion of the Church of the first three centuries was so pronounced respecting the sanctity of marriage and of the family, it might be presumed that it had careful oversight of the parties proposing marriage, and prescribed the rules of its celebration. While the Church had no legal jurisdiction over marriage until the time of Justinian, the Christians had nevertheless accompanied it with solemn religious ceremonies, and hallowed it by the benediction of the community of believers. The Pauline doctrine, not to be "unequally yoked together with unbelievers" (2 Cor. vi, 14), was long regarded as of binding force. Tertullian is clear in his teachings on this point. Cyprian regards the directions of Paul as wise and obligatory. The post-Nicene theologians, as Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others, are positive and earnest in warning against these entangling alliances, while the conciliary decisions are firm and unyielding. The Church also prescribed the limits of affinity or consanguinity within which lawful wedlock was forbidden. The decisions of some of the councils are full and explicit, and persons who violate these rules are declared guilty of incest, and liable to severe ecclesiastical penalties. Likewise clandestine marriages are forbidden. Ignatius says, "But it becomes both men and women who marry to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to God, and not after their own lusts."² Those were days of trial and danger, and the propriety and duty of taking advice of the church officers respecting this most sacred relation are frequently urged by the Christian writers both before and after Constantine.³ The necessity of obtaining the consent of parents to the marriage of children under lawful age is another evidence of the care with which the relationship was guarded, and the purity of the Church maintained.

¹ *Ad Uxor.*, xi, 8, 9.

² *Ad Polyc.*, c. v.

³ *v. Tertullian: Ad Uxor.*, l. xi, c. 2.

The plain and wholesome teaching of the New Testament, and of most of the Christian fathers of the first three centuries respecting marriage and the family relation, was afterwards weakened by two principles whose baneful influence was long felt in both East and West: asceticism and monasticism. Family relationship weakened by two principles.

Asceticism has pertained to every religion, and to every stage of society. It was found in heathen Rome. Whether this practice among the Romans is to be attributed to a feeling of disgust, on the part of a few nobler minds, with the prevailing impurity, to the rise of Neoplatonism and the revival of the Pythagorean philosophy, to the Oriental religions, or to the unconscious yet powerful influence of Christianity, may not be fully determined. Possible origin of Asceticism. Probably each and all these forces were in operation to produce the effect. Certainly the doctrine of both Neoplatonism and Pythagoreanism, that matter was essentially evil, when carried to its logical result would lead its votaries to regard the human body, with its appetites and passions, as a source of evil, and the indulgence of sensuous desires as incompatible with loftiest virtue. The practical effect of the theory upon the heathen world in correcting the prevalent impurity was, however, but slight. Nevertheless, if the records are to be trusted, it is noteworthy that some most conspicuous public characters were plainly influenced by this philosophy. The celibate life of Apollonius of Tyana, the abstemiousness of Zenobia, the maintenance of her virginity by the pagan wife, Hypatia, the continence of Julian after the early loss of his wife, are clear indications of the influence of the Neoplatonic teaching, as well as of a desire for the reformation of paganism, which the superior morality of Christianity had provoked. Heathen examples. To what degree the severe asceticism of the Indian religions affected the western mind, and how far the Buddhist monasticism was the suggestion and furnished the type of the Christian orders of monks, are debated questions. It can, however, hardly be doubted that this ancient and widely prevalent religion was known to the West, while the striking similarity of the discipline of the Buddhistic and Christian monks suggests a common origin, or at least similar conditions.

But the perversion of the teachings of Christianity, which inculcated the prime duty of purity, was most powerful to effect the change of opinion with reference to the married state. The conflict of the Church with the social evil which was threatening the life of the empire had been stubborn and persistent. From the first the words of Paul as to the lawfulness of a celibate life had

been influential, and a condition of continence had received high praise from the Christian fathers. The declining piety of the third century, and the doctrine of the merit of good works, which had its origin in the penitential system of the age of Cyprian, greatly strengthened the tendency to asceticism. An unnatural and unscriptural view of chastity induced the opinion that the married state was unfavorable to the realization of the highest perfection, and that immaculate purity could be attained only in the condition of celibacy or virginity, or by the practice of the most rigid abstinence.

Nevertheless, the frequent legislation, both civil and ecclesiastical, shows how difficult it was to enforce the condition of celibacy and chastity, even in case of those who had taken upon themselves the most solemn vows. The law of Jovian, A. D. 364, denouncing the attempt to marry a nun as a capital crime, was wholly ineffectual to prevent the scandal. Yet the opinion of the Church respecting the sacredness of the marriage relation is shown from the fact that while the synod of Rome, A. D. 384, declares the union of men with nuns who have taken vows of celibacy to be adultery, it did not venture to order their separation from their husbands. In spite of Augustine's commendation of virginity, and his favorable opinion of celibacy, he regards the marriage of nuns as binding, and deprecates the evil results of separating man and wife under such circumstances. A careful examination of this legislation will show that the efforts to declare such marriages invalid completely failed; and that in the fifth century there was a tendency to judge these marriages more tenderly, and not to interfere with them.¹

As asceticism made war against one of the three great foes of the human soul, the flesh, so monasticism proposed to flee from another, the world. Men withdrew from society in order to concentrate their entire energies upon the purification of the spirit through watching, fasting, and prayer. Monasticism ignored the social duties and the holy work of elevating mankind by personal contact and influence, and was at heart a system of absolute spiritual selfishness.

The two principles lying at the foundation of monasticism, celibacy and asceticism, were alike hostile to the married state, pernicious to the family, and consequently hurtful to the truest interests of society. The fuller discussion of their influence upon Christian morality does not fall within the plan of our inquiry. It need only be added that by many of the post-Nicene writers celibacy and absolute abstinence from carnal pleasures are regarded as the

¹ Lea: *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, Boston, 1884, pp. 103-105.

highest virtues; marriage is a necessary evil entailed by the fall, which must be endured by those content with low attainments in moral purity; the family is no longer the most sacred institution of God; the position of the wife and mother is almost infinitely below that of her upon whom rest the vows of perpetual virginity.¹

Celibacy and
virginity the
highest virtues.

Thus the powerful protest against the abounding impurity led the Church to the other extreme of severity. What was at first regarded in the light of a duty, plainly flowing from principles enunciated by Christ and his apostles, was exalted to the position of the most meritorious work for the attainment of salvation. The low standard of piety, and the perturbed state of society consequent upon the rivalries of the East and West, and upon the tribal migrations, contributed still further to these unhappy results. But amid all the influences unfavourable to the family life the Church was careful to guard its sanctity; it placed the family on a lower plane only by attributing to a celibate and virgin state a loftier dignity.

Sad consequences.

¹ See especially the treatises on virginity by several of the most influential and able post-Nicene theologians—Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others. The language of Jerome, the great promoter of monasticism in the West, is often most extravagant in praise of virginity and a recluse life, and contemptuous when he refers to the married state.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

"RENDER therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. xxii, 21). "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. . . . For he is the minister of God to thee for good" (Rom. xiii, 1-4). In these passages are expressed the relations of the early Church to the government under which its members then lived. The duty of obedience to civil authority is here plainly inculcated. The qualifying teaching of Peter has reference to those cases where men are unable to submit to civil injunctions, and prefer to suffer for conscience' sake, or where government has so far forgotten the reason of its institution as to be no longer a terror to evil doers or a praise to the good. The Christian Church proposed no revolution in the civil order, but aimed to permeate society with a new principle which would effect all needed reforms.

Relations of the Church to civil government.

A new law. The declaration of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii, 36), embodied the true spirit of the Church in relation to secular authority. The existing forms were accepted; the realm where Christ was to reign was the human spirit; the law of his government was the law of love. This law being supreme over all alike who should become subjects of his kingdom, an equality of privilege was recognised in the midst of the most diverse social conditions. It is the silent yet powerful operation of this law which is to be considered in estimating the influence of Christianity upon Roman institutions and life.

At the time of the Advent slavery was an institution recognised and regulated by the Roman law; slaves were found in every province of the vast empire. This unfortunate class had at first been chiefly captives taken in war; at a later period, when the original source of supply had largely ceased, they were propagated by means of numerous marriages encouraged by the owners. They were the property of the masters; the children could be sold or alienated like other property.

Slavery a fixed institution.

Condition of the slave.

While policy or feelings of humanity might lead masters to mitigate the severities of bondage, and political or social considerations

frequently induced the manumission of slaves, they were, nevertheless, at the mercy of every caprice and passion of the owner. Nor does the fact that self-interest often led the great families to encourage in their slaves the cultivation of the practical and fine arts,¹ and even to assist some to rise to the position of teachers, counselors, and companions, change the essential features of the system. A freedman could not be the equal of the freeborn; by him no civil or military honor was attainable; his sons were excluded from the senate; they were tainted with servility to the third and fourth generations.² While it is impossible to determine the number of slaves in the empire, or even their proportion to the entire population, it is universally conceded that their condition was fearfully degraded, and that they were a constant threat to the peace and prosperity of the state.

Christianity recognised this, as it did other institutions of the empire. No attempt was made for its immediate abolition. A new and despised religion, gathering its votaries at first, for the most part, from the humble, and often from the servile class, was not in position to make open war upon an institution hoary with age and of well nigh universal prevalence. The Scripture teaching is that liberty is of the Spirit; that the relations of master and slave are only accidental, not essential; that a slave can be the truest freeman through the liberty wherewith Christ shall make him free. The teaching of Scripture and of the early Christian fathers is usually that of submission and obedience to the existing laws. The expectation of the early reappearing of Christ to establish his kingdom among men, which from time to time finds expression in the writings of the apostles and early fathers, probably led the early Church to regard social distinctions as of slight importance. Since every disciple of Christ was a citizen of the kingdom of heaven, a kingdom different from, and exalted far above, all earthly governments, the Church renounced all claim to earthly rulership, and could remain indifferent toward existing social distinctions. The care of the Church was for the relief of the immediate wants of its members. The motive to the alleviation of hardships did not seem to be like that of the philosophers of the Stoic schools, namely, to introduce into society a more humane feeling; but the conviction of the supernatural freedom and equality to which men were invited found expression among the early Churches only in the religious life and intercourse. This spiritual freedom and equality pertained to the life of fellowship which

Christianity did
not attempt direct
abolition.

¹ v. Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, ss. 258, 259.

² Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc., Harper's edition, New York, 1880, vol. i, p. 51.

was experienced by Christians themselves, without directly influencing political action or instituting means for the early abolition of slavery. Yet this was by no means the whole work of the Christian Church.

"The treatment of slaves by their Christian masters, and the relation of Christian slaves to their masters, underwent an immediate change. . . . As members of the Church there was no difference between them. They came to the same house of God, acknowledged one Lord, prayed and sang together, ate of the same bread, and drank from the same cup. . . . The Church, it is true, would not receive a slave without a certificate of good conduct from his Christian master, but when this condition was complied with he became a full member without any limitations. He was even eligible to its offices, not excepting that of bishop. Not infrequently it occurred that a slave was an elder in the same church of which his master was only a member.

"The Church bestowed labor on both slaves and masters. . . . According to pagan conceptions slaves were incapable of morality. The Church trained them for virtue, and not unsuccessfully. There were many slaves who, in extremely difficult circumstances, attested the reality of their Christian life with fidelity and great endurance. Even among the martyrs there was an unbroken line of slaves. The fairest crown fell on them, as well as to the free. . . . Harsh treatment of slaves was regarded a sufficient ground for excommunication. . . . The Church would not minister to the merely natural desires of the slaves for liberty. Yet it deemed it a praiseworthy act for a master to emancipate a slave.

It gladly recognised emancipation as a work of Christian love, and manumissions often occurred. . . . After the third century, it was customary to perform the act of manumission in the Church, before the priest and the congregation. The master led his slave by the hand to the altar; there the deed of emancipation was read aloud, and at the close the priest pronounced the benediction. . . . Their former masters esteemed it a duty to help and counsel them as Christian brethren, and thus they did not find themselves isolated, but in the midst of a communion which instructed them to be active and useful men."¹

Yet it is unhistoric to attribute the abolition of slavery and the rehabilitation of manual labour exclusively to Christianity. The Roman Stoics, like other philosophers before them, had taught the duty of humanity to slaves, and had announced with clearness the principle that bondage and freedom were only accidents of society,

¹ Uhlhorn: *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 184-188.

that the master may be a bondman to his vices, while the slave may be the noblest freeman through his virtues. In this respect the teaching of Stoicism was very like that of Christianity. Some emperors, too—notably Hadrian, the Antonines, and Alexander Severus—through a sentiment of sympathy, or moved by fear, promulgated laws restricting the power of the master, and protecting the slaves from many cruel and harmful practices which had long disgraced Roman civilization. Moreover, these maxims of the Stoics, relative to the essential equality of man, had powerfully influenced the Roman jurisprudence, and led to a consequent amelioration of the condition of the servile classes.¹

Nor can it be claimed that the legislation of the Christian emperors of the fourth century, respecting the condition and rights of slaves, was a very great advance upon that of the heathen emperors of the third. By the abolition of the punishment of crucifixion the slaves had gained, since they had been chiefly exposed to this dreadful penalty; but still more humane and wide-reaching was the enactment of the statute forbidding the separation of their families.² The legislation of Justinian was, however, almost revolutionary. The two great disabilities under which the slave population had suffered for so many centuries, namely, the power of the master to subject the slave to torture, and the non-recognition of the legality of slave marriage, were entirely removed. This may be regarded as the most important legislative contribution to the abolition of slavery which was made by the Christian emperors prior to the seventh century. To this may be added the removal of all restrictions to the manumission of slaves, which had hitherto prevented the action prompted by the humane impulses of noble men, both pagan and Christian.

The influence of the moral type, which Christianity encouraged, has been strongly emphasized by some writers on the relations of Christianity to slavery.³ The qualities neglected or despised by the heathen world were, under the Christian system, crowned as royal virtues. Humility is often commanded by Christ, and he who would be great in his kingdom is instructed to become the servant of all. Service, helpfulness, charity, long-suffering, gentleness, patience, goodness, forgiveness, non-resistance, are the graces which especially adorn the Christian character. To what extent this view of the perfection of human character brought the Christian Church into closer relationships to the large class of Roman slaves is wor-

¹ Tertullian, in *Apologeticus*, speaks of these changes, and attributes them to a secret working of nature, tending toward Christianity, not by Christianity.

² v. Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 63, 64.

³ Lecky: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 63, 69.

thy of most thoughtful consideration; doubtless it was one important motive to their care, and to the amelioration of their condition.

Another notable service rendered by the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries was her strong and persistent opposition to the prevalent luxury. The discourses of the great preachers and monks abound in warnings against the destroying vices, against excess in dress, food, and equipage, and also very especially against immoral and lustful callings, as those of actors, gladiators, panders, etc. This check placed upon luxury and extravagance had the direct effect to decrease the demand for the labour of slaves, and thereby to contribute to their more rapid manumission.¹

While the relation of Christianity to Roman slavery has been vigorously discussed,² and the opinions of investigators have by no means been accordant, we see from the spirit of Christ's teaching, as well as from abundant testimony gathered from the writings of the Christian fathers, that in the early Church no distinction of privilege between master and slave was recognised.

Slaves eligible to office in the Church. Slaves were freely admitted to the sacraments, and were

eligible to all the ecclesiastical offices. Calixtus was a Roman slave. The Council of Orleans, in 549 A. D., was compelled to somewhat modify the earlier requirements that the Christian master must liberate his slaves, by allowing the master to obey the laws³

¹ Allard: *Op. cit.*, pp. 409-473.

² The treatise of Wallon: *Histoire de l'esclavage*, 2d ed., Paris, 1879; and of Allard: *Les esclaves Chrét.*, Paris, 1876, have used the monumental evidence but very sparingly. The same want is felt in Zahn: *Slaverei u. Christenthum*, Heidelb. 1879; Lechler: *Slaverei u. Christenthum*, Leipzig, 1877-78, and in nearly every other discussion. Allard is most in sympathy with the spirit of the epigraphic teaching, and gives some valuable suggestions.

³ The history of slavery in the United States of America furnishes some parallels to illustrate the difficulty of making the teaching of the Church respecting this institution effective and practical under the Roman government. The American Churches frequently protested against slavery, but the laws enacted by the different slave States made this protest nugatory. The desired instruction was forbidden to slaves by penal statutes. May not this be a sufficient answer to the excessive statements of that school of critics to which M. Havet belongs? "There is no more stupendous example of frauds, which, nevertheless, can make for themselves believers, than the persistent attempt to give to Christianity and the Church the honour of the abolition of slavery" (in the Roman Empire). v. *Le Christianisme et les origines*, t. i, Introduction, p. xxi. This judgment respecting the early Church, in effecting the emancipation of slaves under the Roman Empire, is paralleled by the statements of a class of writers in our day respecting the attitude of the American Churches toward the abolition of slavery in the United States. Both alike are defective and unhistoric. The wiser and more humane policy of Hadrian and the Antonines was probably largely independent of Christianity. The influence of Christianity was exerted without ostentation. Even Gibbon recognises its later power.

respecting the slave, but forbade him to exact of the slave any service incompatible with his new dignity as a member of the Church. Female slaves often exercised the office of deaconesses.¹

The study of monuments, in all parts of the Roman Empire, furnishes the most emphatic comment and completest corroboration of the statements of the Christian fathers. These help more fully to comprehend the grandeur of that revolution already achieved in the minds of the Christians, long before its effects became visible in the society of the state.² If we enter a pagan *columbarium*, where the rich families deposited the ashes of their slaves and freedmen, all the distinctions of society and class are here continued. It would seem that even the grave did not erase the stigma attaching to the servile classes. The name, employment, relation, etc., of the slave is perpetuated upon the cinerary urns. Only the absence of the master distinguishes this house of the dead from the palace of the living.

Monuments substantiate written records.

A pagan columbarium.

How marked the contrast in a Christian catacomb! The claim of Lactantius is fully justified—"With us there is no distinction between rich and poor, between bond and free."³ Nothing tells us whether a tomb contains the remains of the servile or of the free. Every thing is commingled.⁴ Upon one is seen the evidence of noble birth, upon another the indication of the labourer's avocation; here is the tomb of the maiden, there of the widow, and in the midst of all is the faithful pastor and bishop of their souls.

No distinction among the Christian dead.

"During the thirty years in which I have studied their cemeteries I have found no more than a solitary inscription from which the condition of a freedman could be inferred."⁵ "In the very considerable number of Christian inscriptions which we examined, I have not met more than two *tituli* bearing the mention of *servus* or *libertus*, except as an appellation of fidelity toward God."⁶ "In the new Christian community freedmen and slaves were brethren, and together served the same God. Among the faithful of the Roman Church the spirit of fraternity triumphed over the proud arrogance with which the institutions of the republic and of the empire were infected. Of this most eloquent testimony is found in the silence which is observed

Testimony of epigraphists.

de Rossi's opinion.

¹ *Ancilla Dei* is the title frequently met on the tombs of Christian women.

² Allard: *Les esclaves Chrétiens*, p. 235.

³ *Div. Inst.*, v, 17.

⁴ Allard: *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 237.

⁵ Marangoni: *Acta S. Victorini*, p. 130.

⁶ Le Blant: *Inscript. chrét. de la Gaul.*, t. i, p. 119. The word *titulus* was applied to an ecclesiastical division or district of the city. Each one of the *tituli* seems to have had an extra-mural cemetery under its care, where its dead were interred.

respecting the social condition of the deceased in the so many thousands of epitaphs discovered in the catacombs. Were they slaves? Freedmen? These say nothing about it. I have never met the mention, as an undoubted fact, of one *servus*; very rarely, and this exceptional, of a freedman; while we could not read ten pagan epitaphs of the same period without finding these designations of slaves and freedmen."¹ The silence of the monuments is the most powerful comment on the statement of Lucian with respect to the belief of the Christians: "Their lawgiver has persuaded the Christians that they are all brothers."² "This law was nowhere written or traditional; it was the spontaneous effect of the religious doctrines of the new society, which are reflected in its early epigraphy as in a mirror."³

The whole number of ancient Christian inscriptions in which slaves are mentioned is only about thirty, and about the same number in which the title of *libertus* is met.⁴ This wonderful disparity between the number of Christian and heathen monuments bearing these marks of the servitude of the interred cannot be explained by the inferior social condition to which it has been claimed the converts to Christianity largely belonged; since this would naturally tend to increase rather than diminish the number mentioned among the servile class. Moreover, the great majority of these Christian inscriptions belong to a period later than the second century, when the new religion had become widely professed, and had adherents among the government officials, and even in the imperial household. By a careful comparative study of these monuments, the following conclusions are reached:

1. That in the Christian Church the number held as slaves was reduced to a minimum.
2. That in Church relations and in Christian burial there was recognised absolute equality of right and privilege, and that all regarded themselves as members of a common household.

Another interesting class of epigraphical objects are the *bullæ*. These were little tablets or bands of metal, which were accustomed to be fastened to the neck of fugitive or untrustworthy slaves. Scarcely more than twenty of these of a clearly Christian origin have been discovered. They tell an interesting story of the efforts of the Christian Church to soften the hardships of this condition. They likewise clearly testify to the

¹ de Rossi: *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1866, p. 24.

² de morte Peregrini, 13.

³ de Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea*, t. i, p. 343.

⁴ Schultze: *Die altchristlichen Grabstätten*, Leipzig, 1882, s. 258.

existence of slavery within the Church, as connected with Christian basilicas. It was claimed by Pignoris¹ that the cruel custom of branding in the forehead fugitive and perverse slaves was supplanted by this milder characterization through a special edict of Constantine. Only three of these chains for the neck have been certainly traced to the pre-Constantine period. The greater part of these *bullæ* are clearly contemporaneous with Constantine, or belong to the fourth century."

Again, the monuments accord with the written records, and confirm the claim that Christianity elevated labour and the labourer to a state of respectability. Christianity elevated labour.

The condition of the free labourer under a government where slavery is the legal condition of a large portion of the population must be one of great hardship and humiliation. It has been so in all lands. That it was emphatically true of the Roman labourer all historians and moralists alike affirm. But Christianity was to teach another law than that which was then observed by paganism. The awakening of a spirit of industry, and the affirmation of the dignity of labour, were two important services rendered by the early Church. The literature of the fathers is full and explicit on this point; the monumental and epigraphical lesson is plainly confirmatory of the documentary. Such inscriptions as the following would illustrative inscriptions. not be tolerated on a pagan monument: ΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΤΙ-ΑΝΙΑΑΗ ΕΡΓΟΠΟΙΩ. This belongs to the third century. De Rossi² also describes a tomb on which the husband had engraved the picture of a loom and shuttle,⁴ emblems of domestic industry, recalling the customs of the ancient Roman days. Still another is where the wife has erected a rich tomb to her husband, upon which stands an inscription that would be regarded a cause of humiliation to the

¹ *De servis eorumque ministeriis*, Padova, 1613.

² de Rossi: *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1874, pp. 60, seq. The following may be given as an example of these *bullæ*: *Tene me quia figi et revoca me Publio Rubrio Latino domino meo*. "Seize me because I have fled, and return me to Publius Rubrius Latinus, my master!"

³ De Rossi: *Bullettino di arch. crist.*, 1865, p. 52. The full form of the last word, as found in the inscription, is ΕΡΓΟΠΟΠΟΙΩ. On this de Rossi comments: "It is evident to me that the stone-cutter has, by mistake, repeated the syllable ΠΟ, as if he would amend *ἐργονόω*, as in so many other syllables which we find carelessly reduplicated in both Greek and Latin inscriptions, although no such word is found in the classical lexicons, it is plain that it signifies *operosa, laboriosa*. . . . It shows the Christian glorying in labor—a thing unknown to the pagan world; that labour was not disgraceful, but honourable; that disgrace and sin came from indolence and laziness."

⁴ De Rossi: *Inscrip. Christ. urbis Roma*, No. 14 (A. D. 279), p. 21.

proud Roman: AMATRIX PAUPERORVM ET OPERARIA.¹ The companionship in labour is not now regarded disgraceful, but worthy of commendation. See the following, from Garrucci, found in the catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus upon a tomb erected by a humble saint named Primus to Leontia: LEONTIÆ CVM LABARONÆ SVÆ.²

Thus the testimony of the Christian fathers and of the monuments are in accord with reference to the influence of Christianity in ameliorating the condition of slaves under the Roman Empire, and in effecting their gradual emancipation. It was by the operation of the law of love which was promulgated by the Founder.

¹ De Rossi: *Inscrip. Christ.*, No. 62 (A. D. 341), p. 49.

² Garrucci: *Nuove epigrafe giudaiche di vigna Randanini*, p. 9.

CHAPTER III.

RELATION OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO CIVIL AND MILITARY LIFE.

THE changes in Roman opinion relative to the family, to slavery, and to manual labour, had not been effected by Christianity alone. We have noted the influence of the Stoical philosophy in causing the revolution. To what extent these modifications of thought and practice may be attributable to this or that force which was silently at work in the Roman world during the second and third centuries may not be determined. The change is indubitable. From the first Christianity had insisted upon honourable labour as a duty. The example of Christ and his apostles is positive; the teachings of the Scriptures are clear and explicit. The slothful servant is pictured as deserving condemnation; Paul, the tent-maker, glories in his ability to gain a livelihood, and will not consent to be a burden to his brethren. The man who will not toil may not eat his bread in peace. "Diligent in business" was associated with "serving the Lord."

Christianity
encouraged
labour.

But it is important to notice the relation of the Church to certain trades and industries. They had direct influence upon the type of Christian morality, and brought the teaching of the Christians and of the heathen into sharpest contrast. The early Church was beset by adverse influences arising from the prevalent idolatry, from the abounding impurity, and from the corrupting exhibitions connected with the popular amusements. The statues, temples, and altars dedicated to an innumerable multitude of gods; the reverence in which some of these were held by the people; their almost continuous worship, conducted in all the great centers of population, enveloped the Christians in an atmosphere laden with impurity. The failure or blank refusal to participate in the public worship of what were reputed to be the guardian divinities of the State made the Christians an object of hate and suspicion, and subjected them to the charge of atheism. The position of a monotheistic faith and of an absolute religion was often delicate in the extreme. To show themselves loyal subjects of the empire, and yet uncompromising in their allegiance to Christ, brought daily embarrassments to Christians. Those

Adverse influ-
ences.

Trying position
of the Christ-
ians.

engaged in the service of the temples, or in trades connected directly with idolatrous worship, as image makers, incense dealers, etc., were adjudged by the Church as contributing to the corruption of the people, and were ineligible to membership.

The testimony of the fathers on this point is clear. Tertullian says: "I take it that that trade which pertains to the very soul and spirit of idols, which pampers every demon, falls under the charge of idolatry. . . . The dealer in frankincense is a something even more serviceable toward demons, for idolatry is more easily carried on without the idol than without the ware of the frankincense seller. . . . No art, then, no profession, no trade which administers either to the equipping or making of idols, can be free from the name of idolatry."¹ "Again, can you

Tertullian's opinion.

have denied with the tongue what you confess with the hand? Can you unmake by word what you make by your deed? Can you, who make so many, preach one God? Can you, who make false ones, preach the true God?"² "For it matters not whether you erect or equip; if you have embellished his temple, altar, or niche; if you have pressed out gold-leaf, or have wrought his insignia, or even his house; work of that kind, which confers not shape, but authority, is more important."³ "Whatever guilt idolatry incurs must necessarily be imparted to every artificer of

The Apostolic Constitutions.

every idol."⁴ With this teaching the Apostolic Constitutions are in harmony. "If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment or let him be rejected."⁵ Such is the consistent and uniform teaching of the early Church. The sin of idolatry was a constant threat, and warnings against the evil by the leaders of the Church, both before and after Constantine, are positive and frequent. The Christians were forbidden to do any thing which could directly or remotely abet or compromise with this besetting sin of the Roman world. Like teaching is found with respect to those employments which were

Public amusements interdicted.

connected with the corrupting practices and amusements of heathen society. It included stage actors, teachers of the art, procurers and panderers, gladiators, those employed in the public shows, soothsayers, minstrels, dancers, etc.

The Roman drama had become fearfully corrupt. While noble sentiments are occasionally found in the plays represented before

¹ *de Idolat.*, c. 2.

² *Ibid.*, c. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 4. "Quicquid idolatria committit, in artificem quemcumque et cuiuscumque idoli deputetur necesse est."

⁵ Cons. Apos., l. viii, c. 32.

an average audience, the resultant influence was debasing, and actors were held in low esteem. Under the later republic, the utterances of the stage were often laden with ridicule of the gods, and had in no small degree encouraged the growing scepticism. But under the empire the theatre had been greatly degraded by the public shows and popular exhibitions. While the enormous amphitheatres were crowded for many successive days to witness the gladiatorial contests, the races and games, the entire seating capacity of the great theatres was less than 50,000; and in ordinary times the theatre of Pompey, with a capacity of 17,580, could accommodate all visitors. So depraved had become the Roman taste that even this small number could be gathered only by exhibitions of the lowest species of the drama, light comedy and mime. The indecencies of these representations were shocking in the extreme. The boldest impiety, the most shameless immodesty, the grossest vulgarity awakened deafening applause from the debauched populace.¹ Nor was the character of these representations much improved in the Eastern Empire, even in the time of Justinian. The lowest forms of social life were there presented. The most sacred relations were travestied. The unfaithfulness of husband or wife was the frequent subject of representation, in which the escapades of the panderer or adulterer were occasions of unlimited mirth. Snatches from the indecorous songs heard in the theatre were repeated upon the streets to poison the imagination and break down all moral restraint.²

True, a few nobler characters of heathendom felt the degrading influence of these forms of dramatic representation, and struggled to improve the public taste. But they were entirely impotent to arrest the sweeping tide of corruption. Moreover high tragedy was never popular with even the better classes of the Roman world. They preferred the lighter works. The degeneracy of the later plays was manifest. The introduction of music and the dance soon caused the representations to assume the form of the pantomime, which became, in turn, the most corrupting form of theatrical representation. So generally was the immoral influence of the drama recognised that actors were generally under social and legal disability. Often they had no greater rights than slaves or freedmen. Hence it came to pass that the great mass of players were from these classes, sunken into the deepest degradation, with few if any legal privileges.³

¹ Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. ii, ss. 391-395.

² *Ibid.*, ss. 396, 397.

³ *Ibid.*, ss. 424, seq.

As might be expected, the purity of the Church was constantly threatened by these exhibitions, and stringent rules were enacted respecting the classes who were connected with theatrical representations, and the frequenting of the plays. Tertullian finds in all the shows and spectacles alike a taint of idolatry, and is vigorous in warning against their contaminating influence. "It may be grand or mean, no matter, any circus procession whatever is offensive to God. Though there be few images to grace it, there is idolatry in one; though there be no more than a single sacred car, it is a chariot of Jupiter; any thing of idolatry whatever, whether meanly arranged or modestly rich and gorgeous, taints it in its origin."¹ So also in the dramatic representations and the combats generally. Moreover he urges the Church to refrain from these on the ground of their immodesty and impurity; also because the Christian faith and life are there travestied and brought into public ridicule. "We ought to detest these heathen meetings and assemblies, if on no other account than that there God's name is blasphemed. . . . Shall you not, then, shun those tiers where the enemies of Christ assemble, that seat of all that is pestilential, and the very superincumbent atmosphere all impure with wicked cries?"²

Like representations of the character of the public shows are made by Cyprian. In his epistle to Donatus he draws a fearful sketch of the immoralities of his time. "The whole world is wet with mutual blood. . . . Crime is not only committed, but taught. . . . It is the tragic buskin which relates in verse the crimes of ancient days. . . . In the mimes . . . adultery is learned while it is seen; . . . the matron who perchance has gone to the spectacle a modest woman returns from it immodest. . . . Men grow into praise by virtue of their crimes; and the more he is degraded, the more skilful is he regarded. . . . The judge sells his sentence; . . . there is no fear about the laws when the sentence can be bought off for money; . . . it is a crime now among the guilty to be innocent."³ Equally with Tertullian he finds in all the public shows a gross idolatry, and is faithful in warning against their contaminating influences. The spirit of his teaching is that of his master. "Idolatry is the mother of all the public amusements. . . . Thus the devil, who is their original contriver, because he knew that naked idolatry would by itself excite repugnance, associated it with public exhibitions, that for the sake of their attraction it might

¹ *de Spectac.*, c. 7.

² *Ibid.*, c. 22.

³ *ad Donat.*, cc. 6, 7, 10.

be loved."¹ He positively forbids not only actors but teachers of the histrionic art from communicating with the Church.

"For he cannot appear to have given it (the actor's ^{Actors excluded from the Church.} art) up who substitutes others in his place, and who,

instead of himself alone, supplies many in his stead."² Cyprian recognises the hardness of the condition of such as have left lucrative callings to accept the faith of Christ; but the earnestness and wise provisions of the Church for such are clearly illustrated in the same connection: "But if such a one ^{Belief of hardship.} alleges poverty and the necessity of small means, his necessity also can be assisted among the rest who are maintained by the support of the Church; if he be content, that is, with very frugal but innocent food."³

The Apostolic Constitutions contain like teaching. "If one belonging to the theater come, whether it be man or woman, . . . either let him leave off his employments, or let him be rejected."⁴

The decisions of the Councils are entirely harmonious ^{Conciliary action.} with this general teaching of the pre-Constantine fathers

and of the Constitutions. The Council of Elvira (probably in A. D. 305 or 306) enacted that actors and soothsayers should be received to baptism only on condition that they leave their arts, and do not return to them. In case of return they are to be rejected from the Church.⁵ Like action was taken by the third Council of Carthage, A. D. 397.

The unparalleled greed of the Roman populace for shows had been strengthened by the enormous expenditures of ^{Love of spectacles.} some of the emperors, whose usurpation or vileness of

character must be hidden under a show of public munificence. Probably no period of human history presents an array of trades and callings to prop up a failing faith, and to pander to a vitiated taste, equal to that of the empire during the first three and a half centuries of the Christian era. By a law of spiritual life, as the purity and strength of faith declined the machinery of religion became more complicated. The failure of the religions indigenous to Italy led the people to look to the distant and the unknown

for help; the wild influx of worships and rites from the ^{Superstition multiplies the rites.} most distant regions multiplied the numbers devoted to trades necessary to supply the demands of every cultus, and

¹ *de Spectac.*, c. 4. While this treatise is usually regarded as of doubtful genuineness, it is animated by the general spirit of Cyprian's works.

² *ad Euchrat.*, c. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Const. Apostol.*, l. viii, c. 32.

⁵ Canon 62: "Quod si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia."

greatly added to the embarrassments of the early Church. Practicers of curious arts, magicians, diviners, enchanter, astrologers; minstrels, harpers, dancers; charioteers, racers, gladiators, curators of the games; makers of amulets, fortune-tellers, wandering beggars—against this untold multitude who directly or indirectly were connected with the prevalent polytheism, or sought a livelihood by ministering to vitiated tastes, the Church set its face as a flint. Eligibility to baptism required the absolute relinquishment of them all, and indulgence in them by a member of the Church was visited by severe penalties. The discipline of the Church was strict, but oftentimes it was unable to stem the fearful tide of corruption.

Severe discipline.

Another source of temptation was the military life. The relation of the Church to the bearing of arms was not easy to be determined. Here also, as with respect to public or official business, the prevalent expectation of the speedy coming of Christ exerted wide influence. So evanescent and trivial did the affairs of earthly governments appear, when contrasted with the glories of the kingdom which Christ was to set up, that the Christians of the second and third centuries regarded the policies and activities of the state as unworthy of their serious thought. Patriotism and loyalty, the usual motives inducing subjects to bear arms, were felt to a less degree by men whose first allegiance was due to an invisible kingdom, whose sway would soon be universal. Doubtless also the teaching of Christ to avoid strife, to forgive injuries, to bless and curse not, to do good unto all men, to resist not evil, cultivated in his followers aversion to arms and to the military life. It is evident that Tertullian was affected by this

Aversion to military service.

Tainted with idolatry.

view, but still more by his abhorrence of idolatry. In the military life, as in all the various employments connected with the numberless religions of his day, he sees the taint of idolatry. The well known picture of a Christian soldier taking off the laurel chaplet which had been bestowed by imperial favour, the jeering of the multitude, the murmur arresting the attention of the tribune, the confession, "I am a Christian," the appeal to higher authority, the disrobing of the soldier, the thrusting into prison to await martyrdom, Tertullian sketches with loving interest, and the course of the soldier meets his thorough approval.¹ This particular case leads him to the discussion of the general question of the propriety or right of a Christian to engage in the military life. "Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish

¹ *de Corona Mil.*: c. 7.

by the sword? And shall the son of peace take part in the battle when it does not become him even to sue at law? And shall he apply the chain, and the prison, and the torture, and the punishment, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs? Shall he, forsooth, either keep watch-service for others more than for Christ, or shall he do it on the Lord's day when he does not even do it for Christ himself? And shall he keep guard before the temples which he has renounced? Touching this primary aspect of the question, as to the lawfulness even of a military life itself, I shall not add more."¹

Strife contrary
to Christ's
teaching.

But plainly this Montanistic principle could not be made practical in the Roman Empire. While the military spirit had greatly declined during the closing decades of the republic, and in the first century of the empire scarcely a remnant of the better classes could be found among the soldiery,² there was, nevertheless, a general legal obligation to bear arms. In this state of unpopularity of the military calling it is evident that an irregular and unjust levy would tend to pass by the higher classes and fall with unequal severity upon the burgess population, from which a large proportion of Christians had been gathered. That many were thus pressed into the army is evident from the testimony of Tertullian himself.³ The continuance of these in the service was a matter of necessity, since their desertion must have brought upon the Church still greater suspicion and persecution. Even Tertullian regards the case of those who embraced Christianity after they had entered the military life as very delicate, yet appears to advise the abandonment of the calling, and the acceptance of the consequences.⁴ Origen was early inclined to speak with great severity respecting the propriety of bearing arms, but afterward admitted that it might be possible and even honourable. Also the evidence is convincing that in the reign of M. Aurelius many Christian soldiers were in the Roman army, and under Diocletian high offices were filled by members of the Church.

Decadence of
military spirit.

Unfair levy.

Milder views.

The Apostolic Constitutions also certainly provide for the reception of soldiers by baptism. They were to be examined, and taught to do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with their wages.⁵ The Nicene decision has

Provision for
baptism.

¹ *de Corona Mil.*: c. 11. *de Idol.*, c. 19.

² Mommsen: *Hist. of Rome*, New York, 1872, vol. iv, p. 581. ³ *Apolog.*, cc. 37, 42.

⁴ It has been charged by Gibbon, and some others, that Tertullian teaches the duty of desertion. The passage usually cited (*de Corona Mil.*, c. 11) can hardly be so interpreted.

⁵ *Const. Apost.*, l. viii, c. 32.

occasioned some difference of opinion as to its purport. It is believed, however, by the ablest commentators that the twelfth canon was not aimed at the military calling, but rather against those who had forsaken it, and were attempting to reenter it by means of bribery or corruption. The whole conduct of Constantine toward the soldiery implies that military life was no longer under the ban of the Church, but was regarded as permissible.

The changed relations of the Church to the government, during and after the fourth century, brought corresponding changes in the opinion of the Church fathers respecting the lawfulness of accepting offices both civil and military. The union of Church and State brought laxity of discipline and life. Zeal which should have been manifested to maintain the high moral and religious purity of the Church was shown only in the defence of its orthodoxy. The masses of the heathen world, which became nominally Christian with little change in belief or life, caused discipline to decay and the tone of piety to decline. The subsequent action, both civil and ecclesiastical, seems to be inspired by a new spirit. The popularity of the ecclesiastical life, exempt as it was from many services and disabilities, and the increasing passion for monastic retirement, compelled the government to guard itself against these incentives to the desertion of public trusts, especially to prevent the disintegration of the army through withdrawal of its members in order to enter the less dangerous and toilsome avocations of the Church. Hence the edict of Honorius forbade any one who was bound to the military life to take upon himself any clerical calling, or think to excuse himself from the public service under pretence of entering upon the ecclesiastical life. With this principle the canons of the councils generally agreed, since they generally refused ordination to any who had entered a military life after baptism, and in most cases none who had been soldiers were admitted to the superior offices of the Church.

The monumental evidence is entirely confirmatory of the documentary, and furnishes a very interesting comment on the relation of the Church to military life and on the proportion of Christians enlisted in this service. Collections of inscriptions, made at different and widely separated parts of the empire, show a great disparity in the number of pagan and Christian soldiers. Twenty years ago the studies of Le Blant on the collections of three epigraphists, Reinesius, Steiner, and Mommsen, which were made in a region reaching from lower Italy north to the Rhine border, resulted as follows: Of 10,500 pagan inscriptions, 545, or

5.42 per cent., contained epitaphs of soldiers; while of 4,734 Christian inscriptions only 26, or .55 of one per cent., contained any reference to the military life.¹ In Gaul, as in Italy, Spain, and Africa, the title of soldier is rarely found inscribed on the tombs of the Christian dead. While this may be partially attributable to the aversion of the early Christians to indulge in fulsome descriptions of the business of the departed dead, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the fewness of such inscriptions is largely due to the influence of a religion whose Founder taught submission rather than resistance, and the fundamental law of whose kingdom was love.

¹ Le Blant: *Manuel d'Épigraphie chrétienne*, etc., Paris, 1869, pp. 15, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARITIES IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE ancient heathen world presented a sharp contrast in the social and civil conditions of its peoples. The many slaves and clients, dependent upon masters and lords for their support, tended to diminish the number of paupers who must receive aid at the hands of the government. While the system of slavery and clientage thus

lessened the demands for the practice of active charity, large numbers of the indigent were assisted at the public expense, and many instances of noble private gifts for the relief of the unfortunate are recorded by the historians, and are fully attested by the surviving monuments. In Attica Solon and his successors had incorporated into their legislation the principle that it is the duty of the state to provide for its poor and unfortunate; and very early in the history of the Roman Republic the sums expended in the gratuitous distribution of corn to the people constituted an important item in the public budget. The number thus receiving relief at Rome alone, at the beginning of the empire, was 320,000, or more than one fourth of the entire population of the city. Under the vigorous policy of Julius Cæsar this had been reduced to 150,000, but under Augustus it had risen to 200,000, and under the Antonines had increased to the enormous number of 500,000. This gratuitous distribution of corn, bread, oil, and salt, which began at Rome, extended to many of the great cities and was probably practised even in many of the smaller towns of the empire.¹

The writings of the Stoics had inculcated charity. In some of these are found noble precepts which seem to rival the most exalted teachings of the New Testament. The fraternity of the race, and the corresponding duty of relieving the woes of all, are sometimes taught with great distinctness and enforced with much eloquence. When Cicero says, "Nature ordains that a man should wish the good of every man, whoever he may be, for this very reason, that he is a man;"² and Seneca affirms, "I know that my country is the world, and my guardians are the

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¹ Mommsen: *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv, p. 591. Leckey: *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 74, 75.

² *de officiis*, iii, 6.

gods;"¹ and Lucian sings of a time when "the human race will cast aside its weapons, and when all nations will learn to love,"² we seem to have in this philosophy a basis for broadest benevolence and universal charity. Nor can it be denied that some of the purest and best men of heathenism belonged to the Stoic school, and were at times loud in their protests against injustice and cruelty. Yet in this system was recognised a principle which must be fatal to high and continuous charity. The duty of suppressing all emotion would result in the extinction of the very ^{Its defects.} sources of true benevolent activity. Indifference in the presence of suffering, or the reckoning of every condition of human experience as unworthy the thought of the true man, necessarily carried with it indifference to the alleviation of woes, and produced the strange contradictions presented in the teachings, life, and death of some of the great masters of this philosophy.

The stress of poverty, as well as the desire for the promotion of favourite schemes, had resulted in the organization of ^{The clubs and numerous clubs and associations throughout the Roman guilds.} Empire. They were in great variety—social, political, industrial, and religious; yet in each was found an element of mutual aid in case of distress. By weekly or monthly contributions of the members, and by liberal gifts from the wealthy whom they counted among their patrons, a fund was secured which was placed in charge of curators to be used for the common benefit. These *collegia* also cared for the burial of their members by the appropriation of a given sum, usually dependent upon the rank of the deceased, a portion of which was spent at the funeral banquet, and for the distribution of bread and wine among the poorer members of the guild. Such was the Roman care for the dead, and for keeping alive their memory, that the rich often made large donations to ^{An element of selfishness.} the *collegia* upon the special condition that the anniversary of their death should be celebrated in a worthy manner by sacrifices, assemblies at the tomb, libations, and distribution of money, bread, and wine among those who might be present at the ceremonies. So common was it to provide for the burial, and for celebrating the anniversary of the death by appropriate observances, that it may be called a Roman custom. It furnishes an explanation of the building of magnificent tombs along the Appian Way, and of the erection of convenient *cellæ*, upon sites sometimes of great extent and costliness, connected with which were altars and banqueting halls for holding the burial feasts.

The *collegia*, especially the burial clubs, had a most important

¹ *de vita beata*, xx.

² *Pharsalia*, vi.

influence upon the early Christian societies, and are intimately connected with the history of Christian charities. The Influence of the *collegia* on Christian charities. heathen inscriptions plainly use language which has sometimes been supposed to be peculiar to the Church, as *brother* and *sister*, *futher* and *mother*, as applied to members of the guild, or to founders, liberal patrons, or chief officers of the same. Doubtless it was within the walls of the *schola*, or at the gatherings in the hired room of some humble Roman tavern, that the vast body of artisans, excluded as they were from all hope of political trust or preferment, felt the importance of individual life and experienced the quickening power of a common interest. This liberalizing influence was doubtless one source of the jealousy of the emperors, and led to the partial suppression of the meetings of the guilds. In these, vastly more than in any form of heathen worship, is found a measurable resemblance to the methods and spirit of the Christian Church. It has often been remarked by students of early Christianity that in the Christian societies alone, of all the Roman world, a true community was realized. Both The Church a true community. in the religious and political life of that period this was totally unknown. The mass of the citizens were valuable only as they contributed to the welfare of the state; and the religious worship, supported by the government, had less interest for the masses of the people than had the daily shows in the amphitheatre. The thought of the personal duty of charity, or of communal benefits, was foreign to the pagan mind. It was, therefore, impossible that either the relief afforded to the needy by monthly distribution of corn, or the largesses of the emperors, or the support given by masters to slaves, or by patrons to clients, or by the numerous guilds to their members could be of the nature of a pure and genuine charity. Through each and all was diffused the taint of selfishness. The Heathen charity tainted with selfishness. largesses were at times bestowed to allay popular clamour, or to hide the crimes of an ambitious usurper; the distribution of corn was often made in order to relieve the hunger of a rabble which might otherwise precipitate a bloody revolution; the monthly contributions and intimate association of the clubs were for the benefit of members of the guild alone. The Stoic philosophy failed when tested by the adverse condition of the Roman world, and its teachings, however noble in themselves, were inadequate to purify the awful corruptions of society or alleviate the sore distress and poverty. In its ultimate analysis this philosophy was an education of pride, and tended to a sublime egotism.¹ Its pantheistic

¹ Conybeare and Howson: *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 6th ed., New York, 1858, vol. i, p. 368.

principles also detracted from the dignity and sacredness of individual being, and could therefore furnish no solid ground for genuine charity.

Christian charity was a necessary outflow from the idea which lay at the very source of the system, namely, the kingdom of God, which is a community of men who have been reconciled to God in Christ, whose law is a law of love.¹ This law is the supreme rule of action in this community; hence the selfish element, which tainted nearly every system of relief in the heathen world, is eliminated, and the charity is practiced in the name of Christ who came to realize the kingdom of heaven among men. It is, therefore, done unto men not simply to relieve from present poverty and need, but much more because of their relations to the new kingdom, which is also to be an everlasting kingdom, of which each, however lowly, may be a subject. The selling of all that he had and giving to the poor was the condition imposed by Christ upon the young rich man in order that he might become a member of this community, and thus feel that he had richer possessions in sharing in the experiences of the whole body of believers. Christ's own example is that which he would have his followers imitate. It is the Samaritan's catholicity of spirit which receives his special approval. He leaves the society of his immediate family to become the friend of publicans and sinners. He violates the artificial proprieties of his nation to instruct the woman of Samaria at the well, or to heal the afflicted Syrophenician.

This broader spirit and deeper significance of charity found exemplification from the very beginning of Christ's public ministry. Germs of the beneficent institutions which have been to the great honour of the Church are found in the lifetime of Christ in the circle of serving women surrounding the Lord, a type of the deaconesses and of all charitable women, in whom the history of the Church is so rich.²

What has been said elsewhere (v. pp. 465 *sq.*) respecting the Church as a family is specially applicable to her charities. The apostolic Church continued the family idea which had been so prominent during the ministry of Christ. The spirit of communion, first realized by the Church, explains the exceptional provisions made for the early relief of the poor and needy disciples. We have already found that the Lord's Supper and the associated lovefeasts were occasions for the most beautiful manifestations of the common interest and care. Moreover, the

¹ Uhlhorn: *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, New York, 1883, p. 57.

² Uhlhorn: *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

institution of a class of officers whose special business was to have the oversight of funds which had come from a common offering, shows the prominence which the work of charity had assumed in the apostolic Church. This is in no way changed, whatever theory of the diaconate may be accepted; not even if the management of the charitable funds was never entrusted to the deacons, but was under the control and direction of the elders or bishops. The emphasis put upon the idea of aid to the poor saints, as members of a community, is in no sense lessened. As in every other department of activity, so here, the spirit, at first prompting the early Christians to a spontaneous relief of distress, later accomplished its work through a formal organization. The old Jewish law of tithing the income is nowhere insisted upon; but the exhortation is to imitate Christ's example, who "though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich" (2 Cor. viii, 9). The readiness and hearty willingness of the offerings is the test of the religious character of the charity, and of its acceptance with God; he who gives grudgingly is not a Christian giver at all; and the essence and proof of religion is ministration to the distressed (2 Cor. ix, 7; viii, 2, 3; James i, 27, *et al.*). The same spirit is shown in the repeated exhortations to hospitality which are found in the New Testament writings. The frequent passing of members of the Church from one part of the empire to another, usually in the work of evangelism, rendered this duty most pressing. Doubtless in this respect there was great likeness between the conduct of the Christians and that of the numerous heathen clubs, since these likewise inculcated the duty of helpfulness and hospitality; but, as before stated, their aid was wholly confined to the members of the guild.

When the charities of the Church are estimated in their wider range, it becomes important to study the business and financial condition of the empire during the first two centuries of its history. It has been customary to represent this as prosperous to an unusual degree. The evidence is convincing that, outside of Rome, the proportion of citizens who were liable to pinching poverty was less than at the present time in northern Europe. For the most part the taxes were not excessive, food was generally abundant, the relation of labour to the necessities of life was more advantageous than in modern Europe, the prices of provisions were carefully regulated by law, so that no such rapid and disturbing fluctuations were possible as now result from speculation and from a system of extended credits. Friedländer claims that property was less concentrated than at present; that the value of

the largest estates in the time of the early empire, even when slaves are included in the reckoning, falls far below that of many private individuals in Europe and America to-day. Great fortunes less than now. Only two persons of Rome are represented as having a property worth more than \$20,000,000, and the incomes of the most wealthy Romans during the first four and a half centuries of the empire are greatly excelled by those of the families of Rothschild, Bedford, Demidoff, Astor, and Vanderbilt.¹

This social and financial condition of the empire during the first century and a half of our era must have vitally affected the question of the nature and extent of Christian beneficence. Powerful influence on charities. Times of general prosperity call for the establishment of no wide-reaching charities; the spirit of the Church could find expression only in the relief of isolated cases of need, while its almsgiving would also be of a strongly individual character.²

But the seeds of dissolution had already been planted in the empire. Before the middle of the second century the evils of slavery, the corresponding contempt for labour, Adverse influences. the fearful extravagance of the nobility, the vast sums squandered on the public games and shows, the absence of moral restraint exhibited in the case of divorce, the indifference to abortion, infanticide, and exposure of children, and the fearfully expensive and wasting wars, had seriously weakened the empire. From these causes population was seriously decreasing, and poverty set in where a half century before had been comparative comfort. To pay the largely increased taxes many fine estates had been forfeited, thus concentrating property into fewer hands, and bringing as necessary consequences extravagant luxury and the oppression of the smaller traders through excessive usury. The only means of defence was in the organization of guilds, which were recognised by the state, and became, in a sense, the servants of the government. In these more trying times greater demands were manifestly made upon the charities of the Church. The teachings of the Christian fathers prior to Cyprian plainly reveal the nature and extent of these good works.

We have already spoken of the *collegia*, and of the spirit which animated them. It is important to notice wherein the Christian Church, in some respects so closely resembling a heathen religious guild, differed from it in its method of relief of the unfortunate. Certainly the uniform teaching of the first two hundred years is to give to those who are in need, without careful discrimination Christian charity broad and general. as to whether the recipient was a member of the Church or a heathen. Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria are in en-

¹ *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii, ss. 11-14.

² Uhlhorn: *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

tire accord touching the duty of a common charity. Many passages from these and other writers are plain and positive. In the Shepherd of Hermas occurs this characteristic teaching: "Practice goodness; and from the rewards of your labours, which God gives you, give to all the needy in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom you are to give or not to give. Give to all, for God wishes his gifts to be shared amongst all. They who receive will render an account to God why and for what they have received. For the afflicted who receive will not be condemned, but they who receive on false pretences will suffer punishment. He, then, who gives is blameless."¹ This injunction plainly has reference to private almsgiving, and seems to have no application to that more systematic beneficence which was bestowed upon the needy members of the Church through organized channels. The giving was spontaneous, free, not of their abundance, but from their scanty earnings.

The peculiar organization of the Churches also provided for systematic and widereaching charities. Not only were the needy of individual congregations relieved by the oblations offered at the Lord's Supper, but special collections were made for the relief of distress in distant provinces. Already in the apostolic age community of interest was shown by forwarding considerable sums of money, gathered from wide districts of country, to relieve the poor saints at Jerusalem (Rom. xv, 25, 26; 1 Cor. xv, 1-4). The expression "them of Macedonia and Achaia" seems to include many of the most prosperous churches which had been established through Paul's instrumentality, and indicates the nature and extent of these offerings. The churches of the first two and a half centuries may be regarded as so many compact organizations for charitable work. Its oversight being entrusted to the bishops, there was an immediateness and directness of relief which otherwise were not possible. The close affiliations of the bishops with each other, and the system of circular letters which had been adopted, enabled the entire Church to concentrate its gifts upon a single locality which had been visited with sudden or peculiar distress. Moreover, the association of the bishop with sub-helpers, as elders, deacons, the widows and the deaconesses, allowed of faithful and minute supervision, and of a consequent wise and economical administration of the charities. It is plain that the deaconesses had other duties than those of keepers of the entrances of the church appointed for women, or even as assistants in baptism, or instructors of candidates; they were employed in those works of charity and relief where hea-

Also wide-extended through organization.

Gifts easily concentrated for relief of distress.

Deaconesses.

¹ Book ii, *Mandata*, ii.

then public opinion would not permit the presence of the deacons. "Ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations toward women. For sometimes he cannot send a deacon, who is a man, to the women, on account of unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore send a woman, a deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad."¹ Thus the number and variety of officers enabled the early Church to reach all classes, and to have complete knowledge of the personal needs of its members.

Another question which has been earnestly discussed is the influence of the early Christian system of charities upon pauperism and self-help. It has been charged that it fostered dependence, and that its ultimate result was to add to the pauper population. The question is beset with difficulties, because of insufficient data from which to form a judgment. The lack of official statistics, with reference both to the Roman government and to ecclesiastical activities, renders the question wellnigh insoluble. That promiscuous relief of the poor, disconnected from a thorough knowledge of the needs of the beneficiary, tends to helplessness and increasing poverty is everywhere confessed. The presumption is certainly very strong that this defect could not, however, attach to the early Christian charities. While, as has been noted, a generous and helpful spirit toward all was clearly taught, the thoroughness of organization and administration afforded the best possible guarantee of worthy bestowment of aid. First, accurate lists were kept of those who received stated assistance, so that immediate and thorough inspection was possible. Second, the aid afforded was usually of the necessities of life. Third, the support of such as had abandoned a trade, or otherwise suffered peculiar hardship for the sake of Christ, was of a simple and inexpensive nature, thus reducing to a minimum the temptation to deception and fraud. Fourth, the special pains to have orphans of Christian parents adopted by childless couples, and trained in habits of industry,² was a most beneficent provision which kept alive the spirit of purest charity, and most effectually guarded against the increase of pauperism. Fifth, the solemn charge to bishops that they be solicitous to aid the truly needy, but at the same time do all in their power to place every body, so far as possible, in a condition of self-help. The language of the Constitutions is noteworthy: "O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to orphans the care of parents; to the widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to

Influence of
Christian char-
ity on pauper-
ism.

Guards against
the weakening
of self-depend-
ence.

Charge to the
bishops.

¹ Const. Apost., l. iii, c. 15.

² Const. Apost., l. iv, c. 1.

the disabled, commiseration; to the strangers, a house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance; . . . to the young man, assistance that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it, . . . that so he may no longer burden any of the brethren; . . . for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support himself, and does not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow."¹ These considerations, among many others, would seem to show that the methods of the Christian Church, prior to the rise and prevalence of monasticism, were well calculated to keep alive a genuine charity, and foster a spirit of independence and self-help.

Probably the times of persecution and of public misfortune afforded the occasions for the most impressive exemplification of the Christian law of love. While the persecutions of the Church were for the most part local, and grew out of a peculiar combination of circumstances, they were often sharp and peculiarly afflictive. The suffering arose from the confiscation of property, from its ruthless destruction through popular outbreaks, from loss of business, and often from exile, imprisonment, or death of those who were the natural guardians of families. The records and the inscriptions alike tell a story honourable to the heroism and to the patient sacrifice of the Church. In the Decian persecution, which proved so disastrous, those who were banished to the mines, or immured in prisons in Carthage, were tenderly cared for by the whole body of believers. Cyprian is most earnest in his words and labours to relieve the wants of such as were under special temptation to apostasy. Persons cast into prison on account of their faith were visited, and supplied with necessary provisions. The unfortunate men who were condemned to the mines, and who were compelled to submit to the cruelty of harsh, unfeeling masters, were not forgotten by the sympathizing Church. The deeper the misery and the greater the peril the more brightly shone the light of charity, and extraordinary care was bestowed upon those whose lot was peculiarly trying. The charities at such times were generous and methodical.²

So, too, in times of great public misfortune. During the third century the empire was visited by a series of fearful calamities, in which the contrast between Christian and heathen charity was made most conspicuous. The fatal pestilence which appeared in different districts dissolved all natural ties. In Carthage there was a general panic. "All were shuddering, fleeing, shunning the contagion, impiously ex-

Opportunities
for Christian
charities.

In persecutions.

In times of public
misfortune.

In Carthage.

¹ Const. Apost., l. iv, c. 2.

² Cyprian: *Epist.* xxxvi, *ad Clerum*.

posing their own friends, as if with exclusion of the person who was sure to die of the plague one could exclude death also. . . . No one regarded any thing besides his cruel gains. . . . No one did for another what he himself wished to experience."¹ The biographer of Cyprian speaks of his exhortations in the midst of the pestilence: that the Christians should not succour their own brethren alone, but all alike; that this was the Father's method, and the children must be like the Father.² In conformity to this spirit the Christians rallied to assist, some by their money, many more by their labours, in caring for the sick and burying the dead, until the calamity was stayed. Like scenes were witnessed in the midst of the pestilence at Alexandria. The letter of Dionysius, then ^{In Alexandria.} bishop, as found in Eusebius, gives a most graphic picture of the difference of the behaviour of Christians and heathen in the midst of this awful visitation. "They (the Christians) took up the bodies of the saints with their open hands, and on their bosoms, cleansed their eyes and closed their mouths, carried them on their shoulders, and composed their limbs, embraced, clung to them, and prepared them decently with washing and garments; and ere long they themselves shared in the same offices. Those that survived always followed those before them. Among the heathen it was just the reverse. They both repelled those who began to be sick and avoided their nearest friends. They would cast them out into the roads half dead, or throw them, when dead, without burial," etc.³ These deeds of mercy and of charitable relief were found in all departments of activity, and the teachings and practice of the Church were such as to profoundly impress the most stubborn opponents.

Few can doubt that the nature of Christian charities was changed both by the conflict with Montanism, and by the growth of the principle of the merit of good works which had ^{Principles adverse to Christian charity.} taken firm root in the Church by the middle of the third century. With all its wild extravagance, Montanism was also a protest against the prevailing laxity of discipline, and the easy morals which had begun to rob the Church of her greatest efficiency. In so far Montanism contained a valuable element. But in the attempt to purify the Church by simple discipline lay a radical error. In merely withdrawing from the world, in forbidding any commingling with sinful humanity, in regarding all things forbidden which are not expressly allowed, Montanism was introducing into the ^{Montanism.} Church what is contradictory to the principles which Christ had most clearly inculcated. The lofty exclusiveness of this heresy savoured of a spiritual pride, and would separate its

¹ *Vita Cypriani*, c. 9.² *Ibid.*, c. 10.³ Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. 7, c. 22.

votaries from a fallen world which it was the real mission of Christianity to restore. In its conflict with this stubborn heresy the Church passed beyond the sober mean into the opposite extreme. In the attempt to meet the social and intellectual forces of the empire, and bring them into subjection, the strictness of discipline was relaxed, and the Church became more and more conformed to the prevalent spirit, until she was too often content with the mere ceremonial without the inspiring spirit of worship. The growing strength of the doctrine of good works, which finds expression in Origen and Cyprian, and the substitution of a special priesthood, whose functions were of peculiar sanctity, for the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers who were each and all called to a high and holy calling, tended to tarnish the charities of the Church. No longer was the simple love of Christ the inspiration of Christian beneficence; but the motive of personal advantage to the giver introduced into the work of the Church that selfish element which had tainted the charities of the heathen guilds. Thus the gifts which had before been so bountifully bestowed by individuals were now left to the care of the Church officary, and almsgiving was now practised for the benefit which might inure to the donor. Also the transition from the simple congregational episcopacy to the more formal and stately diocesan government, tended to confound pure charity with a kind of perfunctory service which was delegated to chosen officials who must deal with masses rather than with individual sufferers.

The recognition of the Church by the State was a most important fact in the history of Christian charities. Constantine had become convinced of the superiority of the work of the Church, and had largely added to her available resources. As the churches became more magnificent, and public worship more stately through the use of imposing liturgies, so the means for beneficent work were greatly multiplied. But this increase of the wealth of the Church was at the expense of the State. The financial condition of the empire was deplorable. Industries were in a state of decline. The later retirement of multitudes to the monastic life withdrew an immense productive force from society, and the further exemption of the Church properties from taxation added to the burdens of the remaining citizens. Resistance to the inroads of the barbarian tribes brought a further strain upon the tottering empire, while in the track of these invading hordes were ruin and appalling want. The opportunities for the charitable work of the Church thus multiplied on every hand. Nor were the means wanting. Immense sums were poured into her treasuries, but these were largely in the

Influence of union of Church and State.

form of alms, and did not come, as before, from the free oblations made at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Decay of pure charities.

The decay of spiritual life caused the churches to be unvisited by the masses of the people, so that in the writings of the great leaders and preachers are found bitter complaints that the eucharist was neglected for the sake of the circus or the theatre, and that the oblations were greatly diminished.

The theory that the property of the Church is for the good of the poor was still recognised, and many of the high officials gave all their private fortunes into her coffers. The constantly strengthening doctrine that almsgiving ranked with fasting and prayer as a means of salvation, and had, therefore, a highly meritorious power, further added to the resources available for Church charities. Nor was the Church an unfaithful steward. A new species of charities, in the form of hospitals, appeared during the reign of Constantine. Rise of hospitals. The exact time of their origin is not known; but the presumption is strong that the establishments ordered by Julian, during his attempt to restore heathenism, were in imitation of what had already become familiar to the Christians. It is certain, however, that from the last half of the fourth to the sixth century great numbers of these charities were founded, and were the means of alleviating the distresses of multitudes of the poor and impotent. They spread from the east to the west, where they at first seem to have been much fewer, and to have been held in lower esteem. So numerous and varied were the hospitals in the Eastern Empire that special legislation was required for their regulation and control. Though sometimes the centres of fearful immoralities, they often furnished opportunities of labor for worthy men and women, and were places of refuge for the unfortunate in the chaotic times succeeding the downfall of the Empire.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO EDUCATION AND GENERAL CULTURE.

WHAT were the intellectual training and attainments of "the Twelve," and of Christ's immediate disciples, it is difficult to determine. It has been quite common to represent them as obscure and unlettered fishermen, or common toilers who belonged to a despised province, were unacquainted with human philosophy, and were untouched by the current discussions. Some facts of the gospel history, and some expressions of Christ and of Paul, seem to justify this view. "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, not many mighty, not many noble, εὐγενεῖς, are called. But God has chosen the foolish, τὰ μωρὰ, things of the world to confound the wise, τοὺς σοφοὺς," etc. (1 Cor. i, 26-28). This expression would, however, imply that some of "the called" were of another type; and in the history of the apostolic Church are mentioned a few men of high position, both in the empire and in the Jewish Church, who had accepted Christianity (Acts xiii, 12; xviii, 8; xxii, 3; Rom. xvi, 23). While the Gospel was indeed "good news" to the uneducated, the low-born, and the obscure, who felt the need of a deliverer, it should not be too hastily inferred that the first called apostles were necessarily illiterate. The frequent appeals of Christ to the law show that his apostles were familiar with and able to read it. Josephus and Philo agree in saying that great importance was attached to the *reading* of the law. The noted expression of Josephus, "If any one should question one of us concerning the laws, he would more easily repeat all than his own name," shows that his further statement must be true, that "from our first consciousness we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls."¹ He frequently mentions the zeal manifested by the Jews in the instruction of their children in the law, and claims that Moses commanded to teach them in the elements of knowledge, that they might walk according to the holy statutes, and not transgress them. At the

The culture of
the apostles.

Some officials
were Christ-
ians.

Could read the
law.

¹ *Apion*, ii, 18

advent of Christ, schools had been founded by the Jewish communities for the instruction of the children in the elements of knowledge; but the ultimate object of these was to teach the law. The purpose of the elementary school was, therefore, to prepare the pupils to *read* it, since great stress was laid upon the reading in contradistinction from mere oral instruction.¹ The further duty of children to keep the Sabbath, to observe the great fasts, to join in the prayers in the family worship and at the table, and to attend the national festivals, necessarily furnished invaluable opportunities for a knowledge of the law, and for familiarity with the national history.

The education thus carefully begun was continued by means of the services of the synagogue. This becomes more important from the fact that the synagogues were primarily places for religious instruction, and not, in the strict sense of the term, for worship. Hence Philo calls them "houses of instruction," where the law and its sacred observance were inculcated. The further fact that in the smaller towns, where the Jewish element was largely in excess, the town senate probably united in themselves both religious and civil authority, would add to the importance of the synagogues as educational institutions. Moreover, the free method of conducting the services in these places of meeting must have been a further means of stimulating thought and of disseminating knowledge. While there was a chief officer, *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, who cared for the general order of services, preaching, and prayer, no officials were appointed; any one, even minors, might read the Scriptures, and every adult member of the congregation was competent to lead in prayer and expound the lessons. On Sabbath days the ruler of the synagogue was accustomed to invite several, generally not less than seven, to take part in the reading, thus increasing the number of interested partakers in the service, and of persons who were able to pronounce the sacred text; while either the readers themselves, or some competent members of the congregation, accompanied the reading with a continued translation into the Aramaic, which was the dialect understood by the bulk of the common people.

The importance which is attached to teaching in the writings of Paul is pertinent to an inquiry respecting the degree of intelligence among the early Christians. It is interesting to notice the emphasis which is laid upon this function, *διδάσκειν*, *διδασκαλία*, in the writings of the New Testament. By Paul it is mentioned with prophecy, ministering,

¹ v. Shürer: *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, vol. ii, div. ii, p. 50.

exhortation, giving, and ruling (Rom. xii, 6-8). Teaching, *διδασκαλία*, is elsewhere (1 Cor. xii, 28) third in the enumeration of special charisms, outranking even miracles, *δυνάμεις*, gifts of healing, helps, governments, and diversities of tongues. This is not to be accounted as merely the opinion of an apostle whose opportunities for understanding contemporary thought, both Jewish and pagan, had been exceptional, but rather it is in accord with the method of Christ himself, whose ministry was largely a ministry of teaching. Whether going about all Galilee (Matt. iv, 23; Luke xiii, 10), or through all Jewry (Luke xxiii, 5), or sitting daily in the temple (Matt. xxvi, 5; John vii, 14), or addressing his more immediate disciples on the deeper meaning of the law (Matt. v, 2), or in the more astounding miracles which he wrought, or in the foremost place given to teaching in the great commission, Jesus everywhere recognises the prime importance of instructing men in regard to the truths pertaining to his kingdom.

Closely connected with this is the character of the epistles which the apostles addressed to the various churches respecting doctrines and duties. It must be recollected that most of these letters were written to infant societies within a generation from the crucifixion of Christ, that they were addressed to men and women who may represent the average culture of the Church, before it was compelled to adjust itself to the new conditions which persecutions or imperial patronage afterward created. It is true that the great body of the matter of these epistles is truth of an eminently practical character, easily understood, and well suited to establish the community of believers in faith and all holy living. But when we study some portions of Paul's letters to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Corinthians, or the epistle to the Hebrews, we are confronted with discussions of some of the most abstruse problems of religious philosophy, to whose interpretation the best minds of the Christian centuries have been devoted. The profound teachings of this apostle respecting the relation of the Jewish economy to the kingdom of heaven among men, the failure of natural religion to bring salvation, the bondage of the fallen man to sin, the relations of law to grace, the justification of the soul by faith, the subtle truths pertaining to the resurrection body, and the final triumph of the redeemed man, must be accounted among the most important and difficult themes which can engage human thought. Peter speaks of some things in these letters as "hard to be understood, *δυσνόητα*, which they that are unlearned, *οἱ ἀμαθεῖς*, and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction" (2 Pet. iii, 16). But it is not presumable that al-

Exalted character of the apostolic writings.

apostle would write in language not capable of being appreciated either by the mass of the disciples, or by those who had special direction of their religious education, thus defeating the very purpose of the epistles. Hence we are led to believe that in the apostolic Church there must have been a fair proportion of men and women to whom the deeper and more abstruse discussions of Paul were not only intelligible, but were the means of moral and religious edification.

In the examination of a question respecting which so little evidence survives, the Christian idea of the family, and the sacred duty of care for children, to which reference has elsewhere been made (Book IV, chap. i), must not be omitted. The effect of Christianity was the awakening and quickening of the intellectual and moral powers. With new views of duty and destiny came new motives to care for the young. The very atmosphere of the Christian household was redolent of influences most truly stimulating and ennobling. The mother nourished the child, the community cared for the orphaned. The simplicity of tastes, so uniformly inculcated by the Christian fathers, turned the thoughts from the merely outward and accidental to the spiritual and essential. The family education must, therefore, have been of extreme importance, and had its root in the very genius of the Christian system. The duty to behave toward each other in a manner mutually helpful and saving, because each belonged to a family with God as father, was solemn and imperative, thus furnishing the necessary conditions of the truest and fullest education.

The Christian duty to the family.

For merely secular education the Christians of the first and second centuries depended upon heathen schools. These were accessible to those who could pay a moderate price for instruction, since the calling of a common teacher in the second century was regarded as one of great toil and of very limited income. Liberal emperors had encouraged education, and numerous schools had been established under their auspices. Julius Cæsar had attracted many Greek teachers to Rome, where instruction in the language was greatly coveted, and Augustus became a liberal patron of polite learning. In the second century Antoninus Pius had provided for the establishment of schools in all parts of the empire, sustaining at the public expense ten teachers of medicine, five rhetoricians, and five grammarians in the largest cities; seven teachers of medicine, four rhetoricians, and four grammarians in those of medium population; and five teachers of medicine, three rhetoricians, and three grammarians in the smaller towns.¹ While these

The secular schools.

¹ Friedländer: Bd. i, s. 281.

provisions were entirely inadequate to satisfy the public needs, they nevertheless encouraged the citizens of the empire to greater efforts for the care of their children. But the interest in education was already declining. There had been a marked decadence since the beginning of the first century. The military and civil service had fallen more and more into the hands of the low-born, and thus the need of culture as a preparation for public life was felt to be less urgent. In the West a vicious pronunciation became increasingly prevalent, and many proofs of growing illiteracy and vulgarity are still preserved in the literature and in the inscriptions. It is said that while quæstor, Hadrian, during the reading of an address, was derided by the senators on account of his blunders in the use of the language, and that M. Aurelius was not understood when he gave commands in Latin, because his elegant pronunciation was entirely foreign to his officers.¹

The feelings of the Christians respecting the attendance upon the pagan schools were various. It was impossible for their children to gain the elements of a secular education elsewhere, since the condition of the first Christians forbade the establishment of separate schools. The slender testimony extant leads to the conclusion that Christian parents were accustomed to patronize the heathen teachers. Yet the early fathers are perplexed with the problem. Especially Tertullian recognises the serious embarrassments felt by both pupils and schoolmasters. He sees in the teaching of the schools, as in other kinds of business, the taint of idolatry. He discriminates, however, between teaching and learning the heathen literature. "Learning literature is allowable for believers, rather than teaching, for the principle of learning and of teaching is different. If a believer teach literature, while he is teaching doubtless he commends, while he delivers he affirms, while he recalls he bears testimony to, the praises of idols interspersed therein. . . . But when a believer learns these things, if he is already capable of understanding what idolatry is, he neither receives nor allows them; much more if he is not yet capable."² He therefore hesitates to condemn the patronizing of the heathen schools by the Christian, because "to him necessity is attributed as an excuse, because he has no other way to learn."³ Cyprian is firm in enforcing the differences between Christian and heathen morality;⁴ and it is clear from the taunts of Celsus that in his day there was a wide-spread inattention and even repugnance to heathen learning among the Christians.

¹ Friedländer: *Op. cit.*, Bd. iii, ss. 352 353.

² *de Idol.*, c. 10.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *ad Anton.* c. 16.

The earliest educational institution in the Church was the catechumenate. This was not intended for children only, but for all who would be admitted to full membership, and to a complete enjoyment of Church privileges. Primarily this had reference to instruction in the principles of the Christian faith, and it is probable that little, if any, strictly secular education was at first connected with it. The bishops regarded it as incumbent upon them to care for the training of their flocks in the principles of their religion; yet, from some of the works which have been preserved, it is evident that the discussions sometimes involved the highest problems which can engage human attention,—the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, Divine Providence, the last Things, etc. From this it may be safely inferred that the hearers must have passed far beyond the stage of elementary training, and were able to discuss and master these high themes. The acceptance of Christianity by some men well versed in the pagan philosophy led the earliest apologists to employ Greek learning in the defence of the peculiarities of the Christian system. Such was Justin Martyr, who, after conversion, devoted his powers to the preparation of Apologies for Christianity, addressing both, as now appears, to Antoninus Pius, one of the most cultivated emperors of the century. His thought and method are distinctively Greek. Christianity is the highest reason, and he who lives in conformity to reason is a Christian. Whatever, therefore, is rational is Christian, and whatever is Christian is in accordance with the best reason. He even goes so far as to declare that all, in every dispensation, who have thus lived in conformity to the deepest reason, are Christians in every thing but name. Justin thus endeavours to reconcile the Christian system with the best teaching of the Platonic philosophy, and is the first one of the fathers to suggest the method for the harmony of reason and revelation, and for the use of Greek learning in the Christian schools.

The use of
Greek learning.

The most famous catechetical school was that of Alexandria, which had a succession of noted teachers who deeply influenced the theology of the Church. While tradition ascribes its founding to St. Mark, its first authentic teacher was Pantænus, who flourished about A. D. 180. He was succeeded by a long line of instructors, of whom Clement and Origen were the most conspicuous. This school was not for children; rather it was after the type of the schools of the Jewish rabbis and of the Greek philosophers. It was a place of inquiry and discussion. The room or hall stood open from morning to night, and probably all who wished had free access to the master. In addition to conversations,

The school of
Alexandria.

and free question and answer to any who might come,
 its method. there appears to have been a progressive course for those who desired more systematic training in the doctrines of the Christian religion. This is suggested by the treatises of Clement and Origen. They seem to have been arranged on the plan of a progressive unfolding of the truth, and a growing experience of its saving power.¹ Since this school was free of charge for tuition, it was visited by multitudes of both men and women, and became the means of instructing many thoughtful pagans in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Especially under the direction of Origen, who at a later period devoted his entire attention to advanced instruction, were eminent heathen persuaded of the truth of Christianity, who also made valuable gifts to the school. Prominent among these was Ambrosius, a Gnostic, who contributed a valuable library, and promoted the exegetical studies of Origen by the aid of copyists, readers, and secretaries. In connection with theology and philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics, physics and astronomy, and even grammar and music, were taught.

But the attempt of the Alexandrian theologians to reconcile the supernaturalism of the Gospel with the pagan philosophy was attended with peculiar dangers. Not only did the Christian teachers encounter the purer and nobler principles of Platonism, but the eclecticism of the Neo-Platonic school, and the bewildering syncretism of the Jewish and Christian Gnosticism. The earnest desire of Origen to reconcile these conflicting elements, within and without the Church, led him to embrace some extravagant doctrines which had but slender scriptural authority, and to originate an allegorical method of interpretation of the Scriptures whose threefold sense, literal, moral, and spiritual, might lead to conclusions as untenable as the wildest vagaries of Gnosticism.

At a very early date an important institution was established at Antioch. This differed somewhat from the catechetical school of Alexandria, inasmuch as it was not under the direction and official oversight of the bishop, but was rather a collection of cloister schools, inside and outside the city, for the special training of the monks and clergy. Their curriculum of studies was much narrower. Instead of philosophy and nearly the whole round of human knowledge, as taught at Alexandria, the schools of Antioch were almost exclusively engaged in the study of the Scriptures. The eminent teachers, Dorotheus and Lucian of Samosata, intro-

¹ Notice especially the difference of teaching in Clement's *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, *Pædagogus*, and *Stromata*. These progress from the elements of a Christian life to the more advanced stages of thought and experience.

duced a more just and rational interpretation, and became the instructors of some of the ablest bishops of the Church. Also at Edessa, Cæsarea, Nisibis, etc., were flourishing schools, whose influence upon the thought and doctrines of the Church was most important.

The recognition of the Church by Constantine brought no immediate change in the feeling of the leading fathers respecting heathen philosophy, or in relation to the propriety of patronizing heathen schools. There is abundant evidence More favourable opinion of pagan culture. that some of the most distinguished Christian theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries received much of their training under pagan masters. The education of Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom, as well as that of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil with Julian in the schools of Athens, is illustrative of the opinion of the best Christian families respecting the excellent discipline of the heathen teachers. Nevertheless, there is noticed a feeling of the importance of a distinctively Christian education under the direction of the Church. By the middle of the fourth century this conviction had greatly strengthened, and the Christian teachers had become so numerous and influential as to direct the attention of the Emperor Julian to these schools, which were regarded by him as most serious hinderances to his efforts to restore the pagan religion. The attempt to remove these teachers from the public schools, and its influence on the development of a distinctive Christian poetry, have been elsewhere traced.¹

The further effect was to develop a theory of education which may be properly denominated Christian. Its chief elements are found in the writings of Chrysostom, but it is A Christian theory of education. more completely systematized by Basil. Both these fathers placed a very high value upon education. "Do not attempt to make your son a mere orator, but train him in Christian wisdom. Every thing depends upon character, not upon words; this alone will make him strong in the kingdom of God, and secure for him the true riches. Do not be over careful respecting his language, but purify his heart. I do not say this to hinder you from giving your son a literary training, but to guard against expending all energy and thought on this alone." Such is the wise advice of Chrysostom to Christian parents. Placing a high estimate upon the Power of example. influence of example, he exhorts parents and guardians to see to it that their children and wards are placed under teachers whose pure lives will in themselves be the best educating power. "Much of the evil in children comes from our neglect, from the fact that we have not from the first inculcated the fear and love of God.

¹ v. Book I, chap. viii.

We interpose no objection to the son's attending the theatre, and make no effort that he visit the church; if one now and then is found at the public services it is more as an amusement than for purposes of worship." By Chrysostom the mother is regarded as the best teacher, and, next to her, the cloister schools are the most important means of Christian education.

Basil shows about an equal enthusiasm for Greek culture and for the monastic life. "The Christian must seek the treasures of the life to come. To this life the Scriptures are designed to lead by instructing us in the deep mysteries of the faith. But in order to understand these our powers must be cultivated by every possible means—by intercourse with the poets, the orators, the grammarians, and with every one who may give us insight into the deeper truths pertaining to the kingdom of God." The principles which Basil formulated for the government of the monks in their schools contain much of permanent value.

The teachings of Jerome respecting the value of pagan writings were still more influential. Notwithstanding his extreme asceticism, the influence of his early training is manifest in his own studies, and in the high value which he places upon the literature of pagan antiquity. His severe strictures on the ecclesiastics of his day for neglecting the study of the Scriptures, and for passing their time in reading low comedies and love-songs, cannot be construed as condemning the study of the best heathen classics, since even after his retirement to Bethlehem he established a school in connection with the monastery, and gave instruction in grammar and in the Roman poets.¹ The later views of Jerome were influenced by his ardent devotion to the monastic life, and probably by his alarm at the fearful decadence of faith and morals throughout the empire. His views respecting the education of daughters are characterized by excessive severity,² and his condemnation of high Church officials, who instruct their sons in the heathen authors and in low comedy at the neglect of the teachings of the Church, is most unsparing.³

The contributions of Augustine to the work of education were many and valuable. His own training had been most thorough; and while in some of his writings he regrets the time wasted in reading the trivial and debauching works of pagan authors, he elsewhere recommends the classics for the valuable

Basil's teaching.

Jerome's partiality for classic writings.

His later severity.

Augustine's views.

¹ v. Ebert: *Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Literatur*, s. 182.

² v. Schmidt: *Die Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, Götten, 1863, ss. 136, 137.

³ v. Com. in Ephes. vi, 4.

truths therein found, which are in accord with the Christian system, and the study of the rhetoricians for the benefits experienced in fitting the preacher for his work.

In the West the destructive barbarian invasions had almost completely annihilated the public institutions which had been maintained by the government; hence the standard of education became low in the extreme. Instead of the imperial schools, the cathedral schools, under the direction of the bishops, then undertook the training of the youth. The general result was a further inattention to the works of pagan authors, a growing distrust of secular learning, and a narrow and inadequate training in most of the monastic institutions of the West. "Science became the servant of theology, and thereby lost its freedom and independent activity."¹ The inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries reveal the growing illiteracy. Their wide departure from classic forms, the many gross errors in orthography, the interchange of labials, etc., the inattention to grammatical laws, the barbarous commingling of Greek and Latin characters and words, furnish painful evidence of educational and literary decadence.²

Effects of the barbarian invasions.

In the Byzantine Empire and in the Oriental Church the culture and training were largely influenced by theological thought, while the education of the masses was far below what the liberal provisions of the emperors should have realized. The doctrinal controversies and the fierce rivalries of factions diverted attention from the care of the people. The schools and libraries supported by the imperial government had been professedly reared on classic and Christian foundations, but the old Greek spirit had departed, and Christianity had degenerated into a lifeless form. The grandest service done by the later Oriental Church was to preserve the pagan classics and the ancient works of art, which at a later period were to be most important aids in the revival of learning in Western Europe.

Education in the Eastern Church.

¹ Schmidt: *Op. cit.*, s. 145.

² See the inscriptions contained in Plates iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii and their translation in Appendix. These will supply a most valuable comment on the condition of literature and education for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

CARE FOR THE DEAD IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

FROM time immemorial the peoples from whom the converts of the early Church were drawn had shown careful thought for their dead. They manifested deep interest in the repose and destination of the soul, and maintained a close relationship between the living and the departed. The Old Testament Scriptures contain many touching accounts of the anxiety of the Jews relative to the places of their sepulture. The embalming in the case of Jacob and Joseph, the carrying of Jacob to his home to be buried in the cave of the field of Machpelah, the grievous mourning for seven days, are indications of burial customs which seem to have been widely observed. The washing and embalming of the body, the winding in a cloth, the wrapping about with linen bands, the covering of the face with a napkin, the use of costly spices, etc., are found in the account of the burial of Christ. To have this care for the dead was the sacred duty of the living. To remain unburied was considered the most dreadful calamity; hence the most fearful curse pronounced upon the violators of God's law is that their bodies shall be left a prey for the fowls of heaven, or as filth in the streets, or as dung in the fields (Psa. lxxix, 2; Jer. ix, 22; xvi, 4). Even enemies and executed criminals received burial before sunset. The custom of burial feasts seems to have been quite common among the Jews (Deut. xxvi, 14; Jer. xvi, 7; Hos. ix, 14; *et al.*). The lamentations for seven and even thirty days, the rending of the garments, the scattering of dust and ashes upon the head, were common; yet the law interdicted certain excessive exhibitions of grief, because of their connection with the practices of the heathen nations around them (Lev. xix, 27, 28; Deut. xiv, 1).

Burial was the almost universal custom among the Hebrews. Only in exceptional cases was burning practiced, and even then the bones were to be gathered and interred. That burning was abhorrent to the Hebrew mind appears from the fact that it was adjudged a punishment to be visited upon those who had been guilty of heinous crimes (Lev. xx, 14; xxi, 9). Since the law regarded the dead body as a source of ceremonial defilement, the places of burial were somewhat removed from the dwellings of

Jewish burial
customs.

Burial and not
burning.

the living. While there was a cemetery, or place of public interment, there was ever a great desire among the Jews to gather the deceased members of the family into close proximity; this is seen from the fact that "to be gathered to his fathers" is equivalent to one's death and burial. Hence, even after the dispersion, the Jews strove to have separate cemeteries, and this desire measurably continues to the present day.

The location and form of the grave depended upon circumstances. Frequently in Palestine the numerous natural grottos in the limestone rock afforded a place of sepulture, either by hewing out spaces in the face of the rock, or by making perpendicular excavations. Three kinds of graves have been distinguished by investigators: the body was either laid upon Three kinds of graves. a bench or shelf hewn out of the rock, over which an arch was constructed, or placed in a box-like cavity made in the wall, or laid away in an excavation in the floor of the grotto.¹ The marking of these places of sepulture by monuments of a costly and artistic nature was not common among the early Hebrews. A few ac- Jewish monuments. counts of the erection of a stone or pillar are met, and, in later times, of monuments possessing some artistic merit, also some attempts at ornamentation. This is especially noticeable in the Jewish catacombs upon the Appian Way in Rome. In these are galleries and chambers, and some attempts at artistic adornment by painting, and the incorporation into the monuments of elements which are plainly heathen, thus showing that the Jews of the dispersion were more ready to admit into their art principles which were interdicted during their independent national life.

Among the Greeks there was an equal care for the dead. In Athens, by statutory provision, one seeking to fill high public office must first show that he had been guilty of no neglect Greek sentiment. with respect to the burial of his parents. The refusal of enemies to permit the burial of those who had fallen in battle was terribly avenged. When the body could not be secured, it was regarded as a duty to erect some monument, and over any corpse found in the way at least a handful of earth must be strewn. The preparation of the body for burial was somewhat similar to that practiced by the Jews. To close the eyes, to wash and anoint the body, to array in white garments, and to bedeck it with flowers and wreaths were the usual practices Both burying and burning practiced. among the Greeks. The mode of sepulture differed at different periods of their history. In the historic period burial was most usual, although burning was also practiced. In

¹ v. Tobler: *Golgotha*, s. 201. Wilson: *Pictureque Palestine*, pp. 95. 96.

Sparta alone cremation was common, and this only during the period of Roman rule. On sanitary grounds burning was instituted for a season, but when the extraordinary circumstances passed away the return to burying was quite general. Also burning was practiced in case of soldiers who had fallen in battle on distant fields, in order that their ashes might be more easily transported to their native country.

A common burial-plat was used only by the poor; the rich or well-to-do citizens had separate tombs either along the most public streets, or in grounds ornamented with trees and works of art. The tomb was usually of the nature of a chamber of sufficient size to admit the friends, and the body was laid upon a shelf of masonry. The Greeks wrought out their sarcophagi with equal pains on every side, whereas the Romans only cared for the front and ends: this shows that the Greek sarcophagus occupied a position in the centre of the burial-chamber, while the Roman was designed to be placed against the wall. The purpose of the Greeks seemed to be to disarm death of its terrors, as far as possible, by placing in the tomb objects which were most familiar and dear to the deceased while living, or by decorating the burial chamber with various ornaments, as vases, lamps, weapons, etc. The numerous elegant vases found in Greek graves now constitute a special department of art history. The decorations of the monuments themselves were chiefly in plastic; sometimes, especially in case of cenotaphs, painting was used. The subjects treated in these works are chiefly taken from the popular mythology. They sometimes represent the ruthlessness of death in robbing us of our treasures, as when the Harpies are sculptured, but generally they are of a more cheerful character, and express the leading thought of the Greek mind that the design of a monument is to keep alive the memory of the dead, rather than to point to a hereafter, and to describe the state of the departed.

The Romans regarded burial as a thing rightfully due to all. Even criminals who had been put to death were to be cared for by the surviving members of the family, and in case of those who had fallen in battle for their country the state took the place of the family, and provided for their decent sepulture. This concern is also manifested in the fact that the living were careful to purchase plats and erect appropriate tombs, and to make testamentary provision for keeping alive their memories by the yearly celebration of the burial feasts. Rich patrons prepared places of common sepulture for clients, freedmen, and slaves, and it was con-

sidered a severe punishment to deprive these persons of the privilege. The indigent classes and small traders also organized themselves into clubs, *collegia*, for social or other purposes, but they were chiefly concerned for the appropriate burial of the deceased members. The legal provisions for the protection of the graves only embodied the average Roman sentiment. Every spot where a body was buried was judged sacred. The boundaries of the cemeteries and of the individual tombs were carefully defined. The *area* was regarded as inalienable, passing to the heirs in perpetuity. The removal of the dead was forbidden, and only by express permission could this be effected. The violation and rob-

Legal provisions.

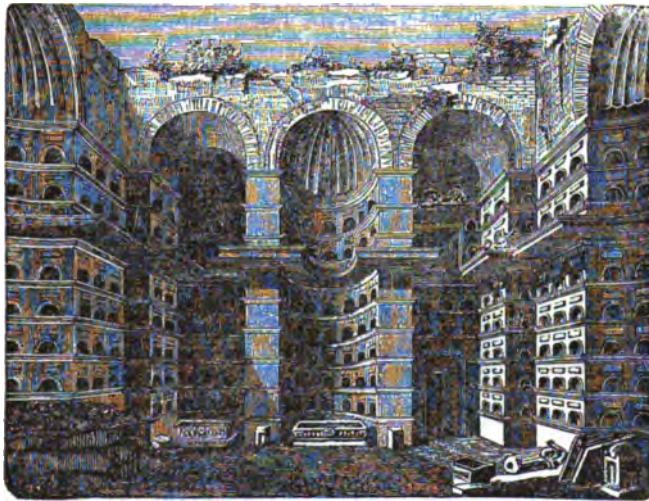


Fig. 141.—A Roman columbarium.

bing of graves and the mutilation of monuments were visited with most severe penalties, and many inscriptions indulge in fearful execrations of those who may profane the tombs.¹

The method of disposing of the dead varied at different periods of Roman history. From numerous considerations it is evident that burial was the early Roman custom. In the law of the Twelve Tables both inhumation and burning are recognised. This double practice continued into the imperial period, but cremation had doubtless been promoted by the growing desire for display on the one hand, and by the certainty that thus a member of a *collegium* would have an urn in the *columbarium*. The Roman columbarium (Fig. 141), so named from

Both inhumation and burning practiced.

Columbarium.]

¹ For examples on Christian tombs, v. p. 256, n. 3.

its resemblance to a dove-cote, consisted of a building in whose interior walls were parallel rows of semi-circular niches, in which were placed the cinerary urns. The arrangement in successive rows and sections permitted the gathering of the ashes of the members of a family or of a club into close proximity, and the easy identification of their place of sepulture. Over the niches were the names of the deceased, either upon plates or sculptured in the wall, and words as "Eutuchii," "Pancratii," etc., indicated the sodality to which they belonged. Cremation never became a universal practice among the Romans. Under the Antonines, on the contrary, burial was very frequent, and in the third and fourth centuries it became quite common among the best families of Rome.

The provision of the Twelve Tables, that nobody should be burned or buried within the city walls, was reenacted side the city walls. with even greater stringency in the imperial period.

This led to the custom of arranging the graves along the most frequented streets outside the city gates, thus keeping alive the thought of the dead by placing their tombs where they could be viewed by the passing multitudes. Thus opportunity was also given to gratify the growing desire for luxury. Since the Romans avoided, so far as possible, a common cemetery, but aimed to be grouped into families or sodalities, the building of imposing tombs along the highways, and the careful decoration of the *areas*, were the natural results of the attempt of the great families and collegia to rival each other in magnificent display. The tombs afforded the best examples of Roman art, hence the *Via Appia* and the *Via Latina* became the favorite drives Monuments on main streets. of the Roman nobility. Nor was this practice confined to the capital. The excavations at Pompeii reveal a like arrangement in a comparatively small provincial town. These have brought to light the street leading from Pompeii to Herculaneum. It (*v. Fig. 142*) proves to be the *Via Appia* of Pompeii, since it is bordered with tombs in the best art of the period, not, indeed, equalling in magnificence the gorgeous mausoleums of Rome, yet clearly illustrating the Roman conception of the use of mortuary monuments. Such, briefly, were the burial customs of the peoples from whom early Christianity gained its converts. It is presumable that here, too, as in other questions which have come under examination, the new religion would not so much create absolutely new customs as adopt those at hand, and give to them a deeper significance in accordance with the clearer revelations of truth which were vouchsafed by Christ to his Church.

The Christians shared the common desire to care for their dead.

Christian care for the dead. While the early Christian literature furnishes no formal treatise on the method of burial, the scattered notices are so numerous as to leave no doubt as to the Christian practice. In common with the non-Christian peoples, they regarded the neglect of the dead with special horror. This is clearly seen from the fact that the refusal of the civil authorities to deliver to their friends the bodies of those who had suffered martyrdom was felt to be a matter of peculiar hardship.¹

There seems to have been in the minds of some of the Church an apprehension that the appropriate burial of the body was necessary in order to a share in the resurrection; this greatly added to the affliction felt when the ashes of friends were widely scattered. So greatly disturbed were many, that the Christian teachers



Fig. 142.—A street of tombs leading from Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii.

were constrained to correct this false notion by careful instruction respecting the doctrine of the resurrection. Nevertheless, the Church insisted upon decent burial whenever possible, and strongly condemned neglect of this sacred duty.² The importance attaching to Christian burial is also illustrated by the system of penitential discipline. Interment in Christian cemeteries was absolutely refused to unbelievers, and those under the ban of the Church looked with peculiar horror upon their exclusion from the common resting-place.

¹ v. Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.*, l. v, c. 1, where the account of the persecution in Lyons and Vienne is given, and the casting of the ashes of the martyrs into the Rhone.

² This is exemplified in the conduct of the Alexandrian Christians during the fearful pestilence in that city, to which reference has elsewhere been made.

The Christians buried their dead, never burned them. It is plain that this practice was influenced by their faith in the resurrection, as well as by the fact that they shared the common belief of antiquity that man could have no separate spiritual existence independent of corporeal substance. In most respects the Christians accepted the common methods of preparing the dead for burial, but a notable difference is seen in the fact that while the Roman separated the classes, or at least the family idea preserved, most allowed only members of the same family or sodality to be buried near each other, the Christian burial places recognised no such distinctions. All classes of the Christian society perpetuated after death that fellowship which they had realized while living. This is noticed more especially in the West, while in the East and in Egypt single graves were usual.

The earlier view, that the Christians were compelled to find secret places for the interment of their dead, has been shown to be quite erroneous. At first they were looked upon by the government as only a particular school of the Jews; hence they shared all the privileges and immunities which had from time to time been granted to the Jews. Their burial places were, therefore, adjudged equally sacred with others. At a later period, when the distinction between Jews and Christians was more clearly recognised, the latter were, at Rome especially, looked upon as one of the many *collegia*, banded together for special objects, but most of all to care for the decent burial of their fellow-members. Such burial clubs were specially encouraged, and were granted areas in which their dead could be interred, and where proper *cellæ* could be built for the celebration of the funeral feasts.¹ It is only in harmony with the Roman reverence for the dead that, while many of the *collegia* were suppressed from political considerations, the burial clubs were never disturbed.

The origin of the catacombs, at Rome and elsewhere, was most simple and natural. Like other burial clubs the Christians obtained an area which was devoted to sacred purposes, and the excavations below that area were begun and increased as the Church multiplied. The entrance to the catacombs was usually well known. No concealment was necessary, since the law judged all burial areas sacred. It has been satisfactorily established that among the Roman Christians of the first and second centuries were persons of social position and wealth, who

¹ Under Alexander Severus, about A.D. 230, the Christians of Rome were granted the privileges of a burial association, *collegium funeraticium*.

gave land for purposes of Christian burial. The cemetery thus founded would take the name of its chief patron. It is believed that the grounds on which most of the Roman catacombs were excavated originally belonged to private persons, whose names would in themselves afford partial protection against abuse.

The entrance to them was usually by an excavation in the side of a hill, or by a staircase; in that to Santa Domitilla (Fig. 143), these are combined. For burial purposes narrow passages Description of catacombs. from two and a half to four feet wide, and from seven to ten feet high, were made in the soft tufa rock, in the faces of which rectangular cavities, each large enough to receive a body, were hewn. These ran lengthwise of the passages, and may be likened to so many shelves upon which bodies might rest. Several rows or tiers



Fig. 143.—The entrance to Santa Domitilla at Rome.

of graves, *loculi*, sometimes as many as seven, rose one above another (Fig. 144). As the demands for space increased, from the main corridors side aisles were constructed, thus making a complicated net-work of passages which none but the initiated were able to thread. In some of the catacombs these aggregate several miles in length. The accompanying plan (Fig. 145) of a portion of the Catacomb of St. Agnes, at Rome, will enable the reader to form some conception of the complexity of the system. Besides the multiplicity of aisles, the capacity of the catacombs was further enlarged by excavations at different levels, thus forming several stories (*piani*), in some cases as many as five, communicating with each other by staircases cut in the rock; in each story Extent of catacombs. was a like complexity of passages. Thus the entire area was honeycombed with graves to the depth of from twenty

The method of Christian burial differed from that of the heathen, in that the latter allowed the body to be in view, while the former closed the grave, *loculus*, with a slab of marble carefully set in cement. This practice of the Christians came from the fact that the catacombs were often visited, and the effluvium from the dead bodies must be guarded against. At the intersections of the main passage-ways, rooms of considerable dimensions were formed, which often became the burial places of noted families, or of persons of peculiar sanctity. These were sometimes enlarged and decorated with paintings in fresco, or adorned with sculptured sarcophagi. Sometimes, also, a doorway led into an independent chamber or succession of chambers, *cubiculum*, *cubacula*, which seem, for the most part, to have been family vaults. The size and arrangement of these rooms would suggest a place for the gathering of a family to keep the funeral feasts, rather than a common meeting for the celebration of the eucharist. There can be little doubt that during times of severe persecution, when Christians were forbidden to

The grave
closed.

Cubacula.

Not used for
public wor-
ship.

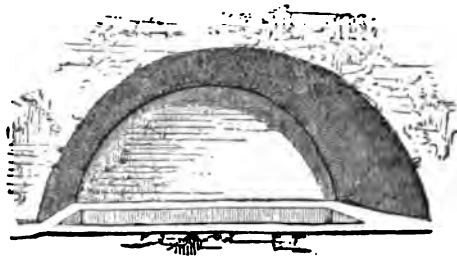


Fig. 146.—An arcosolium from the catacombs.

visit the cemeteries, the entrances to the catacombs, which were before well known, were concealed, and the larger chambers were sometimes used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. But the limited space in these rooms forbids the supposition that the catacombs could have been used as places of assembly for ordinary worship by the large numbers of Christians in Rome.

The tombs were of different sizes and forms, according to the ability of the family or the prominence of the deceased. The ordinary form was the shelf, hewn into the face of the rock. At times tombs were built up with masonry and covered with slabs of marble, as may now be seen in some modern churches. Again, an arched recess was excavated, and then a vault was hewn in the rock below to receive one or more bodies, which were separated from each other by partitions of stone. This form of tomb was called *arcosolium* (v. Fig. 146).

Arcosolium.

To naturally light all these intricate windings was evidently impossible. From some frescos which have been preserved it is seen that the *fossores*, or those who excavated the catacombs, worked by the light of torches or lamps. This must have been the usual method of pursuing their laborious task. But for the purposes of ventilation, as well as of lighting the larger rooms which were used for special services, shafts were extended through the soil to the surface. These were called *luminaria* (v. Fig. 147). When the location of the catacombs must be concealed, these were small, but in times of peace to the Church they were much enlarged.

The many miles of subterranean passages hewn out of the tufa

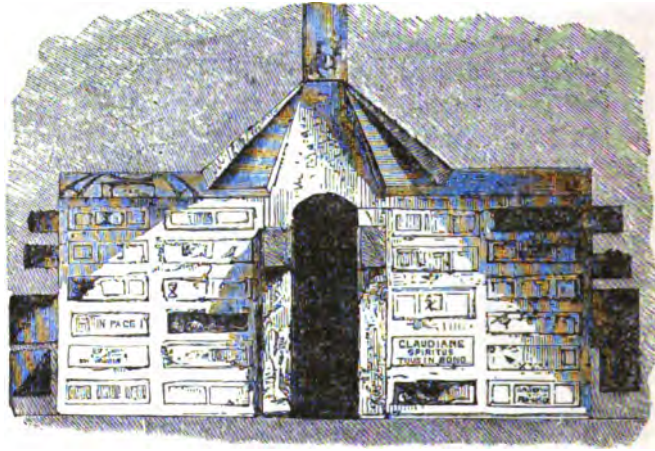


Fig. 147.—The section of a chamber and a luminarium in the Catacomb SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Rome.

rock, the millions of bodies laid away with tenderest care in these natural sarcophagi, whose enclosing plates of marble were inscribed with words and symbols indicative of the former faith and present happiness of disciples who wait the voice of their Lord to awaken them to eternal life, must continue to be the never-ceasing wonder of the Christian scholar, and remain as the most impressive example of the religious care of the early Christians for their dead. If we cannot speak of "The Church of the Catacombs," we can speak with entire truthfulness of a "Theology of the Catacombs," which may be formulated from the evidences herein contained.

While the Roman catacombs are more extensive than any elsewhere found, those of Naples, Milan, Syracuse, Alexandria,

etc., likewise contain many objects which have proved of great value in the study of early Christian art, life, and doctrine. As before said, it was the most usual custom of the Eastern churches to use single and isolated tombs. The discoveries of de Vogüé have demonstrated a condition of great prosperity among the churches of Central Syria during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Many of the single monuments are elegant and imposing, while the entrances to some of the cemeteries have features reminding us of the Roman catacombs. Fig. 148 is a view of the exterior of a tomb at El-Barah, Central Syria.¹ The exterior somewhat closely resembles that of the Catacomb of Santa Domitilla (Fig 143); but the interior consists of a single chamber, in which separate sarcophagi are placed in *arcosolia* hewn in the



Fig. 148.—Exterior view of rock-hewn tombs at El-Barah, Central Syria.

face of the rock. They generally lack the passages so usual in the Roman catacombs, and more resemble the cubicula. The number of these subterranean tombs in Syria is very great, and they further confirm our impression of the scrupulous care of the Christians for their dead.

The teachings of the symbols and inscriptions has elsewhere been treated;² also the marked resemblance of many of the heathen and Christian burial customs has been noted. But as in the case of symbolism, sculpture, painting, and architecture, so here, where the Church used such elements as were not contaminated with idolatry, she gave to them a deeper significance through the revelation of life and immortality in the Gospel.

¹ v. de Vogüé: *Syrie Centrale*, plate 79, no. 2, and vol. i, p. 107.

² v. Book I, chaps. ii, iii, vi, and vii.



A D D E N D A .

I.

GLOSSARY.

- ABACUS:** The crowning plate of the capital of a column.
- ABRAXAS GEMS:** Applied to a class of objects, bearing talismanic symbols, supposed to have been prepared by the Gnostics.
- AGAPE:** The love-feast of the early Christians.
- ALE:** Small rooms adjoining the *atrium* in a Roman house.
- ALTO-RELIEVO:** Applied to sculptured figures which stand out prominently above the general plane of the block in which they are cut, and to which they are attached. Opposed to *bass-reliefs*, or *basso-relievo*.
- AMBO:** A desk from which the readers (*lectores*) read the gospels and epistles. The gospel ambo stood on the south side, and the epistle ambo on the north side.
- AMPULLE:** Blood-phials found in the catacombs.
- ANAPHORA:** The second or main part of a liturgical service.
- ANTIPHONARIUM:** A service book containing the music, chants, sentences, etc.
- ANTIPHONY:** A responsive hymn or chant.
- APSE:** The semi-circular recess in which a building terminates, usually covered by a half dome.
- ARCHITRAVE:** The first member of an entablature, which rests immediately upon the supporting columns (*v.* Entablature).
- ARCOSOLIUM:** Applied to a grave in the face of the rock over which an arched recess is hewn.
- AREA:** The groundplat allowed by the Roman government to the *collegia* for the burial of their dead, and for the erection of suitable buildings for the celebration of the memorial feasts.
- ATRIUM:** The chief room in the Roman house.
- BAPTISTERY:** A room or building where the rite of baptism is administered. Sometimes it was a room in a church, sometimes a detached building.
- BASILICA:** A spacious hall for public business. Afterward applied to a Christian church of a certain type, of one, three, or five naves.
- BEMA:** In Byzantine architecture the name of the chancel.
- BIBLIA PAUPERUM:** "Books for the Poor," generally applied to illustrated leaves of the Bible, or to Bible scenes, by which religious instruction might be given to the illiterate.
- BULLA:** A small tablet of metal or ivory attached to a chain and worn around the neck. Slaves wore leather bullæ.
- BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE:** The style of architecture developed in the Byzantine Empire from about A. D. 328 to A. D. 1453. First period prior to A. D. 562; second period from A. D. 562 to the eleventh century; third period from the eleventh century to the conquest of Greece by the Turks.
- CADENCE:** The fall of the voice in reading, especially in reading poetry.
- CALIPPIC CYCLE:** one of seventy-six years.
- CANTHARUS:** A fountain in the vestibule of a Christian church.
- CANTILLATION:** Singing as a recitation or chant.
- CAPITAL:** The head or crown of a column or pilaster. Each style of architecture had its distinctive capital.
- CATACOMBS:** Subterranean vaults or excavations used for burial purposes.

- CATHEDRA:** The chair of a high official, as bishop or teacher.
- CELLA:** An enclosed space in a hypæthral temple, where stood the altar. Also applied to a recess in a church, and to a building in which burial feasts were held.
- CENSER:** A vessel, to which chains are usually attached, in which incense is burned in public service.
- CERAMICS:** The science of pottery.
- CHALICE:** The eucharistic cup.
- CHARISM:** An extraordinary gift conferred on the primitive Christians, as the gift of miracles, of tongues, etc.
- CHROMATIC:** In music a scale consisting of thirteen intervals, eight scale tones and five intermediate tones.
- CIBORIUM:** A domed covering, supported by pillars, rising above the high altar.
- COLLEGIUM:** An association, a guild, a club, a fraternity.
- COLONNADE:** A series of columns at regular intervals.
- COLUMBARIUM:** A place of sepulture where the urns containing the ashes of the dead were placed in niches, resembling a dove-cote.
- COMPLUVIUM:** The opening in the roof of a Roman house.
- CONFESSIO:** A space beneath the high altar, where relics or a sarcophagus might be placed.
- CORONA:** Applied to the jeweled halo encircling the head of a saint or of Christ.
- CRYPT:** A vault beneath a building, or a portion of a catacomb.
- CUBICULUM:** A sleeping or lodging-room in a Roman house; also a burial chamber in the catacombs.
- CUPOLA:** The convex roof of a building, either circular or polygonal.
- CURSIVE:** When applied to inscriptions it means running writing, or where the letters are joined together.
- DIATONIC:** In music, a scale consisting of eight sounds with seven intervals, of which five are whole tones and two are semitones.
- DIPINTI:** Inscriptions painted in colours, as red, or with coal, etc.
- DIPTYCH:** Any thing folded together twice. Applied to tablets of metal or ivory covered with wax, used by the ancients for writing with a stylus.
- DISCIPLINA ARCANI:** Privileges enjoyed only by those who had been initiated into the inner mysteries of a school or society.
- DOME:** Literally, a cathedral; more properly a cupola, specially used in Byzantine architecture.
- DOMINANT:** In music, the note on which the recitation was made in each psalm or canticle tune.
- ENHARMONIC:** The musical scale which was used by the ancient Greeks.
- ENTABLATURE:** The portion of a building which is immediately supported by columns; it consists of *architrave*, *frieze*, and *cornice*.
- EPIGRAPHY:** The science of inscriptions.
- EPITHALAMIUM:** A wedding song or hymn.
- EXEDRÆ:** *v.* Cella. Also applied in Byzantine architecture to the recesses on either side the high altar which were occupied by the deacons.
- EXTRA-MURAL:** Situated outside the walls of a town.
- FAÇADE:** The front view or elevation of a building.
- FONT:** The vessel containing the consecrated water to be used in baptism.
- FORMATIVE ARTS:** Those fine arts which appeal to the eye, as sculpture, painting, and architecture, in distinction from those arts which appeal to the ear.
- FOSSORES:** Literally, diggers. Applied to a class of men who prepared the graves for the burial of Christians.
- FRESCO:** A painting executed in mineral or earthy pigments upon fresh or wet plaster walls.
- FRIEZE:** The middle member of the Entablature; it lies between the architrave and the cornice. Its character depended upon the style of architecture.
- GLYPTICS:** The science of engraving on precious stones.
- GRAFFITO:** A rude inscription or figure scratched upon a soft rock or stuccoed surface.
- GYNECŒUM:** The portion of a church edifice for the exclusive use of women.
- HEXAMETER:** In poetry, having six feet to the line or verse.
- HIEROGLYPHICS:** The sacred writings of the Egyptians. Now applied to any writing whose key is obscure or unknown.
- HARMONICS:** The science of musical sounds.
- ICHTHUS MONUMENTS:** Those which bear the name or figure of the fish.

- IMPLUVIUM:** A depression or cistern in the floor of a Roman house to receive the rain falling through the *compluvium*.
- IN SITU:** Monuments are said to be *in situ* when they occupy their original position, or have not been disturbed.
- LABARUM:** The standard of Constantine the Great in which the χ supplanted the Roman eagle.
- LECTORIUM:** *v.* Ambo.
- LOCULUS:** A grave hewn in the face of the rock in the catacombs.
- LUNETTE:** A semicircular space above a square window, or an orifice for admission of light.
- LYRIC:** Applied to poetry which is appropriate for singing.
- MARIOLATRY:** The cultus or worship of the Virgin Mary.
- MARMORARI:** The Roman workers in marble.
- MAUSOLEUM:** An imposing tomb.
- MEDALLION:** A circular tablet on which figures are sculptured, painted, or wrought in mosaic.
- METONIC CYCLE:** A cycle of nineteen years.
- MIME:** A play in which mimicry is the main action.
- MINIATURE:** An illustrated or illuminated manuscript; probably so called from painting the rubrics and initial letters with red lead (*minium*).
- MISSA CATECHUMENORUM:** The services at which the catechumens were allowed to be present in company with the fully initiated members.
- MISSA FIDELIUM:** The service which only the fully initiated could attend, especially the Eucharist.
- MONOLITH:** A column consisting of a single stone.
- MONOGRAM:** A combination of letters or forms symbolizing some name or fact.
- MONUMENT:** Any sensuous object designed to perpetuate the memory of a person or event.
- MOsaICS:** Ornamental work resulting from inlaying small pieces (*teseræ*), usually cubes, of glass, stone, etc., much used by the ancients in pavements, and by the Christians in the apses and triumphal arches of churches.
- MosQUE:** The sacred building of the Mohammedans.
- MURAL:** Pertaining to a wall; as mural painting, that upon the wall of a church, catacomb, etc.
- NAOS:** Properly a temple. Applied to the sacred interior of a church.
- NARTHEX:** The portico of the Byzantine church.
- NAVE:** The part of a church building in which the general congregation assembled, usually lying west of the choir. The interior area of a church may be divided into three or five naves by longitudinal rows of columns.
- NICHE:** A recess in a wall to receive a statue, bust, or other ornamental object.
- NIMBUS:** The circle encircling the head of saints; called also a corona, when jeweled.
- NISAN:** The first month of the Jewish year, beginning in March.
- NUMÆ:** Marks accompanying the ancient musical notation, whose meaning has not been satisfactorily determined.
- NUMISMATICS:** The science of coins and medals.
- OCTAVE:** In music, the interval.
- OECUS:** A recess in the rear part of the peristyle of a Roman house.
- ORANTES:** The technical term used for figures found in catacombs, standing with extended arms in the attitude of prayer.
- ORATORY:** A building for prayer.
- PALÆOGRAPHY:** The science of deciphering ancient inscriptions and writings.
- PALÆONTOLOGY:** The science of organic remains.
- PALLIUM:** The outside loose garment worn by the Romans.
- PANTOMIME:** A play in which the plot is revealed by action, and not by words.
- PERISTYLE:** A court or square enclosed by a colonnade; sometimes it applies to the colonnade itself.
- PILASTER:** A square half column, usually projecting from the face of the wall, for purposes of strength or ornament.
- PIX, PIXIS:** An ivory box, generally placed upon the altar to contain the consecrated elements in the eucharist.
- PLAGAL:** In ancient music, applied to the four modes added by Gregory the Great.
- PRESBYTERIUM:** The portion of the church reserved for the officiating clergy.
- PROANAPHORA:** The first portion of a liturgical service.
- PSALTER:** As used in the early Church, the Book of Psalms.

- QUARTO-DECIMANIANS:** Those in the early Church who celebrated the Christian passover uniformly on the 14th Nisan.
- REGULA FIDEI:** A rule of faith.
- RHYTHM:** In poetry is the division of the lines or verses into parts by impulses and remissions of the voice. In music, a periodic recurrence of the accent.
- ROTUNDA:** A round building usually covered by a dome.
- SANCTUARIUM:** The space within the apse where stood the altar and the sacred furniture was kept. The space set apart for the officiating clergy.
- SARCOPHAGUS:** A stone coffin, usually covered by a stone slab or lid, which was carefully cemented to it.
- SCHOLA:** A building in which the ancient clubs or guilds were accustomed to meet.
- SPANDEREL:** The space between the arches and entablature in a basilica; or "the space included between the upper arch of a window or door and the square outer molding which form a frame thereto."
- SPHREGISTICS:** The science of seals.
- SWASTIKA:** A form of the cross often found in India (*v.* Fig. 15, lower form).
- TABLINUM:** A recess in the atrium of a Roman house.
- TESSERÆ:** Small cubes of glass or marble used in mosaic work.
- TETRACHORD:** In ancient music a series of four sounds, the first and last of which constituted a fourth. The extremes were fixed; the others might vary.
- THRUST:** In architecture, the outward pressure exerted upon walls, etc., by a superincumbent mass.
- TITULI:** Inscriptions, properly so called.
- TRANSEPT:** The portion of a church which intercepts the main nave at right angles, forming a cruciform structure. It was usually of nearly the same height as the main nave.
- TRIBUNE:** *v.* Apse.
- TRICLINIUM:** The dining or banqueting room in the ancient Roman house.
- TRIUMPHAL ARCH:** In a basilica, the arch spanning the opening leading from the main nave to the apse. When a transept was introduced there might be more than one triumphal arch.
- TUNIC:** The undergarment, reaching to the knees, worn by both sexes of the Romans.
- UNCIAL:** A term descriptive of a kind of writing sharing the qualities of capitals and cursive writing. It inclines to change the angular outline of the capital to the rounded outline of the cursive.
- VAULTING:** The arched surface of a ceiling, receiving different names from the character of the curve.
- VERD-ANTIQUÉ:** A kind of green porphyry; sometimes applied to a mottled green marble.
- VESTIBULE:** A hall or ante-room from which the main room of a building is entered.
- VESTIBULUM:** *v.* Vestibule.

II.

ITALIAN CHURCHES AND CATACOMBS WITH EQUIVALENT ENGLISH NAMES.¹

<i>Santa Agnese</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Agnes.
<i>Santa Agnese fuori le mura</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Agnes outside the city walls.
<i>San Alessandro</i> , Cemetery of.	Cemetery of St. Alexander.
<i>San Ambrogio</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Ambrose.
<i>San Andrea in Barbara</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Andrews in Barbara.
<i>San Apollinare in Classe</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Apollinaris at the port of Classe.
<i>San Apollinare Nuovo</i> , Church of.	New Church of St. Apollinaris.
<i>San Bernardo a Termini</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Bernard at the Limits.
<i>San Calisto</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Calixtus.
<i>San Clemente</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Clement.
<i>Santa Costanza</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Constantia.
<i>SS. Cosmas e Damiano</i> , Cemetery of.	Cemetery of Sts. Cosmas and Damianus.
<i>Santa Croce in Gerusalemme</i> , Church of.	Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.
<i>Santa Domitilla</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Domitilla.
<i>San Francesco</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Francis.
<i>San Gennaro dei Poveri</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Januarius for the Poor.
<i>San Giovanni Evangelista</i> , Church of.	Church of St. John the Evangelist.
<i>San Giovanni in fonte</i> , Church of.	Church of St. John (the Baptist) by the font.
<i>San Giovanni in Laterano</i> , Church of.	Church of St. John in the Lateran.

¹ This list is given for the benefit of such readers as may not be familiar with Italian, or may not have enjoyed the opportunity of visiting these spots.

<i>Santa Lucina</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Lucina.
<i>San Lorenzo</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Lawrence.
<i>San Lorenzo fuori le mura</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Lawrence outside the city walls.
<i>San Marco</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mark.
<i>Santa Maria in Cosmedin</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mary in Cosmedin.
<i>Santa Maria Maggiore</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mary the Greater.
<i>Santa Maria della Rotonda</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mary of the Rotunda.
<i>Santa Maria della Sanita</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mary, the healthgiving.
<i>Santa Maria in Trastevere</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Mary in district of Trastevere.
<i>SS. Nazario e Celso</i> , Church of.	Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus.
<i>San Nicolo in Carcere</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Nicholas by the prison.
<i>San Paolo fuori le mura</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Paul outside the city walls.
<i>SS. Pietro e Marcellino</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus.
<i>San Pietro in Vincolo</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Peter of the Fetters.
<i>San Pietro in Vaticano</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Peter in the Vatican.
<i>San Ponziano</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Pontianus.
<i>San Prætestato</i> , Cemetery of.	Cemetery of Prætextatus.
<i>Santa Priscilla</i> , Catacomb of.	Catacomb of St. Priscilla.
<i>Santa Pudenziana</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Pudentia.
<i>San Sisto</i> , Chapel of.	Chapel of St. Sixtus.
<i>San Stejano</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Stephen.
<i>Colli di Sto Stefano</i> , Basilica of.	Basilica of St. Stephen on the hills (in Tivoli).
<i>San Vitale</i> , Church of.	Church of St. Vital.

III.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE TEXT AND IN THE PLATES.¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>PAGE
 67. Victoria Constantini Aug.
 Victory of Constantine Augustus
 (or the Great).
 67. Hoc signo victor eris.
 In this sign thou shalt be conqueror.
 67. Felicitis Temporis Reparatio
 A restoration of the happy age.
 96. DN IHY XPS DEI FILIVS. Domi-
 Nus IHcYc XPicrc DEI FILIVS.
 The Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God.
 143. IVN. IUS BASSVS Vir Clarissimus
 QVI VIXIT ANNIS. XLII. MEN. II
 IN IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI.
 NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM. VIII
 KALendas SEPTembri EVSEBIO
 ET TPATIO Consulibus.
 Junius Bassus, of patrician rank,
 who lived forty-two years and two
 months. In the very year in which
 he became prefect of the city, a neo-
 phyte, he went to God on the 8th be-
 fore the kalends of September, Eu-
 sebius and Hypatius being consuls.
 253. ¹ Hic jacet. ² Hic requiescit. ³ Hic
 jacet in nomine Christi. ⁴ Hic requi-
 escit in pace.
 Here lies. Here reposes or rests.
 Here lies in the name of Christ.
 Here rests in peace.
 254. ¹ In pace. ² Ev cipiññ. ³ Vivas in
 Deo. ⁴ Vivas in aeternum.
 In peace. In peace. Mayest thou
 live in God. Mayest thou live
 forever.
 255. ¹ Diis Manibus. ² Diis Manibus sa-
 crum. ³ Θεοῖς κατὰ χθονίαις.
 To the gods of the lower world.
 Sacred to the gods of the lower
 world. To the gods of the lower
 world.
 256. ¹ Θάψει τάτα μητὴρ οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.
 ² Domus aeterna. ³ Perpetua sedes.
 ⁴ ὁικος αἰώνιος.
 Rejoice, O mother dear, no one is
 immortal. The eternal home.
 The everlasting habitation.
 The eternal home.</p> | <p>PAGE
 256 n. ¹ Adjuro (vos) Viri Sancti omnes
 Christiani, et te, custe (custode)
 beati Juliani, Deo et tremenda die
 judicii, ut hunc sepulchrum nunquam
 ullo tempore violetur, sed conserve-
 tur usque ad finem mundi, ut prosim
 sine impedimenta in vita redire,
 cum venerit que judicaturus est
 vivos et mortuos. . . .
 I adjure you all, O holy Christ-
 ians, and thee, O keeper of the
 happy Julian, by God, and by
 the fearful day of judgment, that
 this tomb may never at any time
 be violated, but may be guarded
 even to the end of the world,
 that I may without hinderance
 return to life, when he shall come
 and judge the living and the dead.
 ² Male pereat, insepultus jaceat, non
 resurgar cum Juda partem habeat,
 siquis sepulchram hunc violaverit.
 If any one shall violate this
 tomb, let him miserably perish,
 let him lie unburied, let him not
 rise again, let him have his por-
 tion with the Jew!
 ³ Perire. ⁴ Vita privatus.
 To perish. Deprived of life.
 257. ¹ Vale, have or ave, salve, χαῖρε.
 Farewell.
 ² Spiritus tuus in pace.
 Thy spirit in peace.
 ³ Pax tibi.
 Peace to thee.
 ⁴ In pace domini.
 In the peace of the Lord.
 ⁵ Pax tecum.
 Peace be with thee.
 ⁶ Vivas, vives, vivis.
 Mayest thou live.
 ⁷ Vivas, vives, vivis in Christo, in
 Deo, in gloria Dei, in Domino Jesu,
 etc.
 Mayest thou live in Christ, in
 God, in the glory of God, in the
 Lord Jesus Christ, etc.</p> |
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¹ These translations are made for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the classical languages. Some of the texts are fragmentary, some quite indistinct, and others of doubtful meaning. Some are characterized by incorrect orthography, others by very wide departure from classical construction, and still others by a barbarous commingling of Greek and Latin characters and words, v. p. 251.

INSCRIPTIONS IN PLATE III.

- No. 1. *Severa* in Deo vivas.
Severa, mayest thou live in God!
4. Florentius in pace.
Florentius in peace.
5. Μουσῆς ζῶν ἐποίησεν Ἀτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί.
Moses (?) while living erects this to Atus (?) and his spouse.
6. Aurelius Castus m. VIII. Fecit filio suo Antonia Sperantia.
Aurelius Castus (innocent ?) eight months old. Antonia Sperantia erects this to her son.
7. Vipas (vivas ?) Pondz (?) (Pontius ?) in *seferuo*.
Pontius, mayest thou live forever. (?)
8. Βηρατίου Νικατορας Λαζαριη καὶ Ιουλη καὶ Ονησιμηκον (ω ?) φίλους (οις ?) bene merentes. Obiunt . . . octa . . . uga.
Beratius (Veratius ?) Nicatoras to Lazarus (?) and Julia and Onesimachus (Onesimus ?) well-deserving friends. (?) They died on the eighth (day ? month ?) . . . ?
A barbarous combination of Greek and Latin.
9. Sabinus conjugī suæ Celerine, benemerenti quæ vixit annis LV Mensibus VI Diebus XV. In pace.
Sabinus to his well-deserving spouse, Celerina, who lived 55 years, 6 months, and 15 days. In peace.
10. Ἀρτεμισίος Β(V) ἀνέκνται συνβίῳ. Εὐ εἰρήνῃ.
Artemisios to his wife Vincentia. In peace.
12. A fragment whose reading must be conjectural.
13. Sabinaque (se)vixit (t) Annis XXVI Mensibus V.
Sabina who lived 26 years and 5 months.
17. Qui vixit ansis (nis) VIIII . . . ti in pace.
Who lived 9 years . . . in peace.
18. Varonius Fillumenus Varroniæ Fotiniæ filiæ suæ fecit.
Varonius Fillumenus made this (tomb) to his daughter, Varonia Fotina.
19. Πιστος ἐκ πιστων, Ζωσιμος ἐνθαδεκειμε Ζησας εἴπειν β. μ. η. α. κ. ε..
A believer of believers, Zosimus, here lies, having lived 2 years, 1 month, 25 days.
- No. 22. Marcus Aurelius Ammianus fecit sibi et conjug(i) suæ Cornelie ruf-rati (?) bene combenientibus.
Marcus Aurelius Ammianus made (this tomb) for himself and his wife Cornelia (ruferati ?) having lived happily together.
24. "Domna," with the anchor, implies the death of the departed in hope of the resurrection.
26. Rufinæ in Pace.
To Rufina in peace.
27. Agape quæ vixit annis + V + Mensibus + II + diebus + XXII. Irene quæ vixit annis + III + m + VII + diebus + V + Julius urbanus pater + fecit.
To Agape who lived 5 years, 2 months, 22 days. To Irene who lived 3 years, 7 months, 5 days. Julius Urbanus, the father, made (this tomb.)
29. + Vtt(?) Lucius Bene Merent.
(?) Lucius, well-deserving.
30. Lucilla in pace.
Lucilla in peace.
37. Romanus Sabinus.
41. A fragment of uncertain meaning.
42. Petrus — Paulus. — Asellu(io) bene merenti qui vixit annu(is) sex, mesis (mensibus) octo dies (diebus) XXIII.
Peter . . . Paul . . . To Asellus, the well-deserving, who lived 6 years, 8 months, 23 days.
43. Victoria quæ vixit cum Virginium suum annos (is) XIII menses (ibus) duo dies (ebus) XXII, deposita nonn. kalendas Augustas. In pace(e).
Victoria who lived with her husband Virginus 13 years, 2 months, 22 days. Buried the ninth before the kalends of August. In peace. (Barbarous Latin.)
45. In pace (above) VII. M. . X. D. V. D. on side.
In peace. 7 months, 10 days. (?)
47. Depositus est Januarius III Idus Sept qui vixit ann(is) II, m. XL. In pace.
Januarius was buried on the fourth of the Ides of September, who lived 2 years, 11 months. In peace.
48. A fragment—not capable of being translated.
49. Severæ virgini quæ vixit ann.
To the virgin Severa who lived (?) years.

INSCRIPTIONS IN PLATE IV.

- No. 5. *Parentes filio Axungio bene merenti in pace qui vixit annis VI. m.X De Positus VII Kalendas Octobris.*
The parents to Axungius well-deserving, in peace, who lived 6 years 10 months. Buried on the seventh before the kalends of October.
- No. 6. ? V *Calendas Julias. Leo (ni) bene merenti qui vixit annus (is) XXVI dies (ebus) XXX.*
The first part a fragment. The last runs, To Leo, well-deserving, who lived 26 years 30 days.
- No. 7. *Ελλινος και Οτερα Ευσθηβω γλυκυτατω τελευτα ετων ι. Μ. ιβ.*
Ellinus and Otera to the very precious Eusebius who died at 7 years and 12 months.
- No. 8. *Depositus Eutropies VII Kalendas Octobris.*
Eutropius buried the seventh before the kalends of October.
- No. 9. *Aurelia Serice quæ vixit annis XXXI mensis III Diebus XVI. Fecit Aurelius Primus conjugi suæ dulcissime (æ) bene merenti in pace.*
Aurelia Serice, who lived 31 years, 3 months, 16 days. Aurelius Primus erected (this) to his most precious spouse, well deserving. In peace.
- No. 10. *Lucinia Ælidora ad Deo data, in pace, III Idsis Mar. Annorom. (?) Bene merenti in pace Fratri. (?)*
Lucina Ælidora given to God in peace the fourth of the Ides of March. ?
- No. 11. *Alexandra in pace.*
Alexandra in peace.
- No. 14. *Severa bene merenti fecerunt parentes in pace quæ vixit anno ? diebus XX.*
To Severa well-deserving the parents erect (this) in peace who lived years ? 20 days.
- No. 15. A Fragment.
- No. 16. *Januariæ conjugi bene merenti quæ vixit ? annis XX.*
To Januaria the well-deserving wife who lived ? . 20 years.
- No. 17. *Elis + et + Victoria parentes filię ben merenti quæ vixit annis II mensibus iii.*
Elis and Victoria, the parents, to the daughter well-deserving who lived 2 years 3 months.
- No. 18. *Eristitus et Felicia parentes Felici filio dulcissimo bene merenti qui vixit annis XIII mensis VII dies XVIII.*
Te in pace.
The parents, Eristitus and Felicia, to Felix the dearest and well-deserving son, who lived 14 years, 7 months, 18 days. Thee in peace.
- No. 26. *Lucifer pater filię Ursæ benemerent(i) quæ vixit annis III diebus XXI.*
Lucifer the father to the daughter Ursa, well-deserving, who lived 3 years, 21 days.
- No. 31. *Bibbeo v(b)ene merenti.*
To Bibbeus well-deserving.
- No. 32. *Flavia hic posita.*
Flavia here buried.
- No. 37. Phocinn.
- No. 50. *Aelia B(V)ictorina posuit Aureliæ Probæ.*
Ælia Victorina placed (this) to Aurelia Proba.
- No. 52. *Africane te in ? Maximinus et tu ? qui. vit. annos III m VII et ?*
O Africanus thee in ? Maximinus and thou ? who lived 3 years 7 months and ?
- No. 57. ? *se bene merenti filię dulcissimæ quæ vixit ann. XXII mensis XI dies XVIII. deposita die IIII Kalendas Maias, in pace. Parentis fecerunt.*
? to the well-deserving and most precious daughter who lived 22 years, 11 months, 19 days. Buried on the fourth before the kalends of May. In peace. The parents erected (this monument).
- No. 58. *Asurus + In p(ace) vixit an. VII.*
Asurus in peace lived 7 years.
- No. 59. *Vixit anis.*
He lived years. ?
- No. 60. A Fragment.
- No. 61. A Fragment.
- No. 62. *Firmia Victora quæ vixit annis LXV.*
Firmia Victoria who lived 65 years.
- No. 64. *Aurelio Felio qui b(v)ixit cum conjugio bone memorie b(v)ixit annos lv. Raptus eterne domus XII Kal. Januarius. (Barbarous Latin.)*
To Aurelius Felius who lived with his spouse well remembered 55 years. Snatched to his eternal home the twelfth before the kalends of January.
- No. 65. *Eleutherio in pace depositus III Kal. Jan.*
To Eleutherius in peace. Buried the third before the kalends of January.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PLATE V.

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| <p>No.
1. Decessit.
He has departed.
2, 3. Depositus. Buried. Sepultus. Buried.
4. Καθασεις Φαδιανης.
Burial. Phadianes (?)
5. Marco Aurelio. Augustorum, liberto. Proseneti a cubiculo Augusti. procuratori thesaurorum procuratori patrimonii procuratori vinorum ordinato a divo Commodi in castrense patrono piissimo liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt.
To Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, a freedman of the Augustii, of the cubiculum (?) of the emperor, the keeper of the treasury, overseer of the paternal estate, superintendent of the gifts, keeper of the wines, appointed by the divine Commodus in charge of the camp; to their patron most pious and well-deserving, his freedmen, of their own means, have adorned this sarcophagus.
5a. Prosenes receptus ad Deum. V. Non ??
Requiescens in . . . urbe ab expeditionibus scripsit Ampelius libertus.
Prosenes being received to God on the fifth of the Nones . . . Ampelius, his freedman, returning to the city (?) from his expeditions, wrote (this inscription).
7. Aurelia dulcissima filia quae de seculo recessit vixit annis XV. Mensibus IIII Severo et Quintino, Coss.
Amelia a much beloved daughter who has departed this life lived 15 years, 4 months, Severus and Quintinus being consuls.
8. Ἡρακλειτος (τω) θε(ω) φιλεστατος ἐζησεν ἐτ(η) ἢ παρα ἡμερας) τῷ ἐνοσησεν ἡμερας) εἰς, τελευτᾷ προῖα Κ(αλενδων) Μαί(ων) (Υλ)πιω και Ποντιανωρη (ατοις)</p> | <p>No.
'Αυρ(ηλιος) Ξανθιας πατηρ τεκνωγλυκω-
τερω φωτος και ζωης.
Heraclitus, the well-beloved of God, having lived almost 8 years and 13 days, being sick 12 days, died on the 11th before the Kalends of May, Ulpian and Pontianus being consuls. Aurelius, the father, held this child more dear than light and life.
9. Acliad . . . am possuit . . . XIII Kal. Aug. Emilianus II et Aquilino Cons. Dormit.
A broken inscription; the last reads: the thirteenth before the kalends of August, Emilianus the second time and Aquilinus being consuls. He sleeps.
10. Σεπτίμιος· Πρα(τεξτα)τος(ς) και Κ'
ὁ δουλός· του (θεο)υ αξίως . . . ὅν μετ-
ανοησα. καν ωδε σοι ὑπερσησα και ευ-
κα(ρισ)τησω. τῷ ὀνοματι σου πα(ρεδοκε)
την ψυχ(ην) (τ)ῳ θεῳ. τριαντα τριω(ν)
. . . εἰς μηνων.
Septimius Pretextatus (?) and . . . a servant of God (having lived) worthily. I cannot repent myself to have thus served thee, and I render thanks to thy name. He gave his soul back to God at 33 years and 6 months. (?)
11. Εὐμε(α)ρε(α)τω· ουρανια θυγατηρ·
'Πρωδρς' (?)
Mayest thou have good passage to heaven O daughter of Heroda. (?)
12. Αρμενια· Φηλικτας· Αλια· Ρηγινα.
Armenia· Felicitas· Aelia· Regina.
13. Januara co(n)jugi bene merente(i) Gorgono magistro· primo (?)
Januara to her well-deserving husband Gorgonus, the master.
14. Leontina (i)n Deo pax.
Leontina in God peace.</p> |
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INSCRIPTIONS OF PLATE VI.

BEING BRIEFLY OF DOCTRINAL IMPORT.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Vidua P (?) felicissima! In Deo vives.
O widow most fortunate! Mayest thou live in God!
2. Ursina vives Deo.
Ursina, mayest thou live in God!
3. Ἐντυχίς Σωπερη συμβίω καλως ἢ ξιω-
μενη ἐποιησα ζῇ ἐν Θεῳ.</p> | <p>Eutychis to Soterie my companion well honoured (?). I have made (this). May she live in God.
4. Fortunata vives in Deo.
Fortunata, mayest thou live in God!</p> |
|---|--|

- No. 5. M E M ?
 Utulius (Vitulius ?) Calligonis semper in Deo vivas · dulcis anima.
 Vitulius Calligonis, mayest thou ever live in God, sweet spirit.
- No. 6. Faustina dulcis bibas in Deo.
 Sweet Faustina, mayest thou live in God!
- No. 7. Vibas in deo. feci Qui ?
 Mayest thou live in God. I have made (this). ? . . .
- No. 8. Bono atque (?) dulcissimo conjugi Castorino qui vixit annis LXI mensibus · V · dies X. Benemerenti uxor fecit. Vive in Deo.
 To her dear and well beloved husband, Castorinus, who lived 61 years, 5 months, 10 days. To him well-deserving the wife erects (this). Live thou in God!
- No. 9. Lucida in Deum. B(V)ixit annos XI. Lucida in God. She lived 11 years.
- No. 10. D. P.
 Lucifere conjugi dulcissime omnen (m) dulcedudinem cum luctu maxime (o) marito reliquit . . . et meruit titulum inscribi ut quisque de fratribus legeret roget deum ut sancto et iuncto spirito ad deum suscipiatur. Quae vixit annos XXII mens. VIII dies VI.
 D. P. (?)
 To Lucifera the dearly-beloved wife who left to her husband in the deepest sorrow all pleasantness and who deserves that this epitaph should be inscribed that whoever of the brothers shall read may beseech God that with a saintly and sinless spirit she may be received to God. Who lived 22 years, 9 months, 6 days.¹
- No. 11. Pactum (?) et fidelism (?) apud (?) deum et pro spirito.
 The translation is not easy on account of the fragmentary character of the inscription.
- No. 12. Bolosa deus tibi refugeret quae vixit annos XXXI recessit die XIII kal Octobres.
 O Bolosa (Volosa ?), may God refresh thee! Who lived 31 years. She departed on the 13th before the kalends of October.
- No. 13. Amerimnus Rufinae conjugi carissime bene merenti spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret.
 Amerimus to Rufina his precious
- No. 14. wife, well-deserving. May God refresh thy spirit!
- No. 14. Refrigera deus animam Hom. (?)
 Refresh, O God, the spirit of Hom (?)
- No. 15. Lais cum pace . . . ispiritus in bonum quescat. (Barbaric Latin)
 Lais with peace, that thy spirit may rest well.
- No. 16. A Fragment.
- No. 17. Regina vibas in domino Zesu.
 Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus!
- No. 18. Bibas in Christo Constantia in pace Quae vixit annos LV (?) fecit (?) bene. Mayest thou live in Christ! Constantia who lived in peace 55 (?) years. (made this) ?
- No. 19. Suscepta Colonica in X quae requievit vixit ann XI dep in Nov.
 Colonica who rested in peace received in Christ. She lived 40 years, having been Buried in November.
- No. 20. In X Aselus D ?
 In Christ Aselus ?
- No. 21. . . . Erre recept corpus Livi . . . X decem et quaterque binos hic . . . esteras terre solutus anima Christo reddita e-t.
 This is too fragmentary to furnish a key to the sense.
- No. 22. Mirae bonitatis adque inimitabilis sanctitatis totius castitatis rari exen (m)pli feminæ castae bonae b(v)itæ et pietate in omnibus gloriosae Bruttiae dignitati, quae vixit anno · XXXIII quæ sine lesione animi mei vixit me cum annos XV filios autem procreavit VII ex quibus si (e) cum habet dominum IIIII.
 To a female, of admirable goodness, and of inimitable sanctity, of entire purity a rare example, chaste, of good and pious life, renowned in all things, to Bruttia Dignitas who lived 33 years, who without vexation of my spirit lived with me 15 years. She bore 7 sons, 6 of whom she has with the Lord. (?)
- No. 23. B(V)ictorina in pace et in X.
 Victorina in peace and in Christ.
- No. 24. Anima dulcis incomparabili filio qui vixit annis · XVII non X · meritis vitam reddidit in pace domini.
 A sweet spirit! To an incomparable son who lived less than 17 years. Worthily he gave back his life in the peace of the Lord. (?)

¹ There has been much difference of opinion relative to the reading and interpretation of this inscription. Some prefer to read in the vocative the opening name, and understand *reliquisti*.

- No. 25. Merenti te cum pace? A fragment.
 26. A fragment.
 27. Ειρηνή τη ψυχῇ σου ο Ξυχολί.
 Peace to thy spirit, O Xucholis!
 28. Φιλουμένη εν ειρηνή σου το πνεύμα.
 Philomena, thy spirit! in peace!
 29. Ειρηνή σου τη ψυχῇ Ζωσίμη.
 Peace to thy spirit, O Zosimus.
 30. Agape vibes in eternum.
 Agapa, mayest thou live forever!
 31. Marcus puer innocens esse jam inter innocent(e)s coepisti quam stau(b)ile(i)s tui(b)i hæc vita est quam te lætum excipe(i)t mater ecclesiæ de hoc mundo revertentem comprematur pectorum genitus. obstruatur fletus oculorum.
 Marcus, thou innocent boy, thou hast already begun to be among the blameless. How permanent is that life which now is thine! How the mother, the Church, receives thee returning joyful from this life, that the sighings of the heart may be suppressed, that the weeping of the eyes may be stayed.
 D. Ma . . . Sacrum XL.
 32. Leopardum in pacem cum spirita sancta. acceptum. eunte abeatis innoc(e)ntem posuer . . . par . . . Q . . . Ann. VII. men . . . VII.
 Sacred to the gods of the lower realm. (XL?) Leopardus received in peace among the sacred spirits, hold ye him as innocent. (?) The parents placed (this inscription). Who lived 7 years, 7 months.
 33. Spirita sancta = sacred spirits.
 34. A fragment whose reading is conjectural.
 35. Maximianus Saturnina dormit in pace.
 Maximianus and Saturnina sleep in peace.
 36. Suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumta retia cot baleas bibificante Δ sic Gregorini ὡμ truber in pace titulur in pace pa . . u . iter cum ejus Piperusa jugali ejus.
 Receive, O earth, a body taken from thy body.
 Thus of Gregory in peace together with his spouse Piperusa. (The whole reading is doubtful.)
 37. Vivere qui prestat morientia semina terre solvere qui potuit letalia vincula mortis . . Depositus Liberianus III Idus Augustas questas in pacem.
 He who can cause the dying germs of earth to live, who can

- No. break the fatal chains of death. . . Liberianus buried the third of the Ides of August. Mayest thou rest in peace!
 38. Hic mihi semper dolor erit in ævo et tuum b(v)enerabilem vultum liceat videre sopore conjunx Albana quæ mihi semper casta pudica relictum me tuo gremio queror quod mihi sanctum te dederat divinitus autor relictis tuis jaces in pace sopore merita resurgis temporalis tibi data requio. Quæ vixit annis XLV men . . V (?) dies XIII dormit in pace fecit Cyriacus maritus.
 Here there will ever be to me grief during my life, and it may be permitted to see in dreams thy venerated countenance, O my spouse, who wast ever to me chaste and modest. I sorrow that I am separated from thy embrace, since the Divine author had given thee to me as something sacred. Having left thine own thou liest in the peace of dreaming. O worthy one, thou shalt arise. The repose given thee is only temporary. Who lived 45 years, five months, 13 days. She sleeps in peace. The husband, Cyriacus, made (this monument).
 39. D M S.
 Florentius filio suo Aproniano fecit titulum benemerenti qui vixit annum et menses novem dies quinque cum sol do a(?)matus fuisset a majore sua et vidit hunc morti constitum esse petivit de eclesia ut fidelis de seculo . . . recessisset.
 Sacred to the Manes.
 Florentinus made this inscription to his well-deserving son, Apronianus, who lived a year, 9 months, and 5 days, and since he had been greatly beloved by his ancestor and saw that he was appointed unto death, he besought the Church that he, a faithful one, might retire from this life. (?)
 40. A very fragmentary inscription.
 41. Simplicio benemerenti qui vixit annis . II . et post adceptionem suam dies . XXVI . dep . . V nonas Feb . . in pace . . acrius qui vixit ann . . XII filio suo fecit in pace.
 To Simplicius (?) well-deserving who lived 51 years, and after his acceptance 26 days. Buried on the fifth of the nones of February in peace. (?) made this for his son who lived 12 years. In peace.

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTIONS ON PLATE VII.

INSCRIPTIONS OF POPE DAMASUS.

No.

1. *Fama refert sanctos dudum retulisse parentes Agnem cum lugubres cantus tuba concrepuisset nutricis gremium subito lignasse puellum sponte trucidasse minas rubienque tyranni urere cum flammis voluisse nobile corpus. viribus in(m) mensum parvis superasse timorem nudaque profusum crinem per membra dedisse ne Domini templum facies peritura videret. O veneranda mihi sanctum decus alma pudoris ut Damasi precibus faveas precor inclyta martyr.*

Report says that when she had recently been snatched away from her parents, when the trumpet pealed forth its terrible clangor, the virgin Agnes suddenly left the breast of her nurse and willingly braved the threats and rage of the tyrant who wished to have her noble form burned in flames. Though of so little strength she checked her extreme fear, and covered her nude members with her abundant hair lest mortal eye might see the temple of the Lord. O thou dear one, worthy to be venerated by me! O sacred dignity of modesty! Be thou favourable, I beseech thee, O illustrious martyr! to the prayers of Damasus!

2. *O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix que intemerata fide contempto principe mundi confessus Christum cœlestia regna petisti. O vere pretiosa fides cognoscite fratres qua ad cœlum victor pariter properavit Adauctus. Presbyter his verus Damaso rectore iubente composuit tumulum sanctorum limina adornans.*
O thou, once and again appropriately named Felix! and with a faith inviolate, defying the prince of the world and confessing Christ, hast reached the heavenly realms. O truly precious faith (recognise it, O brothers) by which Adauctus, a victor, has mounted steadily to heaven. . . . berus, the presbyter, by the order of Damasus, the rector, has built this tomb, adorning the habitation of the saints.

- 3, 4. *Damasus Episcopus fecit. Heraclius vetuit lab(p)ros pecunia, dolere. Eusebius miseros docuit sua crimina*

No.

- fieri. Scinditur partes populus gliscente furore seditio caedes bellum discordia lites. ex(tem)plo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni. integra cum rec or servaret fœdera pacis. pertulit exilium domino sub iudice lætus litore Trinacrio mundum vitamque reliquit Eusebio Episcopo et martyri.*

Damasus the bishop made (this). Heraclius forbade the lapsed to grieve for their sins. Eusebius taught these wretched ones to wash away their crimes by weeping. The populace was divided into parties; with swelling fury there are seditious, murders, war, discords, quarrels. For an example (or, according to a suggested reading, "straightway") by the cruelty of the tyrant both are driven into exile, although the rector was preserving intact the pledges of peace. He bore the exile joyfully under the Lord, his judge. On the Sicilian coast he gave up the world and life. To Eusebius, bishop and martyr.—On the sides, running vertically, is the following inscription: *Damasi sui pappæ cultor atque amator Furius Dyonisius Filocalus scribit.*

The fosterer and friend of Pope Damasus, Furius Dyonisius, Filocalus wrote (this).

5. A fragment.
6. *Cum perituræ Getæ possuissent castra sub urbe inoverunt sanctus bella nefanda prius istaque sacrilego vertērunt corde sepulchra martyribus quandam rite sacrata piis. quos monstrante deo Damasus sibi papa probatos affixo monuit carmine iure coli. Sed periit titulus confracto marmore sanctus. nec tamen his iterum posse perire fuit. diruta Vigilius nam mox hæc papa gemiscens hostibus expulsi omne notavit opus.*

When the Getæ had pitched their destructive camp under (the walls of) the city, they waged a nefarious warfare against the saints, and also directed it against the sepulchres once duly dedicated to the pious martyrs. Under the guidance of God, pope Damasus, of himself, gave notice in a poem in-

No.

scribed on them, that they could be lawfully worshipped. But the marble having been shattered, this sacred inscription has perished. Nevertheless it was not possible to utterly destroy these, since immediately after the enemy had been driven out, the pope, Vigil, greatly sorrowing over these ruins, restored every work.

7. A fragment.

8. Hic coniecta jacet quæris si turba piorum · corpora structorum retinent veneranda sepulchra. sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia cæli · hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste tropæa · hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Xri · hic posita longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos · hic confessores sancti quos Grecia misit · hic juvenes puerique senes castique nepotes · queis magis virgineum placuit retinere pudorem · hic fateor Damasus

No.

volvi mea condere membra · sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.

Here heaped together rest a throng of pious ones, if thou art seeking for them. These venerated sepulchres hold the bodies of the saints. The regal heavenly palace has taken to itself their lofty souls. Here are the companions of Sixtus who bore the trophies from the enemy: here a number who ministered at Christ's altars: here is buried a priest who lived in long-continued peace (?): here the holy confessors whom Greece sent: here the youth and boys, the aged, the immaculate descendants who were pleased to maintain their virgin modesty. Here, I confess, O Damasus, have I wished that my members might repose. But I fear to disturb the sacred ashes of the saints.

TRANSLATION OF EPITAPHS OF PLATE VIII.

SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

1. Parentes · Dionysio filio · dulcissimo · vixit an. V, m. VII, d. IX · D. P. XVI · kal. Sept. Constantio X. Cos. in p. A. $\text{X} \overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}$.

The parents to their most precious son, Dionysius. He lived 5 years, 7 months, 9 days. Buried on the sixteenth before the Kalends of September, Constantius being for the tenth consul. In peace in Christ Jesus.

2. A fragment. It has much interest from the variety of symbols which it contains. Its translation has been conjectured by de Rossi.

3. Theodora requisivit in pace die pridie Noni Septembris D. N. Juliano Aug. IIII et Salustio Cons.

Theodora rested in peace on the day before the Nones of September, our master Julianus Augustus, for the fourth time, and Salustius being consuls.

4. Lupicino et Jovino C. . . Victoriae Q. An. XXV . . . marito fecit An. . . XIII et pudicitia omniibus . .

The reading is conjectural as follows: Lupinus and Jovinus being consuls, Victoria was buried, who lived 25 years, and lived 13 years with her husband, and was known to all by her chasteness.

5. Miræ sapientiæ Augendo qui vixit Ann. plus min LXXII cum uxore fecit ann. XXX · depositus XVI kal. Octob. DN Gratiano Aug. II . et Probo Con. . . .

To Augendus of wonderful wisdom, who lived 72 years more or less; with his wife he lived 30 years. Buried the sixteenth before the Kalends of October our lord Gratianus Augustus, for the second time, and Probus being consuls.

6. Hic quiescit ancilla dei quæ de sua omnia possedit domum istam quæ(am) amicæ deflent solaciumque requirunt. Pro hui(us) unius(am) ora su(o) bolem quæ(am) superis item reliquisti . æterna requiem Felicita ? ? ? XVI ke (a) lendas Oc.ohris. Cucurbitinus et Abundantius hic simul quiesciunt d. Gratiano V et Theodosio Aug.

Here rests a servant of God who with respect to all her possessions has guarded this home, whom her friends lament and they seek for consolation.—The balance is obscure except the usual conclusion.

7. Theodora quæ vixit annos XXI m VII d XXIII in pace est biso-

No. mu(o) amplificam sequitur vitam cum casta Afrodite fecit ad astra viam Christi modo gaudet in aula restitit haec mundo semper Caelestia quaereus optima servatrix legis fideique magistra dedit egregiam sanctis per saecula mentem inde eximios paradisi regnat odores tempore continuo vernat ubi graminis rivis expectatque deum superas quo surgat ad auras hoc posuit corpus tumulo mortalia linqueus, fundavitque locum conjux Evagrius . . . tans dep . . . die . Antonio et Siagrio cons . .

Theodora who lived 21 years, 7 months, 23 days, in peace is in this *bisomus*, while chaste Aphrodite lived a still longer life. She has made her way to the heavens, and now rejoices in the court of Christ. She withstood the world, always seeking heavenly things; the most excellent guardian of the law and of the faith, she has given back to the saints her noble spirit forever. There amidst the delightful odors of paradise she reigns where the grass blooms perpetually by the water-brooks, she waits on God by whom she rises to those supernal regions. Her husband, Evagrius, pressing forward to join her, has placed this body in the tomb, leaving behind the mortal part, and has founded this place. Buried on the day . . . Antonius and Siagrus being consuls.

8. Quid loquor aut sileam prohibet dolor ipse fateri: hic tumulus lacrimas retinet; cognosce parentum Projectae fuerat primo quae juncta marito, pulchra decore suo solo contenta pudore. heu dilecta satis miserae gene(itricis amore! Accipe, quid multis? thalami post foedera prima, erepta ex oculis Flori genitoris abiit, aetheriam cupiens caeli conscendere lucem: haec Damasus praestat cunctis solacia fletus. Vixit ann XVI m IX dies XXV Dep. III kal. Jan. Fl. Mero-bande, et Fl. Saturnin. cons.

Respecting what may I speak, or keep silence? Grief itself prohibits me from speaking; this tomb retains my tears. Know the parents of Projecta (?) who had scarcely had union with her husband, fair in her comeliness, content with modesty alone. Alas! beloved enough in the affection of

No. an afflicted mother! Are you satisfied that I say more? (?) After the first union of the nuptial bed, snatched from the eyes of her father, Florus, she departed, longing to mount to the ethereal brightness of heaven. Damasus offers to all the solaces of weeping. She lived 16 years, 9 months, 25 days. Buried the third before the kalends of January, Flavius Merobandus and Saturninus being consuls.

9. Hic requiescit quod vult deus honeste recordationes (is) vir qui vixit annos LVII depositus in pace die V Idus Octobres cons . . s D . N . Arcadio Aug. quater et Honorio Aug. . . ter Consulibus.

Here rest (as God wills (?)) a man of worthy memory who lived 57 years, buried on the fifth of the Ides of October, our lords Arcadius Augustus for the fourth time, and Honorius Augustus for the third time, being consuls.

10. Hic caesnid (?) Bonifatia mulier quae bixset annus XLVI d X . Deposita in pace Cesario et Attico.

A piece of barbarous Latin. Probably meaning: Here reposes the wife Bonifatia, who lived 46 years, 11 days. Buried in peace. Caesarius and Atticus being consuls.

This is a genuine palimpsest. On the opposite side is found the inscription "Leo et Statia vivi fecerunt." Beneath a Greek inscription is found: 'Ευτυχίανου δουλοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰο(ν)λιανῆ συν(βίω).

11. Maxima in pace quae vixit annus plus munus XXXV cons dominis nostris Onorio iv c . . s . . . et Eutuchiano Cons. Pridae Nonas Septembres.

Maxima in peace. Who lived 35 years more or less, our lords, Honorius for the fourth time, and Eutuchianus being consuls. On the day before the Nones of September.

PAGE 393. n. v. Plate III, No. 19.

477. Μητρι Κατιανίλλῃ ἐργοποῦ.

To the Mother Katianilla the toiling one.

478. Amatrix pauperorum et operaria. The lover of the poor, and herself a laborer.

478. Leontiae cum laboronae suae. To Leontia together with her laborers (?)

IV.

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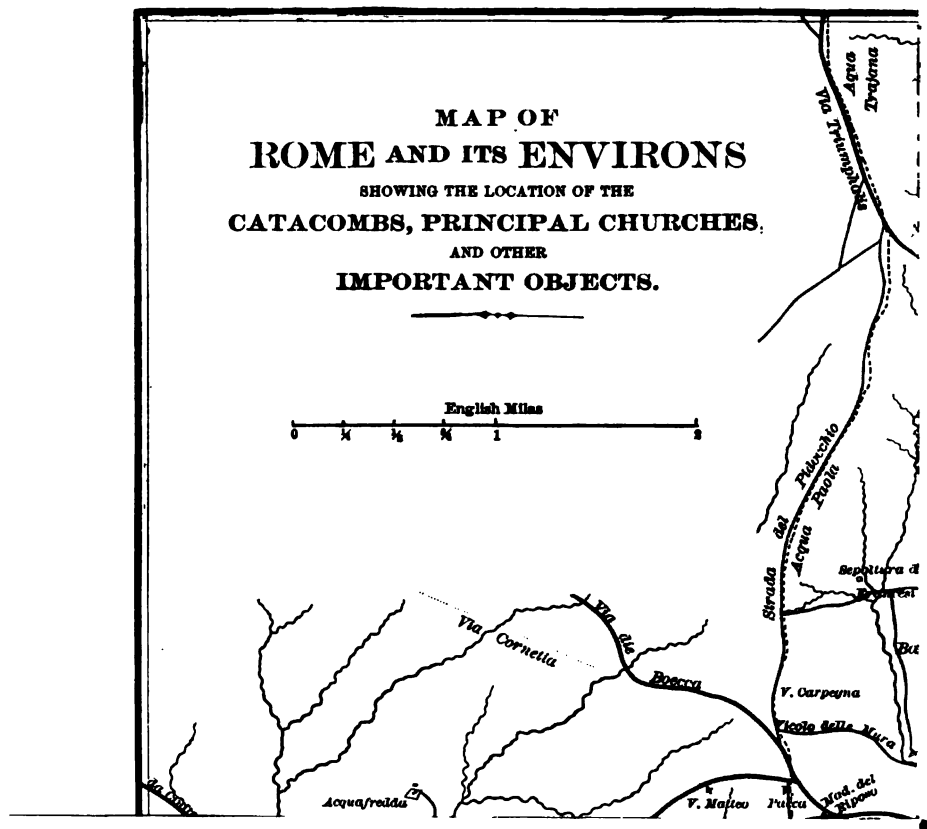
ON THE CONSTITUTION, WORSHIP, ETC., OF THE EARLY CHURCH.¹

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¹ The literature is of immense volume and of growing importance. The recent works are characterized by great thoroughness of scholarship, and are generally written in a scientific rather than polemic spirit. Besides the patristic writings of the first six centuries, the standard Church histories, and the histories of Christian doctrines, the following may be found among the most thorough and suggestive.

English Miles

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